

# Community Safety

Additional Findings Report  
February 2008

## Count Me In Too



## LGBT Lives in Brighton & Hove

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in consultation with:  
Count Me In Too Community Safety Analysis Group

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Report to be cited: Browne & Lim 2008

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# Acknowledgments

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Spectrum & the University of Brighton would like to thank:

**Count Me in Too Community Safety Analysis Group:** who worked with the researchers to analyse the data that shaped this findings report: Paul Stewart, Nick Antjoule, John Irvine, Mark Sole, Lisa Timerick, Sarah Stanbridge, Petra Davis, Gemma Lockwood and Richard Mangas. Special thanks to Arthur Law for its design.

**The participants:** the hundreds of individuals who took part in the questionnaire and focus groups, and all of those who encouraged and organised people to be involved. Thank you so much for your time and trust. For this report we particularly want to thank those who took the time and had the strength to mention or detail their experiences of harassment, violence and abuse. We hope your stories will make a lasting difference.

**Count Me In Too Community Steering Group:** who advised on the format and content of the questionnaire and focus groups and helped engage with the many diverse groups within the LGBT communities: Nick Antjoule, Leela Bakshi, Mark Cull, Camel Gupta, Sandy Levy, Angie Rowland-Stuart, Joanna Rowland-Stuart, Pat Thomas, Lisa Timerick, John Walker, and 7 others.

**Count Me in Too Action Group:** who worked with the researcher to analyse the data that shaped both Initial Findings Reports: PJ Aldred, Nick Antjoule, Leela Bakshi, Mark Cull, Petra Davis, Camel Gupta, Julie Nichols, and Lisa Timerick.

**Count Me In Too Monitoring Group:** who provided guidance and advice on the process: Professor Andrew Church, Leela Bakshi, Dana Cohen, Bruce Nairne and the researchers

**Everyone else who helped to make this research happen:** including all who designed, debated and contributed questions to the questionnaire, all who offered comments and help on the process, all who helped to pilot the questionnaire, all who attended stakeholder and community meetings, Prof Andrew Church, Dana Cohen, Café 22, RealBrighton, Brighton & Hove City libraries, GScene, 3Sixty, all the business who allowed us to put flyers in their venues, and everyone else who helped, supported and wished us well.

**Our main funders:** Brighton & Sussex Community Knowledge Exchange, Brighton & Hove City Primary Care Trust, and Brighton & Hove City Council. Particular thanks to the Partnership Community Safety Team and Sussex Police for their sponsorship of this analysis and findings report.



# Synopsis of key findings

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This report shows that hate crime continues to be extensively perpetrated against LGBT people and can take insidious forms that are often ignored, 'tolerated' and remain unnamed. There is a need for a broad definition of safety that is not simply about not experiencing hate crime, but includes raising awareness of acceptable behaviours, equalities initiatives and broader community engagements. Trans people, bisexual and queer people, those who defined in a category other than lesbian, gay, bisexual or queer, young people (those under 26), and isolated individuals are more susceptible to hate crime. Hate crime can also both impact on, and result from, vulnerabilities around mental health and isolation. This can result from and result in further support needs and vulnerabilities. Only a minority of LGBT people who experience hate crime report these incidents.

Fear of crime also impacts the ability of LGBT people to be themselves and live lives that are free not only from violence and abuse, but also from the fear of violence and abuse. Three-quarters (77%) of respondents stated there are places in Brighton and Hove where they did not feel safe. The places where most LGBT people feel unsafe are estates on the outskirts of the city and in the town centre. Most attributed these feelings to fear of prejudice regarding their sexual/gender identities. There are clear avoidance strategies used by LGBT people and the majority of LGBT people at times avoided public displays of affection and going out at night. Unsurprisingly, there was a strong correlation between isolation and avoiding going out at night.

Over a hundred respondents had experienced hate crime because of their gender/sexuality in their neighbourhoods. The qualitative research indicated that ongoing harassment is experienced and can be detrimental to mental health, as well as exacerbating other health problems. Those who live in social housing are more likely to experience certain forms of LGBT hate crime.

Although there was some praise for the police, there was evidence of slow reactions in dealing with the perpetrators and frustration at some of the requirements made on victims. The majority of those who have experienced hate crime believe that their gender and sexuality is important and this should be accounted for in the provision of services for LGBT people.

# Executive Summary

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## Impacts of hate crime

- Insidious and ongoing hate crime is often dismissed
- 'Learning' to accept prejudice and discrimination because it is part of your daily life can mean that it eventually goes unnoticed, undefined and unnamed yet there are emotional costs to all these strategies.
- Hate crime attacks can have very different effects depending on the vulnerability of people and can seriously affect a person's mental health and well being.
- Ongoing harassment can have serious implications for mental health and wellbeing amongst LGBT people.
- Focus groups indicate a need for cross agency working in order to address the multiple needs that may be presented to any one of the agencies dealing with LGBT people, safety, mental health, housing, or adult social care.
- Opportunities to discuss and share experiences of hate crime (both within and outside of therapeutic settings) could have a positive effect in bringing the LGBT communities together and creating safe cities.
- A broad definition of safety would include raising awareness of acceptable behaviours, equalities initiatives and broader community engagements.

## Experiences of Hate Crime

- Just under  $\frac{3}{4}$  (73%) of respondents said that they had experienced some form of abuse over the past five years as a result of their sexual or gender identities.
- The most common forms, reported as experienced by the majority of respondents, were negative comments (55%) and verbal abuse (54%), but only 40 people out of the 596 who had experienced some form of hate crime had solely experienced verbal abuse/negative comments in the street from a stranger indicating that LGBT people's experience of hate crime cannot be dismissed as merely verbal abuse or negative comments from strangers in the street.
- Bisexual and queer people and those who defined in a category other than lesbian, gay, bisexual or queer were more likely to have experienced harassment, teasing and bullying. Those who defined in a category other than lesbian, gay, bisexual or queer were more likely than all other groups to experience sexual assault.
- Trans people are statistically more likely to have experienced all forms of hate crime except teasing than non-trans people.
- Young people (those under 26) are more likely to have experienced all forms of hate crime, except criminal damage, harassment and sexual assault (although

11 people out of the 29 that had experienced sexual assault were under 26), than older people (defined in this research as those over 55). These figures reduce relative to age and those over 55 are the least likely to experience hate crime.

- Those who are isolated are more likely to have experienced all forms of hate crime in the past five years compared to those who are not isolated. Those who are isolated are more likely to have experienced hate crime inside a home, in an LGBT venue or event, in a mainstream venue or event, at school / college / university, or in the neighbourhood they live in than those who are not isolated
- LGBT people with mental health difficulties are more likely to say they have suffered from some kind of hate crime: only 22% (n. 116) of those with mental health difficulties say they had experienced no kind of hate crime over the last five years, compared to 38% (n. 95) of LGBT people with no mental health difficulties ( $p = .0005$ ). Those with mental health difficulties are at least twice as likely to have experienced physical violence, harassment, teasing and bullying.
- All the 29 respondents who say they have experienced sexual assault within the last five years also say they have suffered from mental health difficulties.
- Those who have thought about and attempted suicide over the past five years are more likely to have experienced each of the categories of hate crime (except criminal damage) than those who have thought about but not attempted suicide who are, in turn, more likely to have been victims of hate crime than those who have never thought about or attempted suicide
- There was no difference between LGBT people on the basis of gender when looking at the likelihood of experiencing of hate crime.
- Those who have taken payment for sex are more likely to have experienced sexual assault (15% compared to 4%,  $p. < .0001$ ).
- 79% of respondents who indicated they had suffered abuse stated that the perpetrator was a stranger.
- Bi and trans people are more likely than lesbians and gay men to experience hate crime in LGBT venues and from other LGBT people.

## Reporting

- A quarter (25%) of those who said they had experienced hate crime said that they had reported one or more of these incidents. Of these:
  - 55% reported the incident to the police
  - 7% Community Safety Team
  - 1% True Vision
  - 37% reported it elsewhere
- 37% reported the incident to someone other than those listed. The qualitative data relating to this 'other' category indicated that people report to those in authority (managers, teachers) as well as those who are close to them (friends/partners).
- Those who defined as a sexuality other than bi, queer, lesbian or gay; trans people; those who are disabled; those who are isolated, those with mental health difficulties; sex workers, and those in social housing are the most likely to report an incident.

- Only one person (3%) who had only experienced verbal abuse from a stranger in the street reported the incident of hate crime.
- Those who experienced physical violence (59%), criminal damage (27%), harassment (49%), sexual assault (55%), or bullying (58%) are more likely to report an incident than those who had not.
- A large majority (85%) of those who reported an incident indicated that they also reported that the incident was related to their sexuality / gender identities.
- Among those who reported abuse, harassment, bullying or violence, 43% rated the response as good and 32% as poor.
- Of those who gave reasons for not reporting an incident, over half (58%) gave reasons other than those offered on the questionnaire. Respondents were least likely to indicate safety fears as a reason for their non-reporting (6%).
- Those who experienced crime in their homes are over 3 times more likely to say they didn't report because of safety fears than others who experienced hate crime (20% compared to 6%).
- Those who are isolated and those who live in areas of potential deprivation are more likely to say that they don't trust anyone as a reason for not reporting, compared to other LGBT people.
- Amongst those who gave a reason in the qualitative questionnaire data for not reporting an incident, the majority of responses indicated the incident was 'minor' or 'not serious enough' (122), with 42 people saying that they had little faith in anything coming out of reporting.
- Focus groups indicate that previous experiences with the police continue to influence decisions not to report incidents to the police.

## Safety fears & avoidance

- A large majority of respondents felt 'very safe' or 'safe' at home (94%) and outside in Brighton and Hove in the day (87%), but less than half did so outside at night (46%). Feelings of safety varied by sexuality, trans identities, disability, age, income, HIV status, isolation and area of residence.
- Only a third (33%) of respondents stated there was nowhere in Brighton and Hove where they did not feel safe. This varied amongst the LGBT collective such that trans, disabled and older people, along with those who are isolated, have mental health difficulties, are living with HIV, are from particular neighbourhoods and those of an 'other' sexuality are more likely to feel unsafe in Brighton & Hove.
- Of those that said that they felt unsafe, 76% said that they felt less safe because of homophobia, biphobia and/or transphobia. Those who feel less safe in estates, in the town centre, in the gay village or in cruising grounds fear homophobia, biphobia or transphobia. In other words, their fears pertain to their sexual/gender identities.
- The majority of respondents (73%) were always, often or sometimes led to avoid public displays of affection due to safety concerns. Lesbians, gay men, bi and queer people, those who are isolated and non-trans people are more likely to avoid public displays of affection than other LGBT people.

- Just under a third (30%) always, often or sometimes avoided going out at night. Groups with a relatively high likelihood of avoiding going out at night due to safety fears include: those of another sexuality (than lesbian, gay, bisexual or queer) (73%); trans people (63%); BME (50%); those of an 'other' ethnicity (48%); Deaf people (50%); disabled people (67%); older people (69%); those with a low income (50%); those who have experienced isolation (53%); those in social housing (47%).
- Public transport (21%), neighbourhood events (20%), and using the LGBT scene (18%) were also commonly avoided at times. Even in the categories that contained lower percentages, there continues to be an avoidance by a significant minority: going home (17%), attending an LGBT event (15%), using a public service (13%), going to work (9%) and attending education (8%) were avoided at times.

## Housing & community safety

- Hate crime is not limited to physical violence from strangers and can take numerous forms, including ongoing harassment, criminal damage, intimidation and attacks on personal property.
- 122 people in the sample had experienced some form of abuse, violence or harassment in their neighbourhoods because of their gender/sexual identities.
- 56 people said that they had experienced violence, harassment or abuse from a neighbour.
- Contrary to potential assertions regarding household formations and experiences of hate crime, those who lived with a same-sex partner are slightly less likely (28% compared to 30%) to have experienced homophobia / biphobia / transphobia in the area where they live.
- 37% of those who are living with HIV experienced discrimination on the basis of their gender and/or sexual identities in the areas where they lived.
- 30% of those who lived in St. James Street and Kemptown and areas of potential deprivation had experienced some forms of prejudice where they lived in the last five years due to their sexual and/or gender identities.
- Those who lived in the areas of potential social deprivation are more likely to experience criminal damage (9%) and sexual assault (7%) than those who lived in St. James Street and Kemptown and those who did not live in any of these areas (4% criminal damage, 3% sexual assault).
- Those who live in social housing are more likely to experience certain forms of hate crime that was attributed to their gender and/or sexual identities, such as criminal damage.
- 41% of those who had experienced hate crime from their neighbours reported an incident of hate crime.
- There were differences in experiences in dealing with services that support hate crime victims.
- Apparent lack of Council action was perceived as the Council 'siding' with abusive neighbours/landlords, in both focus groups and questionnaires.
- Whilst some victims of hate crime seek to be supported to remain in their homes and to have the perpetrators dealt with, others may seek to be moved as a priority.



- Those who live in St. James Street and Kemptown (13%) are the least likely to say that they avoid going home to where they live due to safety concerns. This rises to 15% for those who do not live in any of the areas listed in the questionnaire and rises steeply (22%) for those who live in the areas of potential deprivation.
- Anxieties and fear about areas of residence can result in the concealment of sexual and gender identities.
- Only a third (33%) of respondents stated there was nowhere in Brighton and Hove where they did not feel safe – in other words these respondents felt safe everywhere in the city.
- The majority of those who indicated they did not feel safe stated that they felt less safe in estates on the outskirts of Brighton and Hove (69%) and in the town centre (51%).
- 76% of those who said that they felt unsafe, said that they felt less safe because of homophobia, biphobia and/or transphobia.
- 76% of those who live in social housing do not feel safe in the estates on the outskirts of Brighton & Hove, which has implications for housing choices.
- Ongoing harassment can have serious implications for mental health and wellbeing amongst LGBT people and can be exacerbated by neighbourhood based hate crime.

## Monitoring and consultation

- 60% of respondents will give information about their sexual and gender identities if this information is anonymous and confidential. This figure rises to 85% if the service is considered LGBT friendly.
- The vast majority of LGBT people who reported at least one incident of hate crime said that they would be willing to give information about their sexuality or gender identity for monitoring purposes when accessing or using services. 47% (n. 65) answered that they would always be willing to give information about their sexuality or gender identity for monitoring purposes, 24% (n. 33) said they would be willing depending on how LGBT friendly they thought the service was, and 22% (n. 30) said they would be willing if the information was anonymous and confidential. Less than 1% (n. 1) of this group of respondents would never be willing to give information about their sexuality or gender identity for monitoring purposes.
- 61% of respondents would like to see consultations by the police, council and NHS undertaken by questionnaire, perhaps unsurprising as this was the tool used to collect this data. A smaller proportion would like to have open public meetings (47%), LGBT community forums (38%), community events (38%) and LGBT focus groups (36%). The citizens' panel was the least favourite means of consultation (24%).
- Those who thought that there had been improvements in the services provided by the police over the past five years are more likely (29%, n. 45) to want to get information on local LGBT news and events through the national LGBT media than those who did not think that there had been improvements in the services offered by the police (8%, n. 1).

## Police, safety and other services

- The qualitative focus group data recorded praise for the police.
- 58% of those who have lived in Brighton & Hove for over five years said that the police have improved in the last 5 years, while 38% were not sure. Those who didn't report hate crime (57%), along with those who are Deaf (46%), and young (35%) are less likely than other LGBT people to think that the police have improved in the past five years.
- 21% of respondents agreed that there was prejudice against LGBT people from the police and 37% said that there wasn't, with 42% unsure.
- Those who reported hate crime (37%), are trans (42%), BME (41%), disabled (42%), isolated (33%), social housing (31%), or who have mental health difficulties (24%) are more likely to say that there is prejudice against LGBT people from the police service than other LGBT people.
- There are polarised opinions on the services provided to victims of hate crime. Of those who have experienced any form of hate crime, 15% reported services to victims of hate crime as good and 8% as poor. There was evidence of good practice, but for some the traumatic experience of an LGBT hate crime can be compounded by poor police services and other services for the victims of hate crime.
- Those who reported an incident of hate crime were more likely to report that the services to victims of hate crime were good (31%) compared to those who did not answer the reporting question (22%). Those who reported an incident of hate crime were also more than twice as likely to describe the services as poor (20%), than those who did not respond to the question (10%).
- The majority of those who have experienced hate crime said that their gender and sexuality is important and this should be accounted for in the provision of services for LGBT people.
- Those who reported an incident to the police are more likely to say that they feel uncomfortable using mainstream services (46%), compared to those who did not answer the reporting question (29%).
- Those who have experienced sexual assault (39%) are less likely to know where to find help around sex/relationships if they need it than those who have not experienced sexual assault (62%).
- Over half of all respondents are aware of the Police LGBT Community Liaison Officer (63%) and Victim Support (51%). They are less likely to know about the partnership community safety team (19%) and True Vision self reporting scheme (24%). 21% do not know about any LGBT safety services in Brighton & Hove.
- The majority of respondents indicated they would like to see an increased police presence in hate crime hotspots (73%), increased publicity for convictions for hate crime (66%) and LGBT awareness training for police and service providers (65%).
- 122 people said they would like to see greater, better and more visible police presence. 36 commented on alcohol, violent abuse or anti-social behaviour. 11 respondents said that nothing would help them to feel safer and 15 people said that they would use their own resources to feel safer.

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# 1. Introduction

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## 1.1. Introduction

Safety is a key issue for LGBT people because prejudice, discrimination and homophobia often manifest themselves in ways that have implications for the safety of LGBT individuals and groups. Moreover, fear of homophobic, transphobic and/or biphobic attacks can result in isolation and the avoidance of places and spaces that are perceived to be unsafe. This has implications for quality of life across different sexuality and gender identities and groupings. The meanings of safety will be explored in chapter 2. However, it is important here to note that although this report discusses hate crime, safety is more than an absence of abuse, harassment and violence; it also incorporates the ability to live without fear of harassment, abuse and violence.

Brighton & Hove has a reputation of being a 'gay city' that is perceived to be safer for LGBT people than the rest of the country. Migration to the city by LGBT people has been a factor in creating this diverse and vibrant city. Therefore, safety issues and concerns pertaining to LGBT people who live, work and socialise in the city are important factors when considering how the city is experienced and used. Therefore, this report will outline the safety findings from the Count Me In Too study which focused on LGBT people who live, work and socialise in the city. It then offers recommendations to address the concerns in the report. This chapter will firstly look at the Count Me In Too research, then explore key terms used in this report. It will then outline the structure of the remainder of the report.

## 1.2. Count Me In Too: Background, Research Methods & Analysis notes

In 2000, the award winning Count Me In survey was developed from the grassroots of the then predominantly lesbian and gay communities. This research was used to form the LGBT community strategy for Brighton & Hove 2000-2006. Safety issues and initiatives in Brighton & Hove relating to LGBT people have been the source of controversies in the intervening years. However, it is beyond the capacity of the report to explore these issues as further research is needed to articulate the specific tensions, controversies and lessons that are associated with this aspect of Brighton & Hove's LGBT recent history. Suffice to note that since 2000 a number of organisations have been created and work has been undertaken in this area. This includes: the creation of Spectrum and the Partnership Community Safety Team (PCST), the appointment of a Police LGBT Community Liaison Officer and the LGBT Police Community Safety Officer, and the writing of two PCST Community Safety Strategies.

Count Me In Too was initiated in 2005 as a joint venture between Spectrum<sup>1</sup> and the University of Brighton. It is a community led action research project that seeks to advance progressive social change in the city. The research phase ran from January 2006 to October 2006. The research consisted of a large scale questionnaire with 819 respondents and 20 focus groups that had 69 participants. The questionnaire offers both qualitative and quantitative data. The questionnaire was routed, such that not all respondents answered every question. This is particularly important for this report as respondents who indicated that they had not experienced any form of hate crime were not routed to the more detailed questions about experiences of hate crime. The quantitative data is analysed in SPSS software and we are operating at a significance level of  $p < .05$ .

This data was analysed in depth focusing on safety issues, with the help of an analysis group that consisted of representatives from a broad range of statutory services and voluntary groups. During the analysis, the group advised on the information that would be most relevant to the analysis and that would progress positive social change for LGBT people. The report was then co-authored by Dr. Kath Browne and Dr. Jason Lim who sent draft reports to the analysis group and received comments back from this group.

Count Me In Too allows us to understand the diversity and complexity of the LGBT communities in greater depth and detail than ever before. Further details regarding the Count Me In Too research can be found in the initial findings reports located at [www.countmeintoo.co.uk](http://www.countmeintoo.co.uk). In this report, the focus on safety enables an exploration of the safety needs of LGBT people and the diversity of experiences of crime and safety fears within this grouping.

## 1.3. Key terms

### 1.3.1. Hate crime

The Association of Chief Police Officers' definition of a homophobic incident of hate crime is:

**Any incident which is perceived to be homophobic by the victim or any other person. In effect, any incident intended to have an impact on those perceived to be lesbians, gay men, bisexual or transgendered people**

*(cited in Howard, 2004)*

Although this definition does not overtly mention biphobia and transphobia, these are implicitly included. For this study, the question on hate crime was related to experiences of particular forms of violence, harassment and abuse. The question posed was: Have you experienced

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<sup>1</sup> Spectrum is Brighton & Hove's Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Community Forum established in 2002 to provide infrastructure and community development support to LGBT communities and promote partnership work and community engagement in the planning of services and policy. 🌐 [www.spectrum-lgbt.org](http://www.spectrum-lgbt.org)

any of the following in the last 5 years that was due to your sexual orientation or gender identity:

- ◆ verbal abuse
- ◆ physical violence
- ◆ criminal damage
- ◆ harassment
- ◆ sexual assault
- ◆ negative comments
- ◆ teasing
- ◆ bullying
- ◆ other

Therefore, the definition of hate crime used here is the experience of any of these forms of violence and abuse where the violence or abuse was related to the gender and/or sexuality of the respondent. Only the experience of hate crime in the past five years was considered in the study.

### 1.3.2. Other terms

There are other terms that are used in this analysis that are unique to the questionnaire or require some understanding at the outset. Table 1.3a outlines these terms.

**Table 1.3a: Categories and definitions**

Category	Definition
<b>Sexual identity</b>	The question used as the basis of this category asked for the sexual identity with which the respondent most closely identified. Those who defined as gay and female were recoded into the lesbian / gay woman category.
<b>LGBT- Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans</b>	The term LGBT is used for ease of understanding and to ensure that the diversity within these communities are partially acknowledged. The authors recognise the difficulties of categorising sexual and gender identities in this way. The term includes those who are questioning, unsure or do not identify with particular sexual or gender identities.
<b>Trans</b>	These were respondents who identified as being trans. Two of those who answered yes to the question 'Do you identify yourself as being trans or have you ever questioned your gender identity?' were removed from this category as they argued in comments sections that they were not trans but had questioned their gender identity.
<b>Ethnicity</b>	The question used for this category asked for ethnicities with which respondents most closely identified. Respondents were given four choices: White, BME (Black and Minority Ethnic), gypsy traveller and other

<b>Deaf, hard of hearing, deafened or deaf-blind</b>	The question used as the basis of this category was 'Are you or do you identify yourself as being deaf, hard of hearing, deafened or deaf-blind?'
<b>Disability</b>	This category includes those who answered yes to the question: 'are you or do you identify as having a long term health impairment or a physical disability?'
<b>Age</b>	This was done in numerically with the following categories used: young people were defined as those under 26 and older people defined as those over 55.
<b>Income</b>	Income levels were measured in categories that asked for income before deductions.
<b>Isolation</b>	Isolation was measured by those who answered 'yes' or 'sometimes' to the question 'Do you feel isolated in Brighton & Hove?' The figure was broken down into Yes / sometimes and no (the small category unsure (1.9%) was removed to ensure statistical significance). This captured current perception and therefore was chosen over the question that asked about 'isolation' under mental health difficulties experienced in the past 5 years.
<b>Mental Health</b>	The 'mental health' category in this report refers only to those who ticked that they had difficulties with any of the following: depression, anxiety, significant emotional distress, suicidal thoughts, panic attacks, problem eating / distress, fears / phobias, addictions / dependencies, anger management and self harm. The question also asked about stress, insomnia, confidence / self esteem and isolation but these categories were excluded because they included large proportions of the sample. Moreover, comments were written in the questionnaires such as - "sometimes not being able to sleep or getting stressed does not mean one has mental health difficulties" (questionnaire 74). These suggested that this question was read as 'have you ever experienced', rather than 'have you ever experienced difficulties'. These issues caused the action group to rethink the category of 'mental health difficulties' for the purposes of this report, and particularly in the cross tabulating with other identity categories. This category may be reconsidered in further dissemination events but a robust category was thought to be most appropriate for this report.
<b>HIV positive</b>	This category was comprised of those who answered that their most recent HIV test result had been positive.

<b>Domestic violence and abuse</b>	This is defined as those who have experienced harassment, violence and/or abuse from a family member or someone close to the person (see Browne, 2007a)
<b>Neighbourhood area</b>	<p>17% of our sample lived in St. James Street and Kemptown. 26% lived in 'areas of potential deprivation'; these are:</p> <p>North Portslade, Hangleton &amp; Knoll, Brunswick (East), Hollingbury, Hollingdean, Saunders Park, St Peters, Turner (South Hanover), Bristol Estate, Bevendean, Moulsecomb, Whitehawk &amp; Manor Farm, Queens Park &amp; Craven Vale.</p> <p>57% do not live in any of these areas and are categorised as living in 'none of the areas listed'.</p>
<b>Tenure</b>	<p>The majority of the sample lived in privately owned accommodation (47%). Just under a third (30%) lived in rented accommodation, and 7% lived in Council housing. A small number (5 people) lived in sheltered and supported accommodation. In order to describe the sample and undertake statistical tests, the tenure categories have been grouped into those that are meaningful for the data and housing services. Throughout this report social housing (9% of the sample) will be used to describe everyone who lives in rented Council housing, rented association, sheltered and supported housing, temporary accommodation or who is homeless. This will be compared to those who privately rent, those who own their own homes and those who exist in another of these categories.</p>

## 1.4. Outline of the report

Chapter 2 addresses the narratives from focus groups and questionnaires about the impacts of hate crime on LGBT lives. The chapter begins by looking at the apparent lack of 'effect' hate crime can have and how it can be dismissed before moving on to explore: how these experiences are made invisible through an absence of naming; the emotional toughness that can be needed to deal with these experiences; and the mental health implications of hate crime. The chapter finishes by outlining some informal sharing spaces that participants found helpful.

Chapter 3 details the experiences of hate crime amongst LGBT people who completed the Count Me In Too survey. It documents the type of hate crime experienced, where hate crime is experienced and perpetrators of hate crime. Differences between different marginalised and vulnerable groups are shown.

Chapter 4 explores the details of reporting incidents including responses received and why people did not report their experiences of hate crime.

Chapter 5 investigates the safety fears of LGBT people and how these differ amongst LGBT people. It then examines areas of the city where LGBT people said that they felt unsafe and the avoidance of particular areas or sites due to safety fears. The chapter looks at how these fears are diverse within LGBT communities and offers some indication of the perceptions of places that inform these avoidance tactics.

Chapter 6 firstly explores LGBT experiences of hate crime from respondents' neighbours. The reporting of neighbourhood crime is addressed before moving on to the fear of crime and feelings of safety. The chapter finishes by sketching some of the issues that pertain to harassment and mental health.

Chapter 7 considers the provision of information about LGBT gender and/or sexual identities to service users, and will also look at the modes by which different groups of respondents would like to be consulted regarding the services provided by the police, the Council and the NHS. The final section of this chapter considers how different groups of respondents would like to get information about local LGBT news and events.

Chapter 8 examines what LGBT people thought of the services they have received from the police and other safety services. The chapter firstly looks at the perceptions of the police and other safety services, including the perceptions of prejudices in the police and of improvements of the service offered by the police. The services to victims of hate crime and the use and opinions of generic services by victims of hate crime are explored. Finally the chapter examines future priorities for safety services and what LGBT people would like to see in order to feel safe.

The conclusion outlines the main points of the report and collates the data regarding vulnerable groups.



## 2. Impacts of Hate Crime

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Researcher: So any experiences of discrimination or being made to feel like you don't fit?

Tracey: **I don't think anybody has been like that to me.**

(later in the interview)

Tracey: **I was only sitting on the bus this afternoon and there was quite a lot of school kids going on about 'fucking lesbians' and all that and I don't tolerate that situation so I could have told them to shut up but I didn't. I just sat there and just listened to them and, you know, that's really bad abuse at me because I'm a lesbian.**

(Mental Health focus group)

### 2.1. Introduction

This chapter will address the narratives from focus groups and questionnaires about the impacts of hate crime on LGBT lives. It starts the report in order to emphasise the importance of LGBT community safety and the various experiences people have. It is important to recognise that *hate crime includes witnessing hate crime* that is being directed at other people, such that one's own identity/self is invalidated, ridiculed or questioned by these actions. Tracey's narrative that starts the chapter illustrates this and, indeed, the main points of the chapter itself. The chapter begins by looking at the apparent lack of 'effect' hate crime can have and how it can be dismissed before moving on to explore: how these experiences are made invisible through an absence of naming; the emotional toughness that can be needed to deal with these experiences; and the mental health implications of hate crime. The chapter finishes by outlining some informal sharing spaces that participants found helpful.

### 2.2. Impacts of hate crime?

In the questionnaire, participants were asked to comment on how their experiences of hate crime have affected them. It is important to note that some believed it had little or no effect on them personally and distanced themselves from the impacts it might have on other people:

**To be honest it was so minor it has not affected me, but I am aware through the news, experiences of friends etc. that homophobia occurs daily in Brighton.**

(Questionnaire 829)

This could be taken to mean that experiences of hate crime leave people 'unaffected' and just more aware of the constant threat. This can be seen as something to be 'ignored' rather than taken seriously:

**Getting shouted 'queer' across the street by one of thousands of drunks and addicts in Kemptown is something you have to ignore**

(Questionnaire 413)

Participants commented that experiences of hate crime were 'to be expected' and something that was not to be bothered with. The dismissal is interesting because it emphasises a level of tolerance and acceptance of hate crimes that may mask the extent of these experiences. Thus insidious and ongoing hate crime may be dismissed, but, as this chapter will show, it can be a part of everyday lives for LGBT people, with negative effects and consequences. For some, these consequences are extreme to the point that it is impossible to live a 'normal' life.

## 2.3. Naming hate crime

One focus group participant noted the problems with discussing oppression and the everyday nature of some forms of discrimination:

Yasmin: **It is a very subtle thing you see because discrimination is a word that sounds like something very active that somebody does to you and actually oppression, which I prefer to speak about is ... like a soup that you are sitting in. It is in your eyes and your nose and it is everywhere so it isn't something that you can say well that person did that thing to me. You can identify those events but they are like the carrots in the soup, they are like the big bits that you can grab hold of and say 'well I was walking along the Level and somebody hit me over the head without provocation and then proceed to racial abuse me'. So that to me is at the hunk of you know carrot or leek or whatever it is that's in the soup but the rest of the soup is there all the time. And you know that's life, that is actually what life is like when you are you know you are a woman, you are a Lesbian, you are Asian, you are Muslim, you are all of those things that I am ... I think in Brighton there is a kind of naivety, 'oh we are all very nice in Brighton and therefore we don't discriminate against anybody' and I think that's a problem. There is a kind of naïve collusion with institutional and other forms of what is soupy oppression, which people don't really recognise.**

(BME focus group 1)

This participant (along with others) said they had not experienced 'homophobia' in Brighton, yet negative experiences permeated through the focus groups. A questionnaire respondent enables us to understand why people may not view (or report) this as prejudice or homophobia:

**There's a casualness that affects people's responses to the issue based on the regularity of experiencing some form of homophobic insult, comment or abuse. It is so common and expected that you learn to live with it, and then there's the avoidance of conflict: Not wanting to get into a fight or altercation. The unchallenged use of the term 'gay' to mean anything crap, rubbish, pathetic, etc. within schools and amongst kids doesn't help.**

(Questionnaire 432)

'Learning' to accept prejudice and discrimination because it is part of your daily life can mean that it eventually goes unnoticed and undefined. Not defining or understanding such abuse as 'homophobia' can be used as a strategy for self-preservation in the face of daily experiences that negate your identity or overtly ridicule your sexuality or gender identities.

Tracey, who started the chapter powerfully illustrates the ways that discriminations go unnamed perhaps because they are too painful, make the person feel powerless or a desire to 'just keep out of it'. Self-blame for the experience or for not reacting in the 'right way' was apparent in the questionnaires.

## 2.4. Emotional 'toughness' and mental health and wellbeing

Dealing with hate crime can take emotional 'toughness':

**Just that there are some silly people about and don't back down to them. I'm a tough person emotionally.**

(Questionnaire 833)

Coping with hate crime from 'silly people' may require confrontation and 'not backing down', but this may only be achieved through particular emotional stability and resilience. In this questionnaire, the person needed to be 'tough' to cope with the experiences that were downplayed in the phrase 'silly people'.

This emotional toughness can also have emotional costs:

Sue: **I'm thankfully in a relationship where we just carry on as normal really and if we want to hold hands we do. However, I mean there can be incidents can't there and, you know, there still are. I don't think it's that safe,**

**only a year ago my - well, less than that maybe - my partner was challenged by three teenage girls, "Are you a lesbian?" you know, "Are you a dyke?" in the street, and she took a long route home, she didn't even walk home, really like to lose them and I think there's a lot of fear out there. Although I go out there and I'm myself and I'm buggered really if the world's going to not allow me to be who I am, but there is a cost isn't there, there's an emotional [cost], I think.**

(Pilot focus group)

Sue acknowledges that there will be 'incidents' and in her challenging of these incidents she realises there are emotional costs to both her and her partner. This may mean having to walk a long way home to avoid being followed and also perseverance with strategies that require 'toughness'. Where the 'world' does not allow her to be 'who she is', there is a constant tension and battle. This can go unnoticed, unremarked upon or simply be ignored, yet there are emotional costs to all these strategies.

Not all have the ability to deal with these situations in 'tough' ways. For these people the costs can be far higher than for others who may have similar experiences:

**Extra support for vulnerable people that may be affected by what may be a minor incident to others but that can greatly affect a vulnerable person, i.e. verbal homophobia could trigger off severe anxiety attacks in a vulnerable person**

(Questionnaire 16)

Questionnaire 16 notes that there are people who are emotionally vulnerable such that experiences of hate crime may result in increased support needs and these cannot simply be 'ignored' or downplayed. In these contexts, hate crime attacks can have very different effects depending on the vulnerability of people and can seriously affect a person's mental health and well being. This report will address the statistical correlations between mental health and experiences of hate crime. Here it is important to note that mental health difficulties can both result from, and be caused by, experiences of hate crime.

This report will also address the links between hate crime and isolation. Suffice to note here that hate crime attacks can result in isolation and a need for statutory services and support networks:

**This attack, by the partner of a one-time friend left me badly shaken. It happened during a hot August afternoon on Brighton seafront. I didn't go out on the scene for two years and have been depressed and needed counselling**

(Questionnaire 285)

In addition, other respondents reported that attacks left them depressed, anxious and suicidal with post-trauma problems including avoiding going out and keeping away from areas of the city perceived to be unsafe (see chapter 5). Ongoing harassment can have serious implications for mental health and wellbeing amongst LGBT people. Although often associated with street crime, experiences of hate crime can be exacerbated when the harassment occurs in the home and particularly for those who are vulnerable and in social housing:

Tracey: **...getting shouted out you know like on the balcony as you are walking down the road, 'oh you fucking puff' and all that and 'go back to Lesbos land' and you know it was getting ... it went on for about six years and it was just having all these hassles and that, they were writing dirty letters to me and everything...**

(Mental Health Focus Group)

Dan: **Just recently there was two kiddies from across the road, they were standing there for well over an hour and half throwing stones at the car until...they weren't happy until they had smashed a window and that was it. You know at the end of the day what can police do, oh, they're children. So do the adults not take responsibility for them? I mean I literally go up to the Council and I say to them well that is homophobic attack, I don't care what you say. The man knew his kids were doing it, he even threw one and it hit a bus. The police came round, saw the evidence, they were satisfied, they went over. I mean at the end of the day what do we still get? We get the intimidation now, do you know what I mean? I didn't want this. It's intimidation. I've had my car, damage done to my vehicle, they just plonk their arse, ram right up to the back of it. They take my disabled parking bay, half in and half out and block me in so I can't get out but why? What have I done? I've only been there what 2 years. I hardly go out the house. I very occasionally see the neighbours and if I do go out it's usually late at night when they're all in bed. You know we go to maybe the local shop, go and get some bits, because it's the only time that he can go out. He won't go out like in the daytime.**

(Disability focus group)

Dan's isolation was clearly affected by the neighbour abuse he experienced. His (and his partner's) mental health difficulties are exacerbated through neighbours that he describes as intimidating and as engaging in criminal damage. This illustrates the links between mental health, isolation and hate crime. Although mental health and isolation will be addressed in depth in the mental health report, here it is important to note that the impacts of hate crime, mental toughness and emotional costs can also have effects on people's responses to other forms of crime that are unrelated to their sexuality. Such crimes can have effects directly upon a person's life and health, and other effects can include not

reporting/talking about these crimes, a level of tolerance and acceptance of all crime, and a fear of reporting to the police because of who you are rather than the crime committed. This all needs further exploration.

The focus group above also points to issues of multiple marginalisation that can both result from and contribute to LGBT people's vulnerability to hate crime:

**Nigel: Yeah, mental health. Yeah, which is the main reason I essentially got put on the vulnerable housing list. The only people that seem to show any care and concern about it were the police on the last time that I had problems with the neighbour downstairs and they were the only ones that took into account. The Council just turned round and said "Well, take your medication if it's that serious". That's what I got from them.**

(Hate crimes focus group)

In this focus group the police were an important point of contact for this person in managing multiple difficulties and challenges. This indicates a clear need for cross agency working in order to address the multiple needs that may be presented to any one of the agencies dealing with these areas. This could include housing, adult social care, mental health services, LGBT specific services as well as safety services. This inter-agency working should seek to understand the multiple issues faced by LGBT people who experience, and are vulnerable to, hate crime.

## 2.5. Sharing experiences and meanings of safety

Respondents indicated that hate crime can result in a negative reaction to and relationship with mainstream society:

**It has made me very cynical about ever truly having the acceptance that straight members of society take for granted. It has left me more untrusting of the non LGBT community**

(Questionnaire 836)

This lack of trust can also be coupled with a perception of a lack of understanding from 'non-gay' people:

**Non gay people ALWAYS underestimate how common homophobia is, it is a part of everyday life if you are gay or lesbian**

(Questionnaire 81)

In contrast to this, sharing experiences of hate crime with other LGBT people can be an empowering and uplifting experience. One woman said:

Sue: **I think if women actually sat together, I sort of think, you know, what do I want, I mean just today it's lovely because if women sit together and exchange their stories and actually help support each other that for me would be a place I'd go, it really would**

(Pilot focus group)

Although this respondent seeks a 'women's' place, it may be that the opportunity to discuss and share similar experiences (both within and outside of therapeutic settings) could have a positive effect in bringing the LGBT communities together and may influence the reporting of, and dealing with, hate crime, especially where hate crime is not identified as such.

Developing these strategies could enable LGBT communities to realise 'safety' beyond simply the absence of physical violence. Such initiatives would seek to promote safety in its broadest possible sense:

**'Safety' to me doesn't just mean being safe from verbal/physical harassment. I want to feel comfortable that I'm not going to be subject to a range of annoying behaviour from 'jokes' and unwanted sexual advances to 'funny' looks and whispers. This may seem unrealistic and would require massive shifts in social attitudes but it would be my ideal to expect the treatment (or rather the invisibility and freedom) that I took for granted when I was in straight relationships**

(Questionnaire 663)

Safety here is not just about hate crime but also clearly ties into equalities initiatives and things that in 'straight relationships' may be taken for granted. This requires not just inter-agency working but also broader community engagement that includes, but moves beyond, empowering LGBT people. The Community Safety Unit of Northern Ireland's definition recognises that community safety moves beyond the impacts of hate crime:

**Community safety means preventing, reducing or containing the social, environmental and intimidatory factors which affect people's right to live without fear of crime and which impact upon their quality of life...**

(Community Safety Northern Ireland, 2007)

Recognising that safety is not simply the absence of crime is an important step in addressing inequalities, discrimination and prejudice, and could be used to inform not just services and groups but also LGBT people, raising desires and expectations of the possibilities of safe lives in Brighton & Hove.

## 2.6. Conclusion

This chapter has shown that hate crime can take insidious forms that are ignored, not named and 'tolerated'. Yet these hate crimes can have emotional costs and effects. Hate crime can both impact on, and result from, vulnerabilities around mental health and isolation. Peer support for hate crime can be important, and safe spaces in which to discuss safety with other LGBT people can be helpful. The chapter finished by arguing for a broad definition of safety that was not simply about not experiencing hate crime (although hate crime is the focus of this report), but including awareness raising regarding acceptable behaviours, equalities initiatives and broader community engagements.



## 3. Experiences of hate crime

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### 3.1. Introduction

This chapter will detail the experiences of hate crime amongst LGBT people who completed the Count Me In Too survey. It will document the type of hate crime experienced, where hate crime is experienced and the perpetrators of hate crime. Differences between different marginalised and vulnerable groups will be addressed.

### 3.2. Prevalence of hate crime

There is often an assumption that because of its 'gay' reputation and history Brighton & Hove is 'safer' than other places. However, this may not be the case:

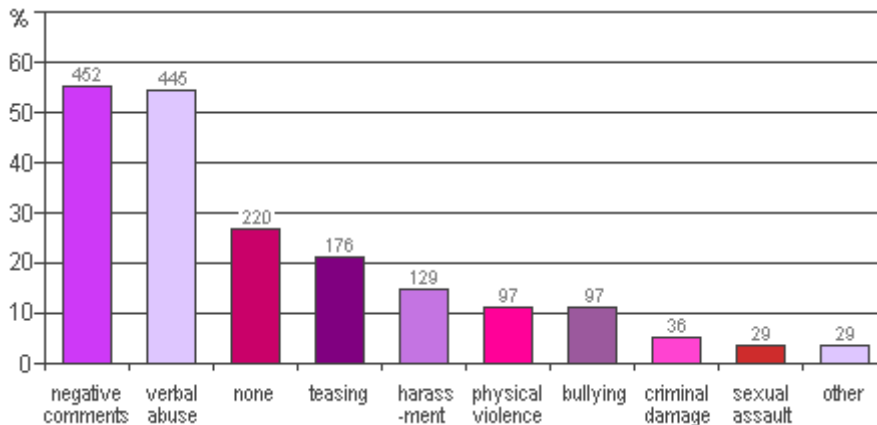
**Though Brighton & Hove has a huge LGBT community, I don't feel safer here than anywhere else. We had nights out in many, many different places in the UK and abroad over the years (including booking double rooms in hotels/B&Bs) and have had only three homophobic experiences, two of which were in Brighton on Pride weekend 2004. We are extremely lucky to live in Western Europe in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and I thank all those who have contributed to this modern openness which makes my life as a gay man so easy.**

(Questionnaire 223)

In the supposed 'gay capital', just under  $\frac{3}{4}$  (73%) of respondents said that they had experienced some form of abuse over the past five years as a result of their sexual or gender identities (see figure 3.2a).

The most common forms of hate crime – reported as experienced by the majority of respondents – were negative comments (55%) and verbal abuse (54%), and the most common place for such experiences is in the streets (see section 3.3 below). These experiences can often be dismissed in the media and by LGBT people themselves as 'irrelevant' and 'not serious'. However, descriptions of these events can tell a very different story:

**Figure 3.2a: Have you experienced any of the following in the last five years that was due to your sexual or gender identities?**



**Brighton & Hove is a safer place to live, but not always. I was verbally called an AIDS carrier at a bus stop and the young guy kept kicking the bus and the driver did not do a thing. I felt even the driver felt unsafe.**

(Questionnaire 26)

Sue:

**I suppose on the streets, we were walking hand in hand in and there was these four - they'd been drinking - you know four men coming along with their beer cans. [With] the usual sort of language and stuff like that and that'll provoke me, and I don't let them get away with it. So once they'd passed I just said "Yeah, and it's lovely!" or something like that and I didn't realise four of their mates were coming up and they gobbed at us and it landed on my partner, not me, and of course then you get a load of shit from your partner, because it's like "Why do you have to be so out there, why can't you..."**

(Pilot focus group)

Sue in challenging the name calling and verbal abuse in the street was then spat at, indicating that verbal abuse can be accompanied by other intimidatory behaviours. The downplaying of verbal abuse and negative comments is often associated with the assertion that these are 'unimportant'. It might be assumed that the high percentage of respondents who had experienced hate crime could be attributed to the prevalence of verbal abuse/negative comments from strangers in the street and that this is something that little can or should be done about. However, this assumption is contradicted by the data. Although the majority of people who reported hate crime said they had experienced verbal abuse and negative comments, this data found that only 40 people out of the 596 who had experienced some form of hate crime had *only* experienced verbal abuse/negative comments in the street from a stranger. This indicates that LGBT people's experience of hate crime cannot be dismissed as merely verbal abuse or negative comments from strangers in

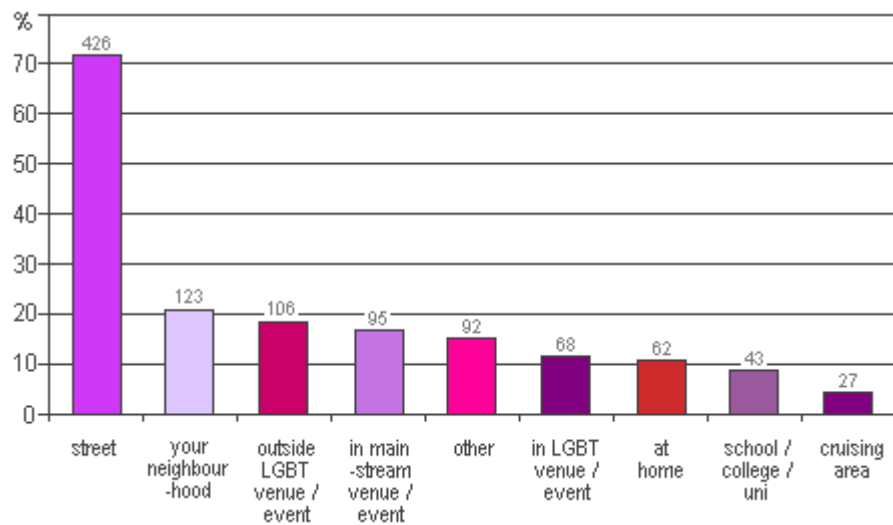
the street. At the same time, it should be noted, as Chapter 2 has done, that experiences of verbal abuse/negative comments from strangers in the street can be damaging and should not be dismissed.

### 3.3. Where hate crime incidents took place

This section considers the places where incidents of hate crimes took place and some factors that may affect the likelihood of respondents saying where they had experienced hate crimes. The places offered in the questionnaire were:

- Inside a home
- In the street
- In a cruising area
- In an LGBT venue or event
- Outside an LGBT venue or event
- At school, college or university
- In your neighbourhood
- Other places

**Figure 3.3a** Where did the incident(s) take place? (% is of all respondents who did not select 'no' to Q22)



A large majority (72%) of respondents who had experienced some form of abuse in the past five years, stated that this took place in the street. However, as noted above, the majority of respondents experienced more than verbal abuse/negative comments and/or experienced it somewhere other than the street and/or experienced it from someone other than a stranger. The variables considered in this section are: neighbourhood area of residence, and whether the respondents say they have experienced isolation. The section then looks at differences by sexuality and trans identities in relation to experiences of hate crime at LGBT venues or events. Experiences of all kinds of hate crime were included in this analysis.

### 3.4. Beyond stranger danger?

In order to investigate the crimes that were experienced beyond solely verbal abuse/negative comments from a stranger in the street, this research explored the characteristics of those who had experienced other kinds of hate crime, abuse and negative comments. Firstly it should be noted that the majority of people who had experienced verbal abuse and negative comments had also experienced other forms of violence and/or negative comments from someone other than a stranger or somewhere other than the street. 405 of the 445 people who experienced verbal abuse and 412 of the 452 who experienced negative comments had *also* either had experiences of verbal abuse or negative comments from someone other than a stranger or somewhere other than in the street, or had had experiences of other forms of violence.

In order to see if there were any significant differences between those who only experienced verbal abuse/negative comments in the street from strangers, those who had not experienced any form of hate crime and those who had experienced other forms of hate crime, a new category of hate crime was created that differentiates between attacks by strangers and on the street, compared with attacks by people with whom the victim has another relationship, and in places/facilities used by the victim (see table 3.4a).

**Table 3.4a verbal abuse/negative comments in the street from strangers**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
did not experience any abuse <sup>1</sup>	217	26.5	26.7
verbal abuse/negative comments <u>only</u> from strangers <u>only</u> and on the street <u>only</u> <sup>2</sup>	40	4.9	4.9
any other type of abuse <sup>3</sup>	556	67.9	68.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>813</b>	<b>99.3</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Missing	6	.7	
<b>Total</b>	<b>819</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

The assertion that hate crime is not experienced on its own is also supported by other data. Only 4 people out of 97 that have experienced physical violence have *only* experienced physical violence. This indicates that most of those who have been physically abuse have also experienced other forms of hate crime in addition to the physical violence.

<sup>1</sup> includes all those participants who answered "no" to Q22 (i.e. they did not have any experience of abuse)

<sup>2</sup> includes those participants who ONLY suffered verbal abuse/negative comments AND who were ONLY attacked in the street AND who were ONLY attacked by strangers

<sup>3</sup> includes those participants who ticked at least one of the experiences listed for Q22 (including those who suffered from verbal abuse/negative comments ONLY, but were NOT attacked in the street AND/OR were NOT attacked by strangers)

## 3.5. Hate Crime and differences within the LGBT grouping

It is important to explore the differences amongst the LGBT collective in experiences of hate crime to examine similarities and differences across the group.

### 3.5.1. Sexuality

LGBT people experience similar levels of verbal abuse, physical violence, criminal damage and each of the subgroups (lesbian, gay male, bisexual, queer and other sexual identities) have similar proportions of people not experiencing hate crime. However there were differences among these subgroups when examining experiences of harassment, sexual assault, negative comments, teasing and bullying, where those who are bisexual, queer or identifying in categories other than lesbian, gay, bisexual and queer are most likely to experience these forms of hate crime.

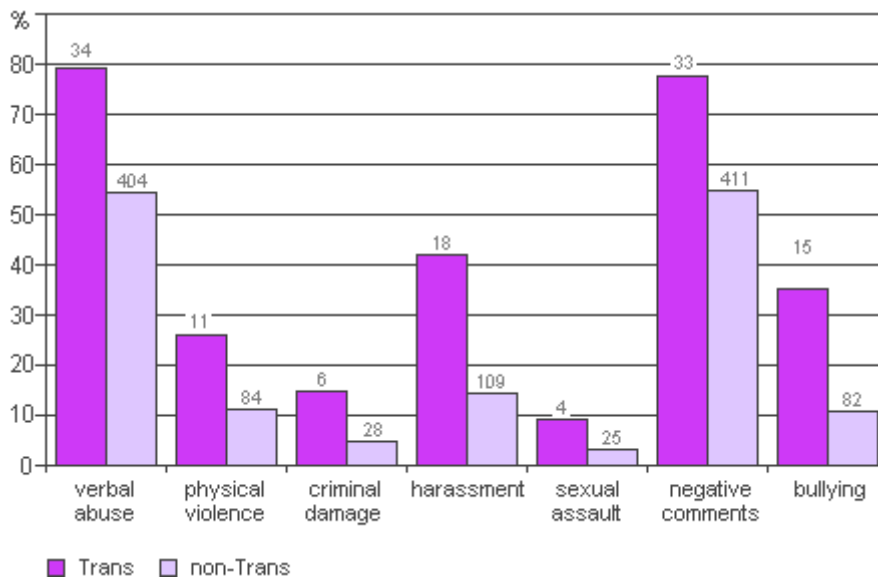
Bisexual and queer people (21%, n. 15) and those who defined in a category other than lesbian, gay, bisexual or queer (36%, n. 12) are more likely to have experienced *harassment* than lesbians (15%) or gay men (14%) ( $p < .005$ ). While *negative comments* were experienced by the majority of all LGBT respondents, they were more likely to have been experienced by bisexual or queer people (67%, n. 49) and by those defined in a category other than lesbian, gay, bisexual or queer (73%, n. 24) than by lesbians (57%) or gay men (52%) ( $p = .01$ ). These two groups are also more likely to experience *teasing and bullying* than lesbians and gay men. 24% (n. 8) of those identifying as other than lesbian, gay, bisexual or queer, and, even more notably, 48% of bisexual and queer people experienced teasing, compared to 18% of lesbians and 20% of gay men ( $p < .0001$ ). Bisexual and queer people (23%, n. 17) and those identifying other than lesbian, gay, bisexual or queer (27%, n. 9) are more likely to experience bullying than lesbians (11%) or gay men (9%) ( $p < .0001$ ).

Those who identified in a category other than lesbian, gay, bisexual or queer are more likely to have experienced sexual assault (12%, n. 4) than lesbians (3%, n. 7), gay men (4 %, n. 16) or bisexual or queer people (3%, n. 2) ( $p = .04$ ).

### 3.5.2. Trans people

Trans people are more likely to have experienced all forms of hate crime except teasing than LGBT people who are not trans. Trans people are less likely to say that they had not experienced hate crime in the past five years (14% compared to 28%,  $p = .05$ ).

Figure 3.5a experience of hate crime by gender identity



These findings are supported by discussions within the trans focus group. Experiences of hate crime were pervasive and almost daily, particularly where trans people didn't 'pass':

Rosa: **I think that being transgendered has been a continual process of exclusion, pain and suffering. For most probably about 90% of my life it's been a lot easier since I completed my transition and I am able to walk down the street without people pointing, shouting, becoming verbally and physically abusive.**

Natasha: **The issue here is that I know I don't pass and I never will. It makes me a bit more self-conscious than I would be normally, yeah, yeah. Yeah, I'm always aware that people are going to look at me, you know, and say. I mean they do, I mean if I go into a shop say and by some tobacco or whatever, you know, if it's. it depends who it is. I mean it's not everybody, but sometimes you know, they say "Oh, that'll be £2.50, *sir*" and they emphasis the "*sir*", because they want you to know that they know, you know. It is an almost an everyday thing. It's like, you know, if you took on board everything, you'd go mad, you would, you know. So you do learn to sort of cast it out from your mind.**

(Trans focus group 1)

Rosa points out that being transgendered is a 'continual process of exclusion, pain and suffering'. She emphasises that she is now able to walk down the street without continually experiencing hate crime and transphobia. This experience of streets is supported by the quantitative data. 89% (n. 32) of trans people have experienced hate crime in the street and they are significantly more likely to have experienced hate crime in the

street than those who are not trans (74%, n. 386) ( $p = .04$ ). For I3, she says she will never 'pass' and is therefore resigned to such daily transphobia and the deliberate mis-recognition of her gender. She once again points to the need for mental toughness in order to survive these daily ordeals and for coping strategies that 'cast it out' in order not to 'go mad' (see chapter 2).

### 3.5.3. Age

Young people (those under 26) are more likely to have experienced all forms of hate crime, except criminal damage, harassment and sexual assault (although 11 people out of the 29 that had experienced sexual assault were under 26), than those over 55, defined in this research as older people. These figures reduce relative to age and those over 55 are the least likely to experience hate crime. In contrast those over 55 (53%, n. 41) are more likely to say that they have not experienced any form of hate crime in the past five years than young people (17% n. 21) and those aged between 26 and 55 (26-35 21%, 36-45 25%, 46-55 35%) ( $p < .0001$ ). This finding is similar to the Crime and Justice survey (2003), which found that over 35% of young people aged 10 to 15 had experienced at least one personal crime in the previous 12 months. This was a similar level to those aged 16 to 25 (32%) and well above those aged 26 to 65 (14%) (Wood, 2005).

#### Verbal abuse

Young people (62%, n. 76) are the most likely to say that they have experienced verbal abuse due to their gender or sexuality in the past five years ( $p < .0001$ ). This falls to 60% for those aged between 26 and 45 and to 42% for those aged 46-55. Compared to almost two thirds of young people, only a third of older people experience verbal abuse (33%, n. 25).

#### Physical violence

Young people (21%, n. 25) are more likely than any other age group to have experienced physical violence due to their gender or sexuality in the past five years ( $p = .01$ ). The likelihood of suffering physical violence because of gender or sexuality declines with age: ages 26-35 13%; ages 36-45 11%; ages 46-55 9% (n. 11); older people (over 55) 5% (n. 4).

#### Negative comments

Similarly, young people (72%, n. 88) are more likely to have experienced negative comments due to their gender or sexuality in the past five years ( $p < .0001$ ) than other age groups; and again, the likelihood of having experienced negative comments declines with age: ages 26-35 63%; 36-45 52%; 46-55 46%; older people (over 55) 36% (n. 28).

#### Teasing

Young people (39%, n. 47) are the most likely to have experienced teasing due to their gender or sexuality in the past five years ( $p < .0001$ ). This falls to 25% for 26-35 year olds, 18% for those aged between 36 and 45, and 14% for those aged between 46 and 55. Older people (9%, n. 7) are the least likely age group to have experienced teasing.

## Bullying

Once again, young people are more likely than other age groups to have experienced bullying due to their gender or sexuality in the past five years (29%, n. 35) ( $p < .0001$ ). For those aged between 26 and 35, this likelihood is 10%; for those aged between 36 and 45, the figure is 11%; and for those aged between 46 and 55, the likelihood is 6% (n. 8). Older people (45, n. 3) are the least likely age group to have experienced bullying because of their gender or sexuality.

31% of young people (those under 26) have experienced hate crime at school or college. The focus groups indicated a complex association between feeling comfortable in school and experiences of hate crime (see chapter 5 for a discussion of safety fears and avoidance strategies).

George: **Never been discriminated against in school, I've felt uncomfortable I guess in school and it was like I didn't know anyone else who was gay and it sort of made me think well, you know, sort of not like it's wrong with me, but I didn't feel comfortable being around a load of people and I sort of, you know, lost a lot of friends.**

Vicky: **Especially when you've got all those girls talking about boys all the time and...**

George: **Don't really tell the teachers, don't really talk to them. That's the way I feel, about your personal life, it's not...**

Vicky: **Well, there was one gay teacher at my school and I used to speak to her quite a lot about, you know, my feelings and stuff and because she's gay she related, you know, really nice.**

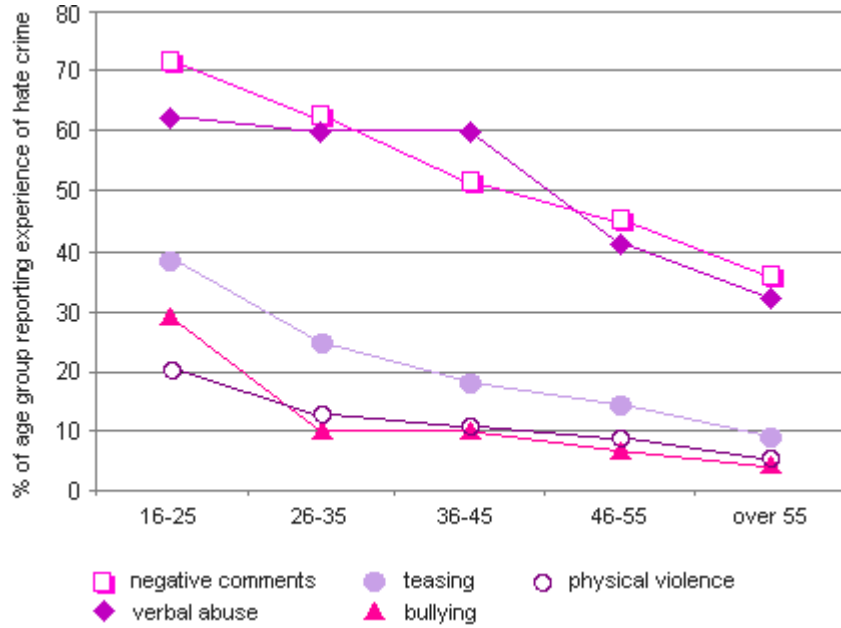
(Young people's focus group 1)

This young people's focus group reflects some of the themes addressed in chapter 2 regarding naming hate crimes and recognising them as such. The heterosexist environments and the hiding of sexual/gender identities can mean that friends are lost and that young LGBT people can have difficulties relating to their peers. Teachers can act as sources of support, and the importance of LGBT teachers is clear here. Teachers can also be another person from whom sexual/gender identities are hidden.

Although bullying in schools and LGBT related victimisation and bullying has been reported elsewhere (see Cull et al., 2006; Hunt and Jensen, 2007; Safe at School survey 2007 a; b), here it is important to note that bullying on the basis of sexual/gender identity should be recognised as a form of LGBT hate crime, with consequences and outcomes that have been described as associated with all forms of hate crime (see chapter 2). Furthermore, such discriminatory experiences require resilience strategies and emotional toughness.



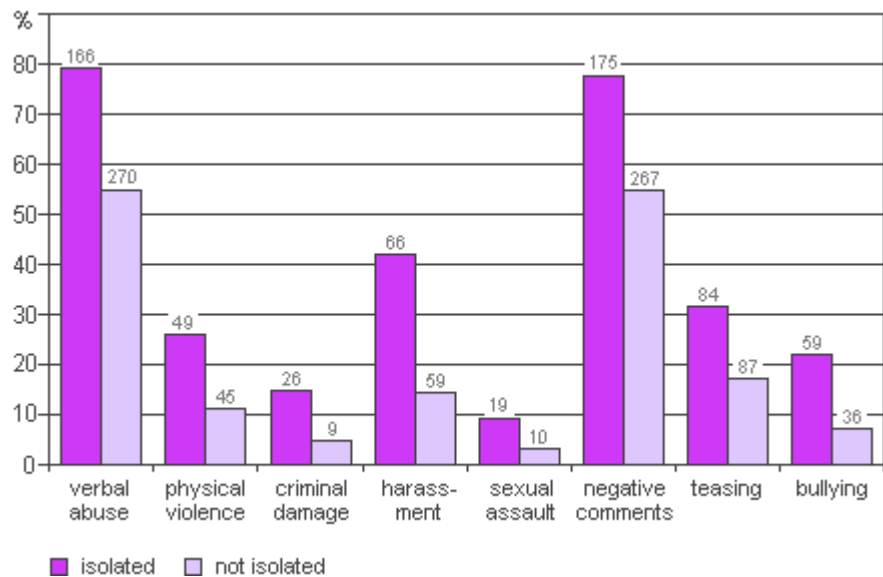
Figure 3.5b Likelihood of suffering hate crimes by age



### 3.5.4. Isolation

Those who are isolated are more likely to have experienced all forms of hate crime in the past five years compared to those who are not isolated. Only 17% of those who are isolated in Brighton & Hove have not experienced hate crime, compared to 32% of those who are not isolated.

Figures 3.5c experience of hate crime by feeling isolated



Feeling isolated or having felt isolation within the past five years also has a significant relationship with the likelihood of having experienced hate crime in the following places:

#### **Inside a home**

19% (n. 39) of those who are or have been isolated have experienced hate crimes inside a home, compared with only 6.1% (n. 21) of those who have not felt isolated within the past five years ( $p < .0001$ ).

#### **In an LGBT venue or event**

Those who are or have been isolated are more likely (20%, n. 42) to have experienced hate crime in an LGBT venue or event than those who have not felt isolated within the past five years (7%, n. 24) ( $p < .0001$ ).

#### **In a mainstream venue or event**

22% (n. 45) of those who are or have felt isolated within the past five years have experienced hate crime within a mainstream venue or event within that same period, compared to 15% (n. 50) of those who are not isolated ( $p = .02$ ).

#### **At school/college/university**

11% (n. 22) of those who are or have felt isolated have experienced hate crime at school, college or university within the past five years, compared to 6% (n. 19) of those who do not and have not felt isolated within that time period ( $p = .05$ ).

#### **In your neighbourhood**

Those who feel or have felt isolated are more likely (31%, n. 64) to have experienced hate crimes within their local neighbourhoods than those who are not isolated (16%, n. 56) ( $p < .0001$ ).

### 3.5.5. Neighbourhood areas

Three categories of neighbourhood area were compared to look at variations in the likelihood of experiencing hate crimes in the particular types of places under consideration (see table 1.3a, chapter 1 for a definition of these areas). The first kind of neighbourhood area is St James Street & Kemptown; the second kind is composed of areas of potential social deprivation; and the third kind is composed of all other areas.

LGBT people who live across the city experience similar levels of verbal abuse, physical violence, harassment, negative comments, teasing and bullying. However, those who live in areas of potential deprivation are more likely to experience criminal damage (9%), than those who live in St. James St and Kemptown (2%) or outside of these areas (4%) ( $p = .004$ ). Those who live in areas of potential deprivation are also more likely to experience sexual assault (7%) than those who live in St. James Street and Kemptown (1%) or in other areas in the city (3%). Residents of Kemptown and St. James Street are less likely to say that they have experienced bullying compared to those who live in areas of social deprivation (12%) or in other parts of the city (13%).

This data does not indicate where the hate crime takes place, only where individuals who experience hate crime live. However, it does indicate that safety initiatives should be targeted across the city.

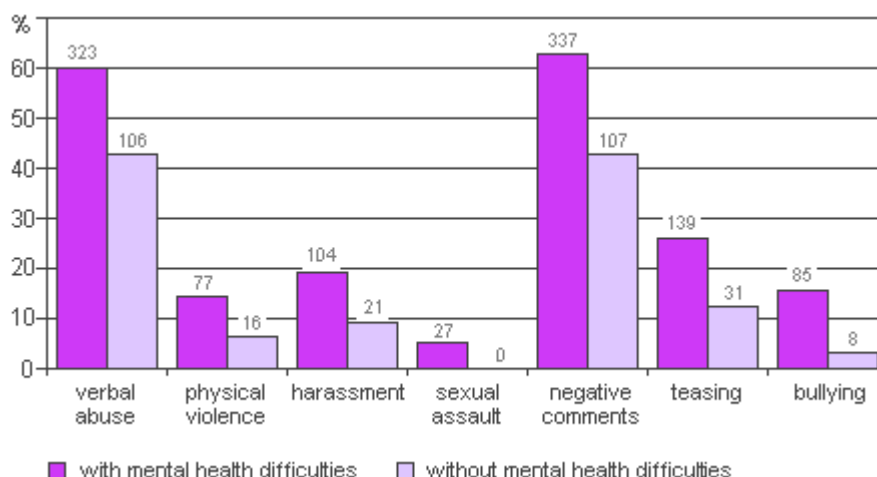
There is also a significant relationship between the kind of neighbourhood area lived in by respondents and the likelihood of experiencing hate crime in that neighbourhood. Those who live in areas of potential deprivation are more likely (29%, n. 41) than those who live in St James Street & Kemptown (23%, n. 22) to have experienced hate crime in the neighbourhood in which they live. Those who live in other areas than these are the least likely (17%, n. 51) to have experienced hate crime in their local neighbourhood ( $p = .01$ ).

There is a significant relationship between neighbourhood area and the likelihood of experiencing hate crime in the street. Those who live in St James Street & Kemptown are more likely (85%, n. 82) to have experienced hate crime in the street than those who live in areas of potential deprivation (76%, n. 107), who are in turn more likely to have experienced hate crime in the street than those who live in other areas (71%, n. 217) ( $p = .02$ ).

### 3.5.6. Mental health difficulties

LGBT people with mental health difficulties are more likely to say they have suffered from some kind of hate crime: only 22% (n. 116) of those with mental health difficulties say they had experienced no kind of hate crime over the last five years, compared to 38% (n. 95) of LGBT people with no mental health difficulties ( $p = .0005$ ).

**Figure 3.5d** experience of hate crime by mental health difficulties



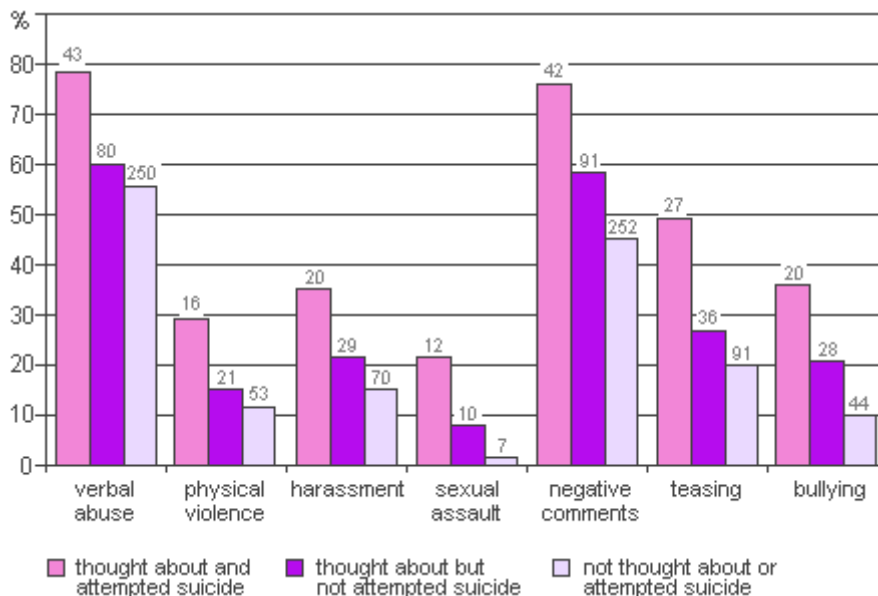
Those with mental health difficulties are at least twice as likely to have experienced physical violence, harassment, teasing and bullying compared with those who do not have mental health difficulties. Indeed, all the 27 respondents who say they have experienced sexual assault within the last five years also say they have suffered from mental health difficulties.

Although it cannot be ascertained whether mental health difficulties result in particular vulnerabilities to hate crime, or if hate crime results in mental health difficulties, these figures indicate a risk factor both for hate crime victims and those with mental health difficulties. Chapter 2 has explored some of the impacts of hate crime, mental health and isolation. The importance of this discussion is clear when examining these prevalence figures.

### 3.5.7. Suicide

The research indicates that those who have experienced hate crime in the past five years are more likely to have thought about and attempted suicide in the past five years than those who have not. Those who have thought about and attempted suicide in the last five years are the least likely to have experienced no incidents of hate crime on the basis of their gender or sexual identity in the last five years (7%, n. 4), with those who have thought about suicide but not attempted it within the last five years being somewhat more likely (17%, n. 23), and those who have never thought of or attempted suicide being most likely to have not experienced such hate crime within the last five years (26%, n. 118) ( $p = .002$ ). This links to Johnson's (2007) investigation of suicidal risks amongst LGBT people. More generally, apart from criminal damage, those who have thought about and attempted suicide over the past five years are more likely to have experienced each of the categories of hate crime than those who have thought about but not attempted suicide who are, in turn, more likely to have been victims of hate crime than those who have never thought about or attempted suicide.

**Figure 3.5e** experience of hate crime by suicidal thoughts and attempted suicide



These figures indicate that those who have experienced hate crime in the past five years are more likely to have thought about and attempted suicide in the past five years than those who have not. However, a causal

relationship cannot be established and vulnerability to hate crime may result from suicidal thoughts and attempts. These figures should be read in association with Johnson's (2007) work on suicide and LGBT people.

### 3.5.8. Gender

The data shows that there is no statistically significant relationship between gender and any of the hate crimes analysed. This means that there are no differences between the LGBT communities on the basis of gender when experiencing hate crime. For each of the kinds of hate crimes, the numbers of respondents identifying as of 'no gender' or as of an 'other' gender were too small for the significance test to be valid.

### 3.5.9. Payment for sex and hate crime

Those who have taken payment for sex are more likely to have experienced sexual assault (15% compared to 4%,  $p < .0001$ ). These are all in the category of having taken payment for sex once or not engaging in sex work anymore.

### 3.5.10. Living with HIV

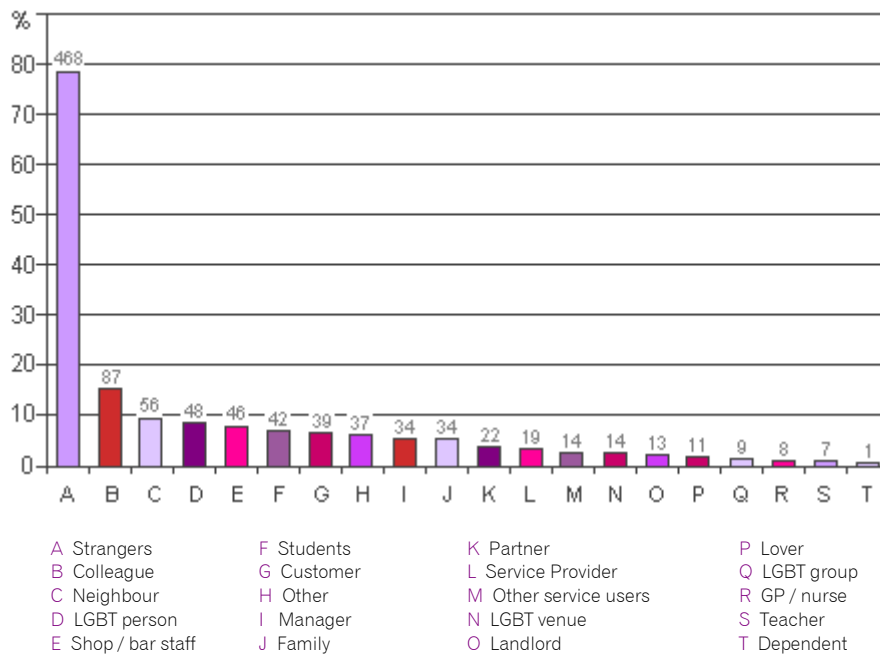
In comparison to those who are HIV negative, those who are living with HIV have similar levels of experiences of all forms hate crime in the past five years except negative comments. 39% of those who are not living with HIV and 57% of those who are ( $p = .011$ ) have experienced negative comments in the past five years.

## 3.6. Perpetrators of hate crime

As figure 3.6a shows, a large majority (79%,  $n = 468$ ) of respondents who indicated they had suffered abuse (or 57% of all respondents) stated that the perpetrator was a stranger. This has implications for reporting (see chapter 4). It should be noted once again that the majority of respondents had experienced hate crimes other than negative comments/verbal abuse from a stranger in the street.

The second largest category was a work colleague. The qualitative data in the questionnaire offered some insights into the experiences of hate crime at work:

Figure 3.6a Perpetrators of hate crime



Natasha: **In my current job I think I'm being kind of unfairly discriminated against for promotional purposes... I think they're kind of worried as to how the customers will react if I have position over of authority, if they were to call a manager to solve the situation and the manager is trans, I think that's where they're kind of really concerned, and because of that I'm being treated worse off.**

(Trans focus group 2)

Trans respondents in the questionnaire are significantly more likely to have low incomes (3 times more likely to earn under £10,000,  $p < 0.05$ ) and are more likely to be unemployed. In this context, Natasha noted the lack of promotional opportunities and the prejudicial experiences she has to suffer in her current employment. There is also evidence of channelling into particular jobs and employment sectors in the qualitative data. Some participants spoke of choosing occupations that are likely to be more friendly to 'diverse' identities:

Yasmin: **An awful lot of us have come out of local authority or voluntary sector jobs because we are fed up with institutional racism, sexism, homophobia - decided to be our own bosses, because we felt that we had the talent and ability and intelligence to do that. I know I left a job that I loved because of racism and homophobia.**

(BME focus group 1)

Perhaps because of this channelling, 69% of respondents reported that they were out at work, with a further 13% sometimes out or unsure whether they are out (see table 3.6a)

**Table 3.6a: Are you out about your sexual / gender identities in Brighton & Hove at work?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent
Yes	533	65.1	68.6
No	47	5.7	6.0
Sometimes	102	12.5	13.1
Unsure	5	.6	.6
Not applicable	90	11.0	11.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>777</b>	<b>94.9</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Missing	42	5.1	
<b>Total</b>	<b>819</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

### 3.6.1. LGBT venue/event/perpetrators

There is a significant relationship between abuse in an LGBT venue or event and sexuality. Those who are bisexual and queer (29%) are more likely to experience hate crime in an LGBT venue than lesbians (6%) and gay men (12%) who have experienced hate crime ( $p=.0005$ ). Of the 48 people who experienced hate crime from an LGBT person, 34 of these had also experienced hate crime in an LGBT venue. (6 defined as lesbian, 25 as gay, 9 as bisexual, 3 as Queer and 5 as otherwise coded). Trans people are also significantly more likely (25%, n. 9) to have experienced hate crime in an LGBT venue or event than those who are not trans (11%, n. 57) ( $p = .01$ ).

There is also a statistically significant relationship between enjoying using LGBT venues and events and experiences of hate crimes. 19% (n. 13) of those who have experienced abuse in an LGBT venue or event do not enjoy using the LGBT scene ( $p=.001$ ) compared to 6% (n.31) of those who have not experienced hate crime in these venues.

**Table 3.6b: I enjoy using/going to the LGBT commercial venues and events (like bars, pubs, clubs or saunas) in Brighton and Hove.** By 'in an LGBT venue or event'

		Agree	Disagree	I don't use	Unsure	Total
In an LGBT venue or event	No.	41	13	5	9	68
	%	60.3	19.1	7.4	13.2	100.0
Experienced hate crime elsewhere(	No.	381	31	47	40	499
	%	76.4	6.2	9.4	8.0	100.0
Total	No.	422	44	52	49	567
	%	74.4	7.8	9.2	8.6	100.0

Experiencing hate crime in an LGBT venue can have specific effects for bi people, who may no longer feel safe in these venues and who may seek to hide or conceal their identities in order to avoid negative experiences (see chapter 5):

**Its made me feel uneasy about disclosing my sexual orientation, as a gay man who was the manager of a big LGBT nightclub in Brighton asked me to leave the club after he overheard that I was bisexual**

(Questionnaire 136)

For this person and other bi people, LGBT spaces can be less than welcoming:

Marilyn: **[they were] told [that] they weren't bisexual - these were women - they were just straight girls wanting to get on the gay scene. That was in one of the clubs they were told that.**

Ruth: **It was the [name of a club] Manager. It is actually scary being out on the gay scene. I actually feel really frightened.**

Asha: **...recently I've started thinking about connecting to counselling and it just didn't... it seemed to be lesbian or gay, and there's nothing for bi and I actually got really intimidated about going and saying, "Well, I'm bisexual" because I just felt this whole thing, I was just going to be rejected, there was going to be this rejection from within the community itself, which makes it very difficult to kind of explore things that are obviously important to one's well being**

(Bisexual focus group)

Ruth says that she feels frightened on the gay scene and Marilyn recounts an incident at a club where the group members' bisexual identities were rejected and they were labelled 'straight'. The rejection from 'your own' can be a very disempowering experience and can have serious implications when you are most vulnerable. For I6 this was when she was looking for counselling support, and she recognises the impact of this form of rejection on her wellbeing. The quantitative data supported the narrative and 22% of bi & queer people had experienced hate crime from an LGBT person, compared to 3% of lesbians and 8% of gay men. Similarly bisexual and queer people (7%, n.=4) are more likely to say that they had experienced hate crime from an LGBT service or group than lesbians (2%, n.= 3) or gay men (.3%, n.=1). This can mean that experiences of hate crime and discrimination are multifaceted:

**There are two issues for me really - the homophobia I experience from straight people and the biphobia I experience from both straight and LG people.**

(Questionnaire 646)



In the trans focus group, similar issues were raised:

Rosa: **if you've got that [transphobia] within the community from inside, I mean, you know, it's, you know, [you can] talk all you like about an LGBT building or whatever, you know, it won't happen until you get all that squared away. You know, it's deeply ingrained dislike to us... [and it] don't matter that we're in... a lot of us are in same sex or bisexual relationships or whatever else is going on. They're... in their little block, you've got your gays and you've got your lesbians, nobody else matters**

(Trans focus group 1)

Rosa argues that it is 'ingrained' that the 'community' will 'dislike us' despite the relationships people are in. The gendered divisions between lesbians and gay men 'in their little block' and the power that this 'little block' has is alluded to. Once again this narrative is supported by the quantitative data. 19% of trans people who have experienced hate crime said that an LGBT person had perpetrated the abuse compared to 8% of non-trans people ( $p=.02$ ). 8% (n. 3) of trans people compared to 2% of non trans people (n. 10) experienced hate crime from an LGBT venue ( $p=.02$ ). 5% (n. 2) of trans people experienced hate crime from an LGBT service or group, compared to 1% (n. 6) of non- trans people.

Although the numbers are small, coupled with the qualitative data they indicate an area of concern and discrimination within the LGBT communities. In the bisexual focus group, some solutions were suggested:

Asha: **On the bi thing, on the scene, just a complete rethink of attitudes basically, accepting that LGBT means LGBT and we are part of that community and we belong here as much as anyone else.**

(Bisexual focus group)

This was mirrored in the trans focus group, who requested more understanding across services, businesses and individuals of the 'B and T' elements of the LGBT communities. In this context, enabling trans and bi safety in the broadest possible sense will incorporate education within LGBT communities as well as beyond them.

### 3.7. Drug and alcohol use

Another set of needs that were considered were those surrounding drug use and alcohol consumption. Compared to those who had not taken illegal drugs or legal drugs but without a prescription or appropriate medical advice, those who had taken illegal drugs or used legal drugs without a prescription or the relevant medical advice are:

- Less likely to have *not* experienced any kind of abuse or hate crime (19%, n. 76 compared to 34%, n. 136);

- A little more likely to have experienced verbal abuse or negative comments only from strangers and only in the street (6%, n. 25 compared to 4%, n. 15); and
- Significantly more likely to have suffered any kind of abuse or hate crime (75%, n. 304 compared to 62%, n. 244). (**p < .001**)

However, amongst those who said that they had taken illegal drugs or legal drugs without a prescription or the relevant medical advice, there was no significant relationship between whether respondents wanted more control over their drug use and their likelihood of suffering from hate crimes or abuse.

There was also no significant relationship between alcohol consumption and the likelihood of experiencing hate crimes or abuse. However, 58 people said that their use of alcohol had lead to them being assaulted and 42 people said that their use of alcohol had lead to them being a victim of crime (9% and 6% of those who drink alcohol respectively). 30 people said that alcohol had lead to them assaulting someone (5% of those who drink alcohol).

## 3.8. Conclusion

The majority of LGBT people who completed this questionnaire had experienced some form of hate crime. Although it is often assumed that this comprises mainly verbal abuse/negative comments from a stranger in the street, only 40 people had only experienced this form of hate crime, indicating that the majority of people experienced something other than or as well as verbal abuse/physical violence from a stranger in the street. These experiences varied within the collective, illustrating particular vulnerabilities and potential risk factors within this grouping. This chapter identified trans people; bisexual and queer people; those who defined in a category other than lesbian, gay, bisexual or queer; young people (those under 26); and isolated individuals as vulnerable to hate crime. Those over 55 are the least likely to experience hate crime. Furthermore, it showed that bi, queer and trans people are more likely to experience hate crime in LGBT venues and from other LGBT people.

## 4. Reporting of incidents of hate crime

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### 4.1. Introduction

Reporting is a key element of addressing hate crime. Safety initiatives across the city have emphasised the importance of reporting and sought to increase the reporting of hate crime. Some of these initiatives are addressed in chapter 8. This chapter will explore the details of reporting incidents, including the responses received and why people did not report their experiences of hate crime. There were some indications that the purpose of reporting can be not only to seek support in dealing with perpetrators, but also as a strategy to enable victims to feel less bad about their experiences

### 4.2. Reporting hate crime

Chapter 3 indicated that 73% of respondents reported that they had experienced some form of abuse (ranging from verbal abuse to physical violence) in the past five years because of their sexual or gender identities. Of these, a quarter (25%) said that they had reported one or more of these incidents, and of this quarter, the majority (55%) reported the incident to the police. A small minority reported it to the Community Safety Team (7%) or True Vision (1%), but over third (37%) reported it elsewhere (see table 4.2a).

**Table 4.2a: If you reported the incident, who did you report it to? (% of those who did not select 'no' to Q22 (i.e. who had experienced some form of sexuality / gender identity related abuse in the past five years))**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
The police	83	14.0	55.3
The Community Safety Team	10	1.7	6.7
True Vision	2	0.3	1.3
Other	55	9.3	36.7
Total	150	25.3	100
Missing	444	74.7	
Total	594	100	

Although the question did not offer an option of 'not reporting', it can be assumed that the majority of missing data indicates a non-reporting of an

incident. This data is only indicative and therefore should be treated with caution. Of those who answered 'other' to the question 'who did you report the incident to', table 4.2b outlines the main categories that were present in the qualitative data. 10 people said that they reported the incident to a manager and 5 people said a teacher or head teacher. This indicates reliance on those in responsible roles and with some power. 3 people specifically mentioned the LGBT community liaison officer. Alongside these formal reporting procedures, informal networks are important. These include friends/partners.

**Table 4.2b: Who did you report the incident to, qualitative data coded**

Categories of who did you report to	No. of responses <sup>1</sup>
Manager (employer/supervisor)	10
Friend(s)/Partner	6
Teacher/headteacher	5
LGBT community liaison officer	3
HR/Personnel	3
Manager <sup>2</sup> (miscellaneous)	2
Company directors	2
Union	2
Solicitor	2
Anti-social behaviour team	1
True Vision	1
Manager (service provider)	1
Manager (NHS)	1
Council/housing association	1

### Other responses

**Table 4.2c: details the responses did not fit any of the categories above but highlight other reasons why people may not report.**

101	I am the police!
167	Unknown – they ignored me
174	Claude Nichol Centre
538	The support workers where I live and community police
556	Incident happened outside a club – the bouncers witnessed and reported it to the police
596	It wasn't a report, I've just shared with my host mum
729	I dealt with them myself verbally

The reporting to managers, support workers and other professionals is interesting and may be a useful avenue to investigate regarding extending reporting initiatives to places both where people experience hate crime (e.g. at work) and/or where they feel comfortable. The use of friends, partners and other family members supports the assertion in chapter 1 that support networks are important in coping with hate crime.

<sup>1</sup> Where responses fall into more than one category they are counted as many times as categories they fall into.

<sup>2</sup> Manager (miscellaneous) may have been in a workplace or in a service provider

## 4.3. Differences among the LGBT collective and reporting

Although it is unclear who did not report from the data, in order to get some sense of the differences between those who reported and those who did not answer the question, this research recoded two variables. The first includes all those people who gave an answer to the question 'if you reported an incident who did you report it to?'; the second category contains all those people who did not answer this question and therefore appear as missing (please note this analysis only includes those who experienced some form of hate crime in the past 5 years).

### **Sexuality**

Those who define as an other sexuality (44%, n. 12) are more likely to report an incident than bisexual and queers (29%, n. 16). The least likely to report are lesbians (20%, n. 41) and gay men (26%, n. 81) ( $p = .04$ ).

### **Trans**

Trans people are significantly more likely (51%, n. 19) to report an incident of hate crime than those who did not identify as trans, of whom only 24% (n. 129) of those who had experienced hate crime reported the incident ( $p = .0001$ ).

### **Disability**

Those who identified as physically disabled or long term health impaired are more likely (39%, n. 34) to have reported an incident of hate crime than those who did not identify as disabled (23%, n. 112) ( $p = .001$ ).

### **Isolation**

There was a significant difference between those who are isolated and those who are not isolated in the reporting of hate crimes ( $p = .02$ ). 31% of those who were isolated and who had experienced hate crime had reported an incident (n. 68). This compares to 21% (n. 77) of those who did not describe themselves as isolated.

### **Mental Health**

Those with mental health difficulties are more likely to report an incident (29%) compared to those who have not had difficulties with their mental health in the past five years (15%;  $p = .001$ ).

### **Sex workers**

Those who regularly or occasionally sell sex for some kind of payment or in exchange for some good are more likely to report having suffered a hate crime (58%, n. 7) than those who had sold or exchanged sex in the past or as a one-off (35%, n. 19). Both of these groups are more likely to have reported experiencing hate crime than those who had never sold or exchanged sex (23%, n. 121) ( $p = .004$ ).

### **Tenure**

There is a significant relationship between the kind of housing tenure respondents have and their likelihood of reporting experiencing a hate crime ( $p = .05$ ). Those who live in social housing are more likely (39%, n.

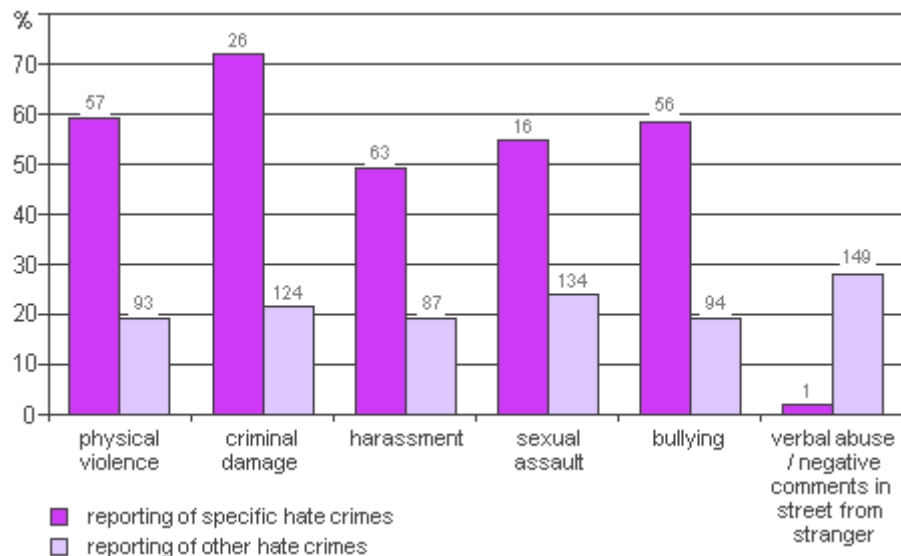
23) than any other tenure group to report having experienced hate crime. By contrast, amongst those who have experienced hate crime, 25% (n. 47) of those who live in privately rented accommodation, 22% (n. 57) of those who live in privately owned accommodation, and 25% (n. 20) of those who have some other kind of housing tenure actually reported an experience of hate crime. This may indicate that where individuals are connected into services, they can report hate crime, and emphasises the importance of interagency co-operation in order to record instances of hate crime.

Although the level of hate crime experienced varied by particular vulnerabilities, when examining those who reported (only including those who had experienced hate crime), there were also differences by identity category and particular difficulties and experiences. Contrary to what might be assumed, those who defined as a sexuality other than bi, queer, lesbian or gay; trans people; those who are disabled; those who are isolated, those with mental health difficulties; sex workers, and those in social housing are the most likely to report an incident. This shows a reliance on particular reporting mechanisms. It suggests that those who are vulnerable and connected into particular services may use these services to report hate crime. This again points to the need for inter-agency working. It also shows that a common reporting framework may be useful across all services, groups and support networks to enable reporting and the collation of robust and comparable data.

### 4.3.1. Reporting and experiences of specific hate crimes

This section looks at whether experiences of different hate crimes are statistically related to different likelihoods of the reporting of hate crime in general. The data cannot show whether specific hate crimes are associated with reporting due to the nature of the questions asked. However, it can indicate differences between those who have experienced particular forms of hate crime and their reporting behaviours (although it cannot be ascertained which hate crimes they reported). Therefore, this data should be taken as indicative, and further research should be undertaken to ascertain the links between reporting and hate crime.

**Figure 4.3a: Reporting of specific hate crimes compared with reporting of other kinds of hate crime**



Those who experienced physical violence (59%), criminal damage (27%), harassment (49%), sexual assault (55%), bullying (58%) are more likely to report an incident than those who had not. Only 1 person who had only experienced negative comments/verbal abuse in the street from a stranger reported an incident of hate crime.

### 4.3.2. Reporting Hate Crime as relating to gender and sexual identities

A large majority (85%) of those who reported an incident indicated that they also reported that the incident was related to their sexuality / gender identities (table 4.3a). However, this equates to only around 1 in 5 of all respondents who indicated having experienced sexuality/gender related abuse (in Q22).

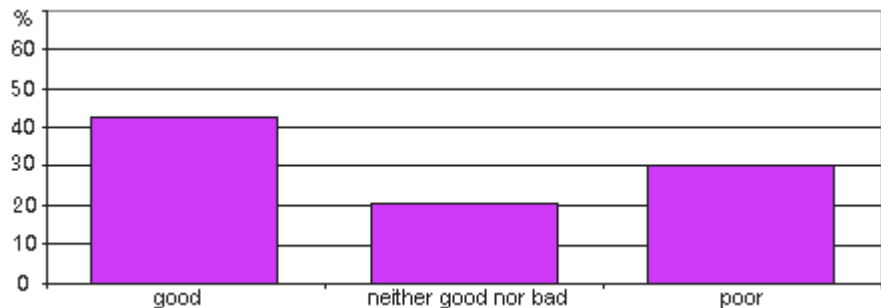
**Table 4.3a: Did you tell them the incident was related to your gender identity or sexuality?**

	frequency	percent
Told them it was related to gender identity or sexuality	114	85.1
Didn't tell them it was related to gender identity / sexuality	20	14.9
Total	134.	100

### 4.4. Response from safety services and police when reporting

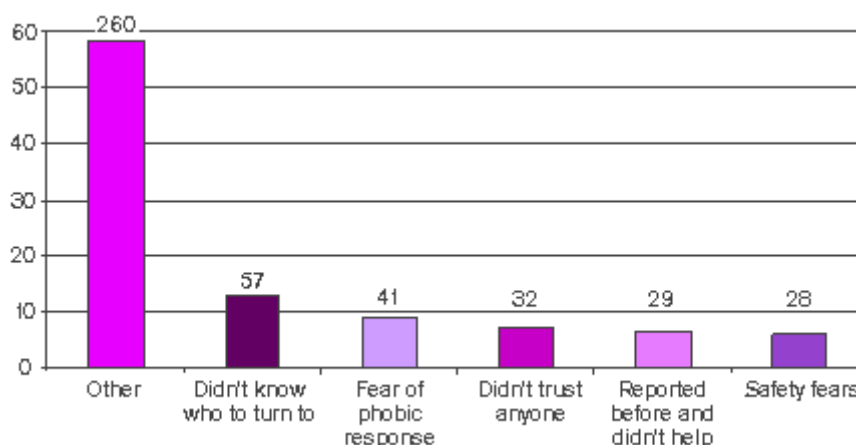
Of those who reported abuse, harassment, bullying and violence, 43% rated the response as good and 32% as poor. When these ratings of the response received to reporting hate crime is broken down by the different agencies who received the reports (the Police, the Community Safety Team, True Visions, and Other agencies), no significant differences in the rating of the responses are found.

**Figure 4.4a: Response from safety and police when reporting abuse, harassment, and violence**



## 4.5. Reasons for not reporting

Figure 4.5a: Why was the incident not reported?



Of those who gave reasons for not reporting an incident, over half (58%) indicated they this was for another reason to those offered on the questionnaire (figure 4.5a). Respondents were least likely to indicate safety fears as a reason for their non-reporting (6.3%).

15% of those who are isolated and did not report an incident said that this was because they didn't trust anyone, compared to 4% of those who are not isolated in Brighton & Hove ( $p < .0001$ ). Similarly, those in areas of potential deprivation (14%) were more likely than those living in St. James Street and Kemptown (3%) or all other areas (7%) to say their reason for not reporting was a lack of trust ( $p = .03$ ). This indicates an area for further exploration and also something that services should address when attempting to improve reporting figures.

Those who have experienced hate crime in their home are more likely not to report an incident because of safety fears (20%) compared to those who have experienced hate crime but not in their homes (6% of  $p = .0002$ ). Those who experienced hate crime in their neighbourhood were more likely not to report because of safety fears (13% compared to 6%) than those who have experienced hate crime but not in their neighbourhoods.

### 4.5.1. 'Other': Qualitative data on reporting

Table 4.5a shows the major categories of not reporting in the qualitative data. These, of course, can be tied to personal biographies and histories and therefore contain complex intersections and overlaps. However, this table offers insights into the reasons for not reporting outside the categories given in the questionnaires. This section will outline some of the highlights from this table and offer further detail of some of the responses.



**Table 4.5a: Major categories from the qualitative data- Why did you not report an incident**

Categories <sup>1</sup>	No. of responses
Minor/not serious enough	122
Not bothered	44
Little/no faith in anything coming of it/no point	42
Resignation to accepting abuse	29
Dealt with it myself	19
Too much hassle	15
These kinds of incident not taken seriously by specific organisation/authority	9
No one to report it to	6
These kinds of incidents not taken seriously in general	5
Unhelpful/poor response	5
Not having the power or capacity	4
Not identifying perpetrator	3
Not directed at me	2
Not enough evidence	2
Having to come out in order to make report	1

#### 4.5.2. Not serious enough?

The main reason given for not reporting (n.122) was that the incident was not serious enough or that it was 'minor'; a further 44 respondents said that they 'weren't bothered' by the incident.

**didn't feel it was serious enough for anyone to take notice**

(Questionnaire 76)

**The colleague incident was dealt with by a manager without me making a complaint. "Reporting" is not relevant to negative comments and attitudes from family members.**

(Questionnaire 328)

Questionnaire 128 also indicates the resignation there is to particular forms of hate crime as something that is simply 'part of LGBT lives'. This was reiterated 29 times and reflects the discussion at the beginning of chapter 2 regarding the dismissal of hate crimes:

**one or two comments from people in the street in passing is not going to be taken as serious homophobic abuse and there is no chance of the perpetrators being 'caught'. I normally just say something to challenge the taunt and leave it at that. This happens to LGBT people every day, the number of**

<sup>1</sup> Where responses fall into more than one category they are counted as many times as categories they fall into.

**homophobic abuse incidents reported really IS just the tip of the iceberg.**

(Questionnaire 724)

Just as there is a dismissal of the importance of hate crime, so too is there an assertion that reporting is not something one wants to do everyday, but is what would be required.

One respondent suggested that hate crime is only 'serious' when it causes physical and mental harm:

**I think that reporting low level abuse is not going to do any good. sometimes I think the whole LGBT world is just a little too precious in its sensitivities. We live in the real world, where people say unpleasant things. It's part of life and we need to accept that. It's a very different matter when discrimination is involved and where there's real physical and mental harm.**

(Questionnaire 83)

For questionnaire 83, there is a notion that all LGBT people should simply be tough and 'get on with it'. This is a 'part of life' that LGBT people should simply 'accept'. In this context, discrimination only occurs when there is physical or mental harm. Of course, as chapter 2 has argued, the impacts of hate crime can vary between people and so 'physical and mental harm' cannot only be gauged by the actions of the perpetrator but also must be assessed by the reactions of the victim.

The first questionnaire filled in offered some detail as to how hate crime can be perceived and dealt with by those around you, and how this can impact the reaction you have to the incident:

**Comment in streets not necessarily directed towards anyone but may be on a bus or out and about where a passing negative gay comment could be deemed acceptable by society in a way that a racist one wouldn't. Even in jest, queer bastard etc as a derogatory term seems to be accepted by most without challenge**

(Questionnaire 1)

This denial of the importance and implications of hate crime can mean that derogatory comments can be accepted 'without challenge'. Contrary to questionnaire 83, questionnaire 1 argues that whilst racist jibes would be challenged, this is not the case for 'queer jibes'.

Yet, as chapter 2 argued, the incidents do have subtle influences on everyday lives that can be unrecognised:

**There's no point. people make comments all the time whether it's about how you look or whether you shouldn't be in the ladies toilets as they think you're a boy. who are you to report it to? you end up with a chip on your shoulder but that's life. people are ignorant.**

(Questionnaire 677)

Questionnaire 677 experiences what Browne (2004) has termed elsewhere genderism – that is, a dissonance between how you understand your gender and the gender you are read as. She says this happens to her 'all the time', yet these experiences may not fit within definitions of homophobia, biphobia or transphobia, and the question she then poses is 'who do you report it to?' For her, 'that's life' and she has a 'chip on her shoulder' from these experiences and having to deal with them.

### 4.5.3. Faith in reporting

Hate crime is also believed to be something that the police/authorities will not take seriously, and 42 people felt that nothing would come of reporting:

**No point, nothing will be done about it, and then the police will know I am gay too.**

(Questionnaire 353)

Questionnaire 353 highlights an issue with authorities (in this case the police) knowing that they are gay alongside a lack of faith that there will be any positive outcome associated with coming out to authorities. 9 responses indicated a perception that these kinds of incidents are not taken seriously by authorities/organisations and 5 responses said that they are not taken seriously in general:

**I think that the police would not do anything about it**

(Questionnaire 96)

**I think the police would laugh if I reported someone shouting insults at me**

(Questionnaire 142)

**the police still don't appear to be as sympathetic as they should be- think this still affects underreporting of homophobic crimes**

(Questionnaire 306)

**I doubt the police would be able to take any action against ignorant young heterosexual boys who think they are being really comical making homophobic comments to complete strangers**

(Questionnaire 479)

These responses suggest that the police are perceived as being likely to treat some kinds of hate crimes as too minor to investigate; given the perception of the likelihood of an unsympathetic hearing from the police, such incidents might seem to be not worth telling them about.

An individual's previous engagement with the police can also mean a reluctance to report, and five people said that they had had an unhelpful/poor response in the past:

**When I got attacked in the street once, didn't go to the police as they've never helped in the past.**

(Questionnaire 557)

**The first incident was in London, where i was attacked and mugged whilst cruising. The police caught the 3 young men but the case was dropped due to their (the police) negligence. The second was verbal teasing at work, to which i responded by standing up for myself and didn't feel that i needed to report it.**

(Questionnaire 529)

Being 'known' to the police and other authorities can mean that incidents are not reported due to the perception that the police will concentrate on your difficulties rather than the experiences you are requesting help with:

**At the time I was known to authorities as being addicted to heroin - I didn't feel that they would take me seriously, and I felt that it would be too much hassle to go through with the complaint.**

(Questionnaire 566)

Questionnaire 566 indicates that for some their experiences of hate crime may be minimalised because of their other support needs and issues. This is clearly an area of concern for many LGBT vulnerable people who may be known to particular authorities for other reasons.

Six people did not know who to report the incident to. For one person there was a process that had to be undergone in order to recognise the experience as a crime. This can leave avenues for reporting unknown:

**I didn't identify it as sexual assault till later, in London I didn't know who to report it to**

(Questionnaire 262)

Participants indicated that concerns over reporting incidents to the police remain, sometimes being based on experiences some time ago.

Andy:

**I was attacked outside Revenge and I had my mouth kicked in and stitches here, all because there was a person next to me who was being quite verbal and they thought it was me. But when the Police came it was just horrendous, they were crap. But that was going back a few years, about five years now. There's been a couple of situations since then, but on one occasion I didn't phone the Police but then on other times I have. It just depends how desperate it is, but there would be something at the back of my mind that thinks 'How would I be treated now?', because I thought it was quite appalling then.**

(Outlying estate focus group)

Andy's quote illustrates that whilst attitudes are changing towards the police and the reporting of incidents of hate crime, there continues to be a wariness related to experiences of past police actions. He was not alone in this assertion:

Rosa: **Prior to the last, six, seven years since we've seen the police trying to be active. I had a landlord who punched me physically in the face because I was trans, give me a load of verbal abuse in his shop, when the police arrived I was the one who was then threatened with some sort of order which meant I couldn't go near his shop, on the basis of me being trans gendered. Another example in central London where I was living, we had people next door who were bringing in guys at 4 o'clock in the morning, the guy punched me in the face, we had the police in, I was the one who was made to feel as if I was the freak, because I was trans. Recently, I haven't seen that in the sense that the police seem to be trying really hard with the LGBT community. The point is though there are no trans coppers, so that would be nice. But I actually think I'm getting, you know, I'd like to say, I actually think that the police are actually trying to treat us like a complete community. I think they are trying to treat us as an LGBT community.**

Researcher: Would you, after all those experiences, would you be happier reporting what happened if something happened...

Rosa: **Well, that's a really good point. I would... no, that I'm quite clear about. I would really like to have reported those things to a trans gendered copper, no doubt about that at all, because they would have understood that from me. I think yeah, I would have been more comfortable with that.**

Researcher: Will you report things now though?

Rosa: **No. I mean that is a really excellent bloody measure of my real trust in the police. Would I report it now? No, most probably not. I just feel that in some way I would be victimised still. We know there's massive homophobia still within the police force but what we do know is that they're trying to do something about it. So no, I don't think I would, I just don't know that I would, end of story.**

(Trans focus group)

**Knowing that the local authority, the police and the judiciary are institutionally and personally (i.e. directed at me and others know) transphobic has faded my trust**

(Questionnaire 167)

Rosa and questionnaire 167 also identified their wariness of the police following previous poor responses to reporting incidents. Rosa emphasises that her experiences with the police continue to make her wary of reporting incidents that can only be described as 'serious'. Although she recognises the improvements that the police have made, she still fails to see anyone who is visibly trans that she would feel comfortable reporting to, and that would perhaps indicate that the police are now safe to report to. Understanding that the police are trying, she still fears victimisation and being labelled the perpetrator as has happened in previous incidents that she has reported.

Clearly, histories of experiences with the police continue to play through in current decisions regarding reporting. Although police attitudes have changed and there have been improvements, this continues to be a barrier to reporting (changing attitudes to the police will be further addressed in chapter 8).

#### 4.5.4. Internal tensions within the LGBT collective

The internal tensions and differences between the LGBT communities can also mean that hate crime is not reported:

**Didn't believe it would be taken seriously from a bi person (fear of biphobia)**

(Questionnaire 38)

Biphobia can clearly be perpetrated within and outside of LGBT communities, and the 'insider' status of perpetrators can be hugely problematic and an issue for reporting.

The repercussions of reporting the incident may then mean 'more hassle' for the victim:

**I put it down to harmless teens to the verbal abuse, the sexual attack I hit the person and feared the repercussions would be more hassle for me as the attacker was well known on g-scene**

(Questionnaire 730)

For questionnaire 730, the sexual assault was not reported because of the perpetrator's status on the gay scene. This could mean a loss of social networks and other potential social repercussions if the incident was reported.

The LGBT community in Brighton & Hove can be perceived as being small and interlinked, such that reporting hate crime may be seen as impossible if friendships and social networks are to be maintained. This may imply the need for anonymous and confidential reporting mechanisms.

### 4.5.5. Further comments

There were some comments that did not neatly fit into the categories that were created to code this data. These are detailed in table 4.5b.

**Table 4.5b: Other responses to 'why did you not report the incident'?**

16	the above relates to the school homophobia
112	I didn't realise the taunts at work until I left and realised what was being said.
169	other things going on at the time
213	It would mean being honest about my fears and insecurities
251	It was an opinion
270	People in the street who you wouldn't see again
357	Was a shoplifter who thought he was being clever.
415	not sure exactly what was said so let it drop or I would have answered myself
469	got myself a new job away from homophobic people
568	The police officer for our community was away for an extended period according to his answer machine and I didn't fancy speaking to anyone else.
630	It was not appropriate to do so, in my view.

These comments offer interesting insights into individual cases. However, it is important to note the place of work and school in three of these. As has already been mentioned (see chapter 2), LGBT people can channel themselves into particular forms of employment in order to avoid experiences of hate crime and this is evident in questionnaire 469 here. Incidents in workplaces can often go unreported due to fears of 'rocking the boat' and being perceived as 'not being a team player'. This can mean that incidents are 'dealt with myself' rather than using reporting systems or mechanisms:

**It's difficult in a smaller business where you play a key role - everyone needs everyone else and making a complaint would harm the company environment – any case - I sorted it out and now we get on generally much better and even joke about anything and everything.**

(Questionnaire 195)

## 4.6. Conclusion

This chapter has shown that only a minority of LGBT people who experience hate crime report these incidents. Where hate crimes are reported, the verdict regarding the responses was mixed, with 49% saying the response was good. Similar to the findings in chapter one, underreporting arose in part because hate crimes were not considered 'serious enough' and some forms of hate crimes were not believed to be priorities for services. Reporting is also related to LGBT people's long-term

engagement with police services that have not historically demonstrated respect for this community, and these memories continue to play a part in decision making about reporting. However, there are also internal tensions within LGBT communities regarding the reporting hate crimes that occur between LGBT people. Such tensions include fears of a loss of social networks and fears that particular forms of discrimination will not be 'taken seriously'.



## 5. Safety Fears

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### 5.1. Introduction

Fear of crime has important implications for where people go and when. When considering the broad definition of safety, safety fears are important as they affect a person's quality of life. Avoidance strategies can be deployed in order to feel safer. These can include avoiding particular places. This chapter will address the safety fears of LGBT people and how these fears vary among LGBT people. It will then examine areas of the city where LGBT people say that they have felt unsafe. This chapter will then explore the avoidance of particular areas or sites due to safety fears and the diversity of such avoidance strategies within LGBT communities. It will also offer some indication of the perceptions of places that inform these tactics.

### 5.2. Feelings of safety

A large majority of respondents felt 'very safe' or 'safe' at home (94%) and outside in Brighton and Hove in the day (87%), but less than half did so outside at night (46%) (see tables 5.2a, 5.2b, 5.2c).

**Table 5.2a: How safe do you currently feel in Brighton & Hove?  
- In your home**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Very safe	491	60.0	62.8
Safe	245	29.9	31.3
Neither safe nor unsafe	36	4.4	4.6
Unsafe	8	1.0	1.0
Very unsafe	2	0.2	0.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>782</b>	<b>95.5</b>	<b>100</b>
Missing	37	4.5	
<b>Total</b>	<b>819</b>	<b>100</b>	

**Table 5.2b: How safe do you currently feel in Brighton & Hove?  
– Outside during the day**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Very safe	279	34.1	34.5
Safe	420	51.3	52.0
Neither safe nor unsafe	89	10.9	11.0
Unsafe	17	2.1	2.1
Very unsafe	3	0.4	0.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>808</b>	<b>98.7</b>	<b>100</b>
Missing	11	1.3	
Total	819	100	

**Table 5.2c: How safe do you currently feel in Brighton & Hove?  
– Outside at night**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Very safe	65	7.9	8.0
Safe	309	37.7	38.2
Neither safe nor unsafe	290	35.4	35.9
Unsafe	115	14.0	14.2
Very unsafe	29	3.5	3.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>808</b>	<b>98.7</b>	<b>100</b>
Missing	11	1.3	
Total	819	100	

Feelings of safety varied by sexuality, trans identities, disability, age, income, isolation and area of residence.

### Sexuality

Most gay (66%), lesbian (63%) and bisexual (62%) respondents felt very safe at home. Only 43% (n. 23) of those defining as 'other' sexualities, however, felt very safe at home. Those of a sexuality other to lesbian, gay and bisexual were also less likely to feel very safe outside in Brighton in the day or at night. It should be noted that safety fears do not only pertain to personal attack, but also vulnerability related to the damage of things that are important to the person:

Susan: **as I am getting on a little bit, now over 50 - got an allotment and you just realise quite how vulnerable you - not only you, but your little plants that you have nurtured for months and months and months and raised from little seeds and you do realise that 10 seconds with a weed-killer spray could put paid to an awful lot of something that you value and also being on a large allotment site where there are over 400 plots, there are 400 people who do chat to each other, who you have no control over what information they get about you at all and that's the only place where and I don't vulnerable to physical attack or whatever, but I do**

**feel that things that are precious to me might possibly be vulnerable to people I don't even know, because as part of what I do I am sometimes in the paper, my photograph is sometimes in the paper about, doing, you know, a gay exhibition or something. That is the only area of my life, but that's because the rest of life I keep safe, by being within our communities all the time.**

(Women's focus group)

In section 5.5, avoidance strategies will be investigated. Here, it should be noted that vulnerabilities related to 'out' sexual/gender identities can be related to objects that are cared for and cared about. These are open to abuse in a way that may not be protected by the avoidance strategies addressed below. Fears can also pertain to the effects of hate crime on the lives of other people around you:

Andy: **My situations of an 11 year old going on 19, but I don't... no one actually knows at the school. But she (the 11 year old) knows, but even she has issues when I'm with my partner and... there's this thing about a gay at the moment, "You're such a gay" and it's all very funny but when it's seriously, when I'm actually with someone I don't... it's very, very difficult with my... I don't know, quite a good thing at the moment. But it's... I mean at the school <??> to the school. Some of them wouldn't even know... I'm sure they'd be fine but I don't know what a relationship would be like. Because I think for her...**

Researcher: So what's your fear about <?? >

Andy: **It's just for her more... That she'd just be abused in school. That'd she'd be bullied because there are a lot of people that think it's quite, it's quite... I mean some of her friends that I think they kind of know, they must do by now and I just fear that they'll go and tell other people who might not be as tolerant as they are for 11 year olds. So my fear is that she'd be bullied**

(Outlying estates focus group)

Safety fears are therefore multifarious and complex. Where sexual/gender identities are not accepted, this can impact on not just the individual but also those around them that are cared about and cared for.

### **Trans**

Only a third (n. 12) of trans respondents felt very safe at home. Those who are trans are less likely to feel safe outside in Brighton at night ( $p < .0005$  in both cases). Only 25% (n. 10) of trans respondents felt safe outside at night, compared to 39% (n. 293) of non-trans respondents. 33% (n. 13) of trans respondents felt unsafe, and 18% (n. 7) of trans respondents felt very unsafe outside at night. This compares to 13% (n. 99) of non-trans respondents who felt unsafe outside at night, and the 3% (n. 21) of non-trans respondents who felt very unsafe outside at night.

### Physical disability / long-term health impairment

Those with a disability or long-term health impairment were less likely to feel very safe or safe and more likely to feel unsafe/very unsafe at home and outside in Brighton in the day and at night. Only 3% (n. 3) of those with a disability or long-term health impairment felt very safe outside in Brighton at night, and only 25% felt safe (n. 30). This compares with 9% (n. 61) of people without a disability or long-term health impairment who felt very safe outside at night, and 41% (n. 276) of this group who felt safe. Of those with a physical disability or long-term health impairment, 22% (n. 26) felt unsafe outside at night in Brighton, and 12% (n. 14) felt very unsafe. This compares with respective figures of 12% (n. 82) and 2% (n. 15) for respondents without a disability or long-term health impairment ( $p < .0005$ ).

While less than one percent of those without a disability or long-term physical impairment (n. 4) felt unsafe or very unsafe at home, 5% of those with a disability or long-term physical impairment felt unsafe or very unsafe at home. While 96% of those without a disability or long-term physical impairment (n. 619) felt safe or very safe at home, somewhat fewer – 86% (n. 102) – of those with a disability or physical impairment felt safe or very safe at home ( $p < .0005$ ).

10% (n. 12) of those with a disability or long-term impairment felt unsafe or very unsafe outside in Brighton during the day, compared to 1% (n. 8) of those without a disability or long-term health impairment. 69% (n. 81) of those with a disability or long-term impairment felt safe or very safe outside in Brighton during the day, compared with 90% (n. 604) of those without a disability or long-term physical impairment ( $p < .0005$ ).

### Age

Outside in Brighton at night, those in the 26-35 age group felt the safest and those aged over 55 the least safe ( $p < .0005$ ). Amongst those under 26, 13% (n. 16) felt very safe outside in Brighton at night, 40% (n. 49) felt safe, 12% (n. 15) felt unsafe, and less than one percent (n. 1) felt very unsafe. Compared to this, amongst those over 55, 9% (n. 7) felt very safe outside in Brighton at night, 18% (n. 14) felt safe, 24% (n. 18) felt unsafe, and 13% (n. 10) felt very unsafe.

Amongst those under 26, 91% (n. 111) felt safe or very safe outside in Brighton during the day, compared to 75% (n. 57) of those over 55. Less than one percent (n. 1) of those under 26 felt unsafe or very unsafe outside in Brighton during the day, compared to 9% (n. 7) of those over 55 ( $p < .0005$ ).

### Income

In all three locations (at home, outside in Brighton during the day, outside in Brighton at night), those in the lowest income brackets were more likely to feel unsafe outside in the day ( $p < .0005$ ). Of those earning under £10,000 p.a., 73% (n. 115) felt safe or very safe outside in Brighton during the day. This compares to 93% (n. 84) of those earning over £40,000 p.a. Similarly, while only 7% (n. 9) of those earning under £10,000 p.a. felt unsafe or very unsafe outside in Brighton during the day, there were no respondents who earning more than £40,000 p.a. who felt unsafe or very unsafe in outside in Brighton during the day.

### Isolation

Those who are isolated feel less safe outside in Brighton during the day and outside in Brighton at night (both  $p = .0005$ ). While 74% (n, 193) of those who feel isolated at least some of the time felt safe outside in Brighton during the day, 93% (n. 486) of those who do not feel isolated felt safe outside in Brighton during the day. 6% (n. 15) of those who feel isolated at least some of the time felt unsafe outside in Brighton during the day, compared to 1% (n. 5) of those who do not feel isolated.

29% (n. 76) of those who feel isolated at least some of the time felt safe outside in Brighton during the night, compared to 56% (n. 290) of those who do not feel isolated. A similar strong contrast is apparent in the figures for feeling unsafe: 33% (n. 85) of those who feel isolated feel unsafe outside in Brighton at night, compared to 11% (n. 57) of those who do not feel isolated.

### Area of residence

Despite 30% of those who live in St. James Street and Kemptown saying that they have experienced hate crime where they live, this group (13%) are the least likely to say that they avoid going home to where they live due to safety concerns. This rises to 15% for those who do not live in any of the areas listed in the questionnaire and rises steeply (22%) for those who live in the areas of potential deprivation. There are also significant differences in avoidance of home places by tenure ( $p < .0001$ ). LGBT people who live in social housing are over 3 times as likely to avoid going home to where they live (49%) than those who own their own homes (13%) and those that rent privately (15%). This indicates a pattern of fear and avoidance of areas of residence that varies by tenure and area of residence.

One respondent mentioned their anxiety of the estate where they live and how this linked into their sexuality:

**Think it is more my generalised anxiety levels and fear of what could happen, i.e. homophobia from teenagers on [the] estate I live [on]**

(Questionnaire 16)

These anxieties and fear can result in the concealment of sexual and gender identities. In these cases, going home to where one lives may mean concealing 'dangerous' identities, even in 'tolerant' Brighton:

Gemma: **In certain area of Brighton it is known like the gay community and they are recognised and everything but where I live it is not a gay community and I don't think they would like gay people where I am.**

Tracey: **I had that in my old flat, there were these two people they were hassling me putting like lit matches through my door, food through my door, just writing Dyke right across the landing**

(Mental health focus group)

Tracey points to the differences that have already been seen in the quantitative data regarding 'gay areas' compared to other areas of

Brighton & Hove that are perceived to be less safe. Gemma and Tracey worry about being seen to be gay in the areas in which they live and how this could and has resulted in attacks on their property. This is from prior experience of such hate crime (see also section 6.4). These fears and past experiences therefore inform how comfortable I3 and I1 feel about their sexual identities in their areas of residence.

### 5.3. Feeling safe in Brighton & Hove

Only a third (33%) of respondents stated there was nowhere in Brighton and Hove where they did not feel safe. This varied amongst the LGBT collective such that trans, disabled and young people, along with those who are isolated, have mental health difficulties, are living with HIV, are from particular neighbourhoods and those of an 'other' sexuality are more likely than other respondents to feel unsafe in Brighton & Hove.

#### **Trans identity**

Those who identify as trans are significantly more likely (79%, n. 27) to feel unsafe in places, services or facilities in Brighton and Hove than those who do not identify as trans (53%, n. 288) ( $p = .007$ ).

#### **Disability**

65% (n. 54) of those who identified as disabled felt unsafe in relation to places, services or facilities in Brighton and Hove, compared to 52% (n. 255) of those who did not identify as disabled. This difference is statistically significant ( $p = .03$ ).

#### **Age**

Despite being more likely to experience hate crime (see chapter 3), those under 26 years of age are significantly less likely than other age groups to feel unsafe in places, services or facilities in Brighton and Hove. Only 36% (n. 36) of this age group felt unsafe, compared to 53% (n. 100) of 26 to 35 year olds; 62% (n. 112) of 36 to 45 year olds; 59% (n. 47) of 46 to 55 year olds; and 65% (n. 24) of over 55s. Conversely, those over 55 years of age are least likely to find no places, services or facilities in Brighton and Hove in which they felt unsafe (16%, n. 6). This compares to 33% (n. 33) of those under 26, 29% (n. 54) of those aged 26 to 35, 21% (n. 38) of those aged 36 to 45, and 21% (n. 17) of those aged 46 to 55. The p value for this test was .006.

#### **Isolation**

Those who felt isolated at least some of the time are more likely to feel unsafe in some places, services or facilities in Brighton & Hove (67%, n. 145) than those who did not feel isolated (47%, n. 16,  $p < .0001$ ).

#### **Mental health difficulties**

36% (n. 88) of those who have no mental health difficulties do not feel safe in some places, services or facilities in Brighton & Hove, compared to over half (52%, n 273) of those who have experienced mental health difficulties ( $p = .0005$ ).

### HIV status

74% (n. 29) of those who had tested positive found that there were places, services or facilities in Brighton and Hove where they did not feel safe, compared to 53% (n. 290  $p = .03$ ) of those who had either tested negative or had not had a test result.

### Sexual identity

Those who identify as of an 'other' sexuality are significantly more likely (79%, n. 19) to feel unsafe in places, services or facilities in Brighton and Hove than lesbians (50%, n. 99), gay men (57%, n. 175) or bisexual or queer respondents (48%, n. 26) ( $p = .04$ ).

### Neighbourhood area

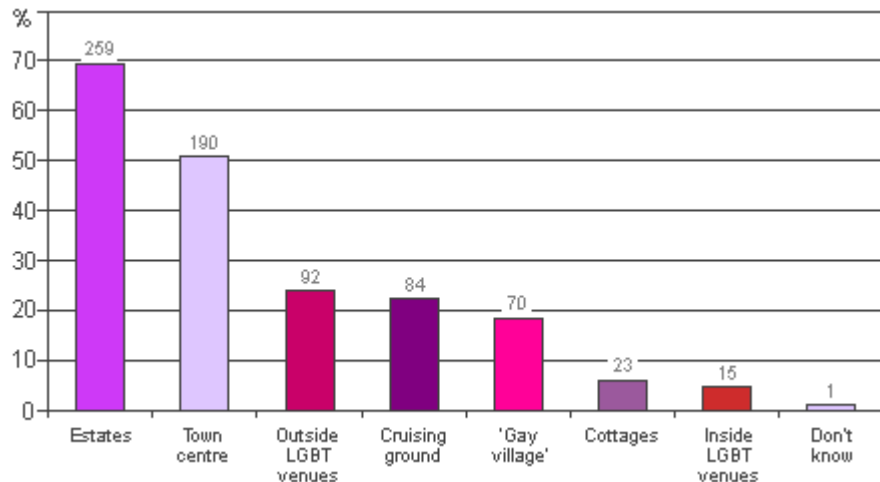
There was a significant relationship between the neighbourhood respondents lived in and whether they felt unsafe in places, services or facilities in Brighton and Hove ( $p = .03$ ). 59% (n. 59) of those who lived in St. James Street & Kemptown felt unsafe in places, services or facilities in Brighton and Hove, but an even greater proportion (64%, n. 94) of those in areas of potential deprivation. By contrast, 49% (n. 154) of those who lived in other areas did not feel safe in places, services and facilities in Brighton and Hove.

Therefore, except for young people, those who are more likely to experience hate crime are also more likely to feel unsafe in Brighton & Hove, although fear may not reflect crime rates as young people illustrate.

## 5.3.1. Areas that are perceived to be unsafe

The majority of those who indicated that they did not feel safe stated that they felt less safe in estates on the outskirts of Brighton and Hove (69%) and in the town centre (51%). See Figure 5.3a below.

**Figure 5.3a: Which places / services / facilities do you feel less safe in? % of those who stated there were places in B&H in which they did not feel safe**



76% of those who said that they felt unsafe, said that they felt less safe because of homophobia, biphobia and/or transphobia (see Table 5.3a). This indicates that for the majority of those who felt unsafe, their safety fears pertained directly to their sexuality/gender identity and cannot be dismissed as generic safety fears.

**Table 5.3a; Do you feel less safe because of homophobia, biphobia or transphobia? % of those who stated that there were places in B&H in which they did not feel safe**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Yes	280	74.5	76.1
No	53	14.1	14.4
Unsure	35	9.3	9.5
Total	368	97.9	100
Missing	8	2.1	
Total	376	100	

In the trans group, fear of violence and abuse related specifically to fears of transphobia:

Rosa: **You just get worried about walking down the street, and am I passing you know? Do they recognise me as a man or a woman and if I feel uncomfortable in myself am I going to get hit by these people?**

Natasha: **Well, I've been assaulted a couple of times. But at the time I sort of said to myself... I blame myself actually, because it was both times were sort of early in the morning and the truth was I was walking in an area where I shouldn't have been walking.**

(Trans focus group 1)

The rest of this section looks at a number of different places, services and facilities in Brighton and Hove and considers differences between LGBT people and how their fears of particular places influences whether they feel less safe in these places, services or facilities. It also highlights that those who feel less safe in estates, in the town centre, the gay village and cruising grounds fear homophobia, biphobia or transphobia. In other words, their fears pertain to their sexual/gender identities.

### **Estates**

There was a significant relationship between feeling less safe because of homophobia, biphobia or transphobia and feeling less safe on the estates on the outskirts of Brighton and Hove ( $p = .02$ ). 83% of those who did not feel safe on the estates on the outskirts of Brighton and Hove did not feel safe because of homophobia, biphobia or transphobia. This compares to 70% (n. 63) of those who did not feel unsafe on the estates on the outskirts of Brighton and Hove but who did feel less safe more generally because of homophobia, biphobia or transphobia.



Despite recent safety initiatives and a drop in crimes on estates in Brighton & Hove, 76% of those who live in social housing across the city do not feel safe in the estates on the outskirts of Brighton & Hove. This has clear implications when allocating social housing to LGBT people and may also, in part, explain the distribution of those in social housing outside the areas where there are large housing estates (see chapter 6). Such fears of estates have geographical connotations:

**Its not just the homophobia on West Street. In Moulsecoomb and Whitehawk - its the general level of intimidation and violence. I wouldn't go there, I wouldn't live there, and I don't know what you can do about it**

(Questionnaire, 262)

This questionnaire answer highlights how avoidance strategies due to fears of homophobia can restrict movement across the city (see below). It also points to decisions regarding where LGBT people may want to live. The fear of large housing estates is not solely attributable to those in social housing. For this person they would not choose to live on particular estates. Some noted the potentially irony in creating 'safe' LGBT spaces:

**Not sure you can. It's the people that live in these places and you couldn't just evict them. That would be another form of prejudice**

(Questionnaire 448)

Others already live on these estates and seek to increase the numbers of LGBT people living in their area:

**Well strangely enough I live in an estate on the outskirts of Brighton, and i am one of two gay people on this estate who from time to time suffer from it, I actually believe that the Council/housing association lettings should be to all sexually orientated groups not just heterosexual couples, with or without children**

(Questionnaire 13)

**More visible queers everywhere. Queer housing estates!**

(Questionnaire 020)

These questionnaire answers emphasise the perceived link between numbers of LGBT people and experiences of hate crime. Although it has not been demonstrated that hate crime against LGBT people occurs less frequently in areas where there is a greater proportion of LGBT people, there is clearly some work to be done both to make these estates safer for LGBT people and to address the perceptions of these areas.

### **Town centre**

51% of the sample said that they felt unsafe in the town centre. Those who do not feel safe in the town centre are more likely (86%, n. 143) to feel

unsafe because of homophobia, biphobia or transphobia than those feel safe in the town centre (72%, n. 102  $p = .007$ ). This indicates that fear is related to sexual/gender identities and this notion is supported by the qualitative data:

**I feel very comfortable being affectionate with my girlfriend in gay areas. However, in the town centre I'm definitely more reserved and fearful. This is due to straight residents or visitors gawping and making negative comments. I don't know what the authorities can do about this and I feel sad that it's something I will always have to endure until society's attitudes change**

(Questionnaire 179)

**St James Street receives a fair share of drug addicts and homeless people after dusk - I know 1 friend and 1 acquaintance who have had problems on this street so I try to avoid it if I can, especially later at night**

(Questionnaire 195)

### 5.3.2. LGBT venues

Inside LGBT venues felt unsafe for 15 respondents. The majority of these were bisexual, queer and otherwise defined, disabled, female or of another gender male/female. In addition, those who are BME or HIV positive are also less likely to feel safe.

#### Sexual identity

Bisexual and queer respondents, and those who identify as of an 'other' sexuality, are significantly more likely to feel unsafe inside LGBT venues than lesbian or gay respondents ( $p < .0001$ ). 23% (n. 6) of bisexual and queer respondents and 16% (n. 3) of those of an 'other' sexuality did not feel safe inside LGBT venues, compared to 3% (n. 3) of lesbians and 2% (n. 4) of gay men.

#### Ethnicity

Black and Minority Ethnic respondents are more likely (21%, n. 3) to not feel safe inside LGBT venues than white respondents (4%, n. 12) ( $p = .02$ ).

#### Disability

18% (n. 10) of disabled respondents did not feel safe inside LGBT venues, compared to 2% (n. 6) of respondents who did not identify as disabled ( $p < .0001$ ).

#### HIV status

Those who had tested HIV positive are significantly more likely (14%, n. 4) to not feel safe inside LGBT venues than those who had tested negative or had not been tested (4%, n. 12) ( $p = .02$ ).

### Gender identity

Those of no gender or an 'other' gender are significantly more likely (22%, n. 2) to not feel safe in LGBT venues than female respondents (7%, n. 9) who are, in turn, more likely not to feel safe in LGBT venues than male respondents (3%, n. 5) ( $p = .01$ ).

### Outside LGBT venues

Outside LGBT venues felt unsafe to almost a quarter (23%) of respondents. This varied by isolation and mental health. Those who felt isolated are significantly more likely (32%, n. 48) to feel unsafe outside LGBT venues than those who did not feel isolated (20%, n. 34) ( $p = .03$ ). Similarly those with mental health difficulties (30% n. 79) are more likely to feel unsafe outside LGBT venues than those who do not have mental health issues (22%, no. 10  $p = .004$ )

### 5.3.3. 'Gay village'

19% of LGBT people felt unsafe in the gay 'village'. Focus groups supported this data and indicated that there were particular fears in this area:

Mark: **Well, actually St James Street, which is actually kind of a gay street but a certain part of St James Street there are drunken people...so there are certain people that I don't feel comfortable with, I feel there is a risk, there are certain parts of St James Street, some areas of St James Street that I wouldn't feel comfortable and I wouldn't go at night.**

(Deaf focus group)

There was a significant relationship between feeling less safe because of homophobia, biphobia or transphobia and feeling less safe in the 'gay village' ( $p = .02$ ). Those who did not feel safe in the 'gay village' are more likely (91%, n. 61) to feel less safe because of homophobia, biphobia or transphobia than respondents who did not feel less safe in the 'gay village' (76%, n. 190). This once again points to fears regarding sexual/gender identities. Those who are bi and queer, living with HIV or living in areas of potential deprivation are more likely to feel unsafe in the gay village than other LGBT respondents.

### Sexual identity

Bisexual and queer respondents are the most likely group by sexuality to not feel safe in the 'gay village' (31%, n. 8). Gay men (25%, n. 44) are more likely not to feel safe in the 'gay village' than lesbians (15%, n. 15). 5% (n. 1) of those who identified as of an 'other' sexuality did not feel safe in the 'gay village'. ( $p = .05$ )

### HIV status

38% (n. 11) of those who had tested HIV positive felt unsafe in the 'gay village', compared to 20% (n. 57) of those who had tested negative or who had not had an HIV test ( $p = .02$ ).

### **Neighbourhood area**

Respondents living in areas of potential deprivation other than St James Street & Kemptown are more likely (32%, n. 30) to not feel safe in the 'gay village' than other groups ( $p = .02$ ). 17% of both those respondents who lived in St. James Street & Kemptown (n. 10) and of those who lived in all other areas (n. 27) felt unsafe in the 'gay village'.

## 5.3.4. Cruising grounds

Over 20% of respondents felt unsafe in cruising grounds. Those who did not feel safe in cruising grounds are significantly more likely (88%, n. 65) to not feel safe because of homophobia, biphobia or transphobia than respondents who did not feel less safe in cruising grounds (76%, n. 185) ( $p = .03$ ). There was no significant relationship, however, between not feeling safe in cottages and not feeling safe because of homophobia, biphobia or transphobia. 60 out of the 84 people who felt unsafe in cruising grounds were gay men and those living with HIV were more likely to feel unsafe in cruising grounds than other LGBT people.

### **Sexual identity**

Gay men are by far the most likely group by sexuality not to feel safe in cruising grounds ( $p < .0001$ ). 34% (n. 60) of gay men felt unsafe in cruising grounds, compared to 10% (n. 10) of lesbians, 15% (n. 4) of bisexual and queer respondents, and 6% (n. 1) of those of 'other' sexualities.

### **HIV status**

Those who have tested HIV positive are more likely (41%, n. 12) to not feel safe in cruising grounds than those who have tested negative or have not had an HIV test (22%, n. 63) ( $p = .02$ ).

## 5.3.5. Cottages

### **Ethnicity**

17% (n. 2) of those of 'other' ethnicities did not feel safe in cottages, compared to 7% (n. 1) of black and minority ethnic respondents and 7% (n. 20) of white respondents. There was one gypsy traveller respondent to this question, who said that they did not feel safe in cottages. Even though the p value for this test is .003, the low frequencies of responses for ethnicities other than white should be taken into consideration here. This means that this test can only be taken as indicative and further research is needed to explore the relationships between fear of cottages and ethnicity.

## 5.4. Hate crime and safety fears

This section looks at whether having experienced hate crime makes a difference to whether respondents feel safe. It examines feelings of safety outside in Brighton during the day, outside in Brighton at night, and across the city by experiences of hate crime (no experience of hate crime; only verbal abuse/negative comments, only in the street, only from a stranger; and all other forms of hate crime). There are no significant relationships between different experiences of hate crime and feelings of safety in respondents' own home. However, there is a significant relationship between difference experiences of hate crime and feelings of safety in Brighton during the day and at night ( $p < .0001$ ), although it must be borne in mind that some of the frequencies in this analysis were very low.

Those who have experienced verbal abuse from a stranger (90%, n.35) and other forms of abuse (83% n. 438) are less likely than those who have not experienced hate crime (94%, n. 203) in the past five years to say that they feel safe/very safe outside during the day ( $p=.001$ ). All three groups have very similar and low likelihoods of feeling unsafe or very unsafe outside in Brighton during the day, but those who had suffered 'any other' kind of abuse are much more likely (14%, n. 78) to feel 'neither safe nor unsafe' outside in Brighton during the day. It is also notable that those who had not experienced any kind of abuse are much more likely (48%, n. 104) to feel 'very safe' outside in Brighton during the day than the other two groups: 26%, n. 10 of those who had experienced only verbal abuse/negative comments only from a stranger and only in the street; and 30%, n. 164 of those who had experienced 'any other' kind of abuse.

Those who experienced verbal abuse from a stranger (18%, n. 7) and those who experienced all other forms of abuse (21%, n. 116) are more likely to say that they feel unsafe outside at night than those who have not experienced any form of abuse ( $p<.00001$ ). They are also less likely to say that they feel safe/very safe outside at night (57%, n. 123 no experience of hate crime, 36%, n. 14 verbal abuse only, 43%, n. 236 any type of abuse).

### 5.4.1. Places, services and facilities where respondents felt less safe by experiences of abuse

By considering the increased fear of crime experienced by those who have experienced particular forms of hate crime, this section explores the link between where a crime has been experienced and feelings of safety in specific areas. Those who have experienced hate crime in cruising grounds and LGBT venues are more likely are more likely to feel less safe in cruising grounds, LGBT venues and cottages. Unsurprising, this data indicates a quality of life issue where particular places are feared.

#### **Cruising grounds**

Perhaps not surprisingly, there is a statistically significant relationship between the likelihood of feeling unsafe in cruising grounds and whether the respondents had said they had experienced hate crime or abuse in a cruising area ( $p < .0001$ ). 77% (n. 13) of those who had experienced hate crime or abuse in a cruising area did not feel safe in cruising grounds,

compared to 20% (n. 58) of those who had not experienced hate crime or abuse in a cruising area.

### Inside LGBT venues

There is also a significant relationship between the likelihood of feeling unsafe inside an LGBT venue and whether the respondents had experienced hate crime or abuse inside an LGBT venue ( $p = .01$ ). 13% (n. 6) of those who had experienced hate crime or abuse inside LGBT venues did not feel safe inside LGBT venues, compared to 4% (n. 10) of those who had not experienced hate crime or abuse inside LGBT venues.

### Cottages

While there is no statistically significant relationship between having experienced hate crime or abuse in a cruising area and feeling less safe in cottages, there are significant relationships between both having experienced hate crime or abuse inside LGBT venues and having experienced hate crime or abuse outside LGBT venues and not feeling safe in cottages.

17% (n. 8) of those who had experienced hate crime or abuse inside an LGBT venue or event did not feel safe in cottages, compared to only 6% (n. 15) of those who had not experienced hate crime or abuse inside an LGBT venue or event ( $p = .007$ ).

18% (n. 11) of those who had experienced hate crime or abuse outside an LGBT venue or event did not feel safe in cottages, compared to only 5% (n. 12) of those who had not experienced hate crime or abuse outside an LGBT venue or event ( $p = .001$ ).

## 5.5. Safety and avoidance of activities and behaviour

Niamh: **We went down to a bar in West Street, and I just remember standing thinking I am so uncomfortable. I don't want to be here. It's just, you know, the way people were looking at us and everything. [So] we don't go to straight bars**

(First generation focus group)

Susan: **I mean I make sure that I'm not discriminated against by...**

Pam: **So do I!**

Susan: **... and I spend my entire life within the LGB community and, you know, it's entirely possible in Brighton to do that and I am sure lots of people do. Many, many, many, many more don't, they interact with the outside world, but it is a choice of mine to do that. As an**

**individual I'm not treated unfairly, I think because I don't give anybody the opportunity to do that. I haven't had to come out to anybody for a very, very long time, because I spend all my time in the community that already knows and if people come new into my life, they come as volunteers to <community group> so they're volunteering for a queer group. So it's like taken as read that I am.**

(Women's Focus group)

Avoiding areas where hate crime may be experienced is a common tactic for LGBT people and indicates a particular use of Brighton & Hove that is not the same for all people who live, work and socialise in the city. Avoiding areas, actions and events has implications for quality of life as well as isolation. The quotes here indicate the impacts of the fear of hate crime and the safety strategies that can be put into place to avoid it. West Street was mentioned in the focus groups and in the questionnaires as an area to be avoided. One respondent said that this paradoxically made the rest of the city safer:

**West street is particularly bad, but never go there at night that is unless Wild Fruit is on. It is nice that the people that start trouble tend to go to this area, as it leaves other area's trouble free, and I'd rather all the idiots that like to cause hassle do it with each other, don't care whether they get hurt and get in fights as long as it doesn't affect the rest of us. ... Keep em in west street with all the police to keep an eye on them I think that's the best thing to do.**

(Questionnaire 28)

Avoidance tactics do not just relate to where people go; they can also pertain to how people dress:

Jude: **I'm not going to dress differently to the way I want to dress or strip myself of jewellery because I want to appear to be something I'm not.**

Alf: **You see you are braver than I am. I mean**

Jude: **I've got nothing to lose have I?**

Alf: **I mean it is an issue isn't it because I've got some earrings that I would like to wear publicly but I wouldn't**

(Older people's focus group)

Although it is often presumed that Brighton and Hove is a diverse place where people can express diverse lifestyles and have the freedom to wear what they like, this is not the case for Alf. He admires Jude's bravery, because they do not want to 'appear to be something I'm not', and recognises his own safety fears in wearing earrings publicly.

The majority of respondents (73%) always, often or sometimes avoided public displays of affection due to safety concerns and just under a third (30%) always, often or sometimes avoided going out at night (Table 5.5a). Public transport (21%), neighbourhood events (20%), and using the LGBT scene (18%) were also avoided. Even in the categories that contained lower percentages, there continues to be avoidance by a significant minority and going home (17%), attending an LGBT event (15%), using a public service (13%), going to work (9%) and attending education (8%) were avoided at times.

**Table 5.5a: In the last five years have safety concerns led you to avoid...? (Valid percentages only)**

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly	Never	Total
Public displays of affection	14.3	25.9	33.2	12.6	14.1	100
Going out at night	2.4	6.9	20.2	26.7	43.8	100
Using public transport	1.4	4.5	15.5	18.9	59.6	100
Neighbourhood events	1.6	5.4	13.3	22.5	57.1	100
Using LGBT scene	1.1	4.6	12.5	20.4	61.3	100
Going home	1.3	3.8	12.3	12.3	70.3	100
Attending LGBT event	0.6	3.5	10.8	19.3	56.8	100
Using a public service	1	2.2	9.6	16.8	70.3	100
Going to work	1.6	1.4	5.6	12	79.3	100
Attending education	0.9	2.1	4.5	15.6	76.9	100

### 5.5.1. Public displays of affection

73% of the sample avoided public displays of affection at least sometimes. This varied by sexual identity ( $p < .0001$ ); isolation ( $p < .001$ ); and whether respondents identified as trans ( $p < .0001$ ). The answers were recoded so that the responses for 'always', 'often' and 'sometimes' avoiding public displays of affection were put together; and the responses for 'hardly' and 'never' avoiding public displays of affection were combined. This divided the sample into those who 'at least sometimes avoid public displays of affection' and 'those who seldom or never avoid such displays'. Please note that when the percentage figures for these two recoded groups are discussed below, they do not relate to the chi square test for the respective variable.

#### Sexual identity.

Lesbians, gay men, bisexual or queer people are more likely to avoid public displays of affection than those who categorised themselves as 'other' ( $p < .0001$ ). While 52% (n. 12) of those categorising themselves as an 'other' sexual identity at least sometimes avoided public displays of affection, a much higher proportion of lesbians (78%, n. 156), gay men (80%, n. 247) and bisexual and queer respondents (79%, n. 42) said that they at least sometimes avoided public displays of affection.



### Isolation

Those who are isolated are more likely to avoid public displays of affection than other LGBT people. 87% (n. 186) of those who felt isolated also at least sometimes avoided public displays of affection. This compares with 74% (n. 262) of those who did not feel isolated ( $p < .001$ ).

### Trans

Those who identified as trans are less likely to at least sometimes avoid public displays of affection (56.2%, n. 18, compared to 80%, n. 434, of non-trans identified people).

Therefore, lesbians, gay men, bi and queer people, those who are isolated and non-trans people are more likely to avoid public displays of affection.

## 5.5.2. Going out at night

**I do not 'look' particularly 'gay' so I am not affected by homophobia in the streets, but I have friends who have been abused. But I would not show affection to male friends freely in public at night in the town centre, or at any time outside of the town centre. I avoid the streets on weekend nights (to avoid lads who've been drinking) if possible just to generally be safer**

(Questionnaire 30)

There are differences between different groups of LGBT people in terms of their likelihood of avoiding going out at night. Groups with a relatively high likelihood of avoiding going out at night due to safety fears include: those of another sexuality (than lesbian, gay, bisexual or queer) (73%); trans people (63%); BME (50%); those of an 'other' ethnicity (48%); Deaf people (50%); disabled people (67%); older people (69%); those with a low income (50%); those who have experienced isolation (53%); those in social housing (47%). This of course has implications on quality of life and it is perhaps unsurprising that those who are isolated are starkly different from those who are not (19%). It is not possible to conclude whether avoidance of going out at night because of safety fears lead to isolation or if feeling isolated resulted in fears of going out at night. Similarly for mental health, it cannot be ascertained whether fear of going out results from mental health difficulties or mental health difficulties result from fears of going, although for some their attribution was clear:

**My anxiety disorder is largely to blame for my feeling unsafe in public places, straight places, or around common people. Or feeling trapped**

(Questionnaire 207)

### Sexual identity

The data shows that those who identified as of an 'other' sexual identity are far more likely to at least sometimes avoid going out at night (73%, n. 19). Bisexual and queer respondents are the least likely to at times avoid going

out at night (23%, n. 12), while 30% (n. 58) of lesbians and 33% (n. 102) of gay men avoided going out at night at least sometimes.

### **Trans identity**

Trans respondents are much more likely (63%, n. 27) to at least sometimes avoid going out compared to non-trans respondents (31%, n. 165). The original data (before recoding) shows a significant relationship between trans identity and avoidance of going out at night ( $p < .0001$ ). Trans people are much more likely to 'always' avoid going out at night (9%, n. 3) compared to 2% (n. 11) of non-trans respondents; and much more likely to 'often' avoid going out at night (29%, n. 10) than non-trans respondents (6%, n. 34).

### **Ethnicity**

There is a significant relationship between ethnicity and avoidance of going out at night ( $p = .001$ ). However, as the numbers of respondents are very small this data should be understood as indicating that potential issues and further research is needed. 32% (n. 172) of white respondents at least sometimes avoided going out at night, compared to 50% (n. 8) of black and minority ethnic respondents and 48% (n. 10) of respondents of 'other' ethnicities.

### **Deafness**

There is a significant relationship between whether respondents identified as deaf and their likelihood of avoiding going out at night ( $p = .004$ ). Again, with low frequency counts for many of the response categories, the recoded data is instructive. 50% (n. 11) of deaf respondents avoided going out at night, compared with 32% (n. 176) of respondents who were not deaf.

### **Disability**

Those who were disabled were more likely to at times avoid going out at night: 67% (n. 58) compared to 26% (n. 127) of those who were not disabled.

### **Age**

There is a significant relationship between age and the likelihood of avoiding going out at night ( $p < .0001$ ). The likelihood of at least sometimes avoiding going out at night increases with age: 21% (n. 21) of under 26 year olds avoided going out at night at least times, compared to 23% of those between 26 and 35, 38% of those between 36 and 45, 42% of those between 46 and 55, and 69% of those over 55 years of age.

### **Income**

There is a significant relationship between income and the likelihood of avoiding going out at night ( $p < .0001$ ). The recoded data shows that the likelihood of avoiding going out at night declines with increasing income. Those earning less than £10,000 p.a. are much more likely (50%, n. 57) to avoid going out at night at least sometimes than those with higher incomes. 33% (n. 59) of those whose income was between £10,000 and £20,000 p.a. at least sometimes avoided going out at night, and the figure for those earning between £20,001 and £40,000 p.a. was (28%, n. 61), while the figure for those earning over £40,000 p.a. was 21% (n. 13).

### Isolation

There is a significant relationship between feelings of isolation and the avoidance of going out at night ( $p < .0001$ ). The data shows, quite starkly, that those who felt isolated are much more likely to avoid going out at night at least sometimes (53%, n. 115) than those who did not feel isolated (19%, n. 68).

### Mental Health

There is a significant relationship between mental health and avoiding going out at night ( $p = .0005$ ). Those who do not have mental health difficulties (20%, n. 49) are less likely to avoid going out at night than those that have mental health issues (34%, n. 177).

### Tenure

Those who live in social housing are more likely (47%, n. 28) to at least sometimes avoid going out at night than groups with other kinds of housing tenure. 32% (n. 83) of those who privately owned their accommodation, 27% (n. 49) of those in privately rented accommodation, and 33% (n. 26) of those with other kinds of housing tenure avoided going out at night at times.

## 5.6. Conclusion

The relationships between fear and experiences of hate crime are diverse. For some groups, both fears and experiences of hate crime are high, and this chapter has shown a link between fear of crime and experiences of hate crime. Those who are trans along with those who are isolated, have mental health difficulties or are from particular neighbourhoods both fear and experience more hate crime than other LGBT people. Those living with HIV are more likely to fear crime, but have similar levels of experiences of hate crime to other LGBT people, except with respect to negative comments. This shows that negative comments may have implications for security and feelings of safety. In terms of age, those who are older are more likely to fear crime and deploy avoidance strategies; however, they are less likely to experience hate crime. There are clear indications that avoidance strategies used by LGBT people perhaps in relation to these fears and experiences. The majority of LGBT people at times avoided public displays of affection and going out at night, and this has implications for the freedoms people perceive themselves to have in terms of expressing their sexuality and where they feel they can go. Unsurprisingly, there was a strong correlation between isolation and avoiding going out at night.



## 6. Housing and community safety

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### 6.1. Introduction

This report has already explored some issues regarding housing, neighbourhood areas and the fear of particular estates. It is important to note that although the housing stock for the Council is located mainly in east Brighton in areas such as Whitehawk, Moulsecoomb plus neighbouring areas like Coldean and Bevendean (other high density areas include Albion Hill (Turner), Bristol Estate and Craven Vale, Hollingbury, Hollingdean and Woodingdean), LGBT people in social housing are not concentrated in these areas (see Browne and Davis, 2008, forthcoming). However, LGBT people regardless of tenure live across the city, and hate crime is not confined to these areas. This chapter will firstly explore LGBT experiences of hate crime from their neighbours. The reporting of neighbourhood crime will be addressed before moving to the fear of crime and feelings of safety. The chapter will finish by sketching some of the issues that pertain to harassment and mental health.

### 6.2. Neighbourhoods

Matt: **[I have been] harassed by a bunch of people in our street, that for some reason don't like us and I think it's because we're gay. I can't believe that because I mean it's Brighton for God's sake, you can't believe people. It does happen, people just don't like you. But we're having so much trouble over the years, so much trouble, we have been called paedophiles, we've had our front door kicked in. the other one went to court and pleaded guilty to the assault in the street, he's been... they've made false accusations against Peter (his partner) and the police have come and arrested him and 10 o'clock at night and put him in a cell. Our other friend has been arrested... these people have gone out of their way to inconvenience us in every little shape and form and whatever way they can.**

(Hate crime focus group)

Tracey: **I had that in my old flat, there were these two people they were hassling me putting like lit matches through my door, food through my door, just writing Dyke right across the landing.**

(Mental health focus group)

Both of these people lived in social housing, and their comments illustrate that hate crime is not limited to physical violence from strangers. As Matt and Tracey illustrate, it can take numerous forms, including ongoing harassment, intimidation and using familiarity with services and the level of trust that they had with these services to imply that Matt and Tracey were the perpetrators of violent crime. These forms of hate crime can involve criminal damage and attacks on personal property. 122 people in the sample had experienced some form of abuse, violence or harassment in their neighbourhoods because of their gender/sexual identities. 56 people said that they had experienced violence, harassment and abuse from a neighbour:

**My neighbour directly above will not communicate with me over harmonising the tenancies. Bullies me by making constant 24/7 noise. Immediate attack responses to civilised requests**

(Questionnaire 841)

10 of those who experienced abuse, harassment or violence from a neighbour lived in social housing, 25 in privately owned homes and 15 in privately rented accommodation. Thirteen LGBT people said that they had experienced some form of LGBT hate crime from a landlord in the past 5 years and 5 of these lived in social housing.

Contrary to potential assertions regarding household formations and experiences of hate crime, those who lived with a same-sex partner are slightly less likely (28% compared to 30%) to have experienced homophobia/biphobia/transphobia in the area where they live. This difference is not statistically significant illustrating that perceptions regarding LGBT lifestyles and experiences of hate crime. 37% of those who are living with HIV experienced discrimination on the basis of their gender and/or sexual identities in the areas where they lived. The problems this can cause for those living with HIV was indicated in the focus group data:

Matt: **The people that are harassing us and this is really, this has been going on for quite a while now, and these people for some reason the Council won't take action. I understand that they might be ill or whatever, but I'm a guy living with HIV. I changed my medication this year and I failed a combination, I failed a combination that was the side effects were like you couldn't believe. I couldn't believe it myself and I had to stop and in the meantime I'm getting called 'queer' and 'faggot' in the street and I thought I don't need this. The Council are there to house people, some vulnerable people for different reasons, but surely they should be there to**

**protect me and the Council have failed me as a landlord, they really have, they've failed me as a landlord and I'm disgusted with them**

(Hate crime focus group)

For Matt, the Council failed to protect him from those he has been told also have vulnerability issues. His physical reactions and mental anguish when a combination of HIV drugs failed him were added to by hate crime he experienced from his neighbours.

30% of those who lived in St. James Street and Kemptown and areas of potential deprivation had experienced some forms of prejudice where they lived in the last five years due to their sexual and/or gender identities. However, those who lived in Kemptown and St. James Street were the least likely to suffer criminal damage (2%), sexual assault (1%), and bullying (5%) in the past five years due to their gender or sexual identity ( $p < .05$ ). Those who lived in the areas of potential social deprivation were more likely to experience criminal damage (9%) and sexual assault (7%) than those who lived in St. James Street and Kemptown, and those who did not live in any of these areas (4% criminal damage, 3% sexual assault). 13% of those who live in other areas outside those listed experienced bullying compared to 12% of those in areas of potential social deprivation.

The data does not indicate where incidents took place, and they may not have occurred where people live. Whilst Police data for reported hate crime shows hot spots for physical assaults around the 'gay village', safety agencies (Partnership Community Safety Team, Police, THT, Spectrum, Housing, eb4u) accept that there is significant under-reporting of all LGBT hate crime, particularly involving 'low-level' harassment and abuse, confirmed in these findings (see the draft LGBT community safety strategy, 2007). Although this data does not indicate where the violence or abuse took place and therefore cannot be used to target policing initiatives, it should be recognised that safety initiatives should not solely concentrate on residents who live in Kemptown or St. James Street. The need to address hate crime where LGBT people live is explicitly addressed in developing strategies (see Draft LGBT community safety strategy, 2007).

Those who live in social housing are more likely to experience certain forms of LGBT hate crime. Those in social housing (20%) are the least likely to say that they have not experienced hate crime that was due to their sexual or gender identities in the past five years. 32% of those who own their own homes and 24% of those who privately rent have not experienced violence, abuse or harassment in the past five years due to their sexual or gender identities. 8% of those who live in social housing experienced sexual assault in the past five years that was due to their sexuality or gender identities; this contrasts with 2% of those who own their own property and 5% of those who rent privately ( $p = .03$ ).

32% of those who live in social housing have been teased because of their gender/sexual identities; 18% of those who own their own homes and 23% of those who rent privately experienced this form of harassment ( $p = .03$ ). 53% of those who live in social housing have received negative comments in the past five years relating to their sexuality or gender identities. This is similar to those who own their own homes (59%) but contrasts with those who rent privately (65%,  $p = .05$ ). This indicates that those in rented

accommodation may have support needs that are not addressed in the focus on social housing. With new sexual orientation legislation around goods and services, negative comments from service providers can now be addressed.

### 6.3. Reporting LGBT hate crime from neighbours

41% of those who had experienced hate crime from their neighbours reported an incident of hate crime to the police (the data does not allow us to see which incident they reported). The missing data with respect to hate crimes perpetrated by neighbours is much lower than for the overall sample (39% compared to 25%) indicating that those who experience hate crime from their neighbours may report these incidents more than those who have experienced hate crime carried out by other people. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in total only 61% have reported an incident, indicating that there is an undercounting of LGBT related hate crime from neighbours. Anecdotal evidence suggests that this form of hate crime has a higher rate of repeat and prolonged victimisation, which may account for the higher levels of reporting. However, the police do not collate data by neighbourhood harassment.

**Table 6.3a: How many of those who had experienced hate crime from neighbours reported at least one incident?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
The police	23	41.1	67.6
The Community Safety Team	2	3.6	5.9
Other	9	16.1	26.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>60.7</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Missing	22	39.3	
<b>Total</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

Table 6.3a shows a much higher level of reporting to the police than the general sample. However it shows a consistently low level of reporting of abuse from neighbours to the Council's Partnership Community Safety Team which has a remit to 'improve community safety, reduce crime and disorder and make people feel safer across the city' and offers 'help or advice regarding anti social behaviour that causes harassment, alarm or distress' including 'homophobia' (Brighton and Hove, 2007a, b).

In the focus groups, experiences of reporting and the action taken from reporting neighbour-related hate crime were discussed:

Matt: **The police, I'm surprised, the police have been great. To be honest I thought the police would be a bit awful, I thought the Council would be the better one. But the police, the police have got cases together, prosecutions and it's still going on, these people are**



**still doing what they're doing. The Council have done nothing. I'm so, so angry with... I have had the Council... I have the [name of Council officer] has literally laughed at me down the phone. She said "A big fella like you can't be intimidated by a bunch of little women". I find the Council disgusting and really for, for a town like Brighton that has such a big gay population, the Council are just completely useless**

(Hate crime focus groups)

Matt argues forcefully that there are disparities in services between statutory services. As has been noted above, experiences with the Council can be related to contact with specific individuals. There is no reason to believe a similar argument cannot be made about the police: there may be inconsistencies in responses. Here, Matt contends that his experiences with the Council have been hugely heterosexist, relying on dubious gendered stereotypes, when he has complained about his harassment. In contrast, the police have engaged with his experiences of hate crime and offered him help and support.

Housing services were also pointed to as an issue when dealing with conflicts between LGBT people and landlords:

**When I was a homeless person living in Council B&B's the Council supported the transphobic landlords against me**

(Questionnaire 828).

Housing services may have to broker conflicts between tenants and landlords in ways that maintain properties for social housing. However, the perception here is that of 'siding' with transphobic landlords against a client. Trans people can find the private rented sector difficult due to transphobic landlords. This can also be the case when living in council supported accommodation. Apparent lack of Council action can be perceived as the Council 'siding' with abusive neighbours and landlords:

Matt: **But we just get so much grief, and the thing is the Council... they spend so much money, "We will not tolerate this. We will not tolerate that. We will not tolerate the other and we will..." we can't be abusive, Council tenants can't, I mean there in the Council's handbook, and it's all not worth it, it's not worth toilet paper. We have been laughed at, we have cried down the phone, we have... "Well, Mr [name] have you kept the diary sheets? Have you kept the diary sheets?" "Yes, I have kept the diary sheets, what are you going to do? If you don't do something about this is going to get worse one of us is going to be assaulted...**

Nigel: **And then they turn round and say "Well, we don't really accept a diary because it's just one person's opinion in the end**

- Matt: **There's nothing we can do.**
- Peter: **Exactly.**
- Matt: **And then one of us was assaulted. "Oh, well, are you keeping the diary sheets? Are you keeping the diary..." I mean how many bloody diary sheets do you need to keep? It's just disgusting, I'm so disillusioned and if I really... I am so... if I had money I would give the Council's flat to the Council and I would say "Stuff it!" I'd say "You are the worst landlords, you are just disgusting..." .**
- Nigel: **We get called in for a visit [Council officer] who basically sit there telling us off for being so mean to this poor old couple downstairs despite the fact that there's charges against him. Not necessarily like they got followed through or anything, but....**
- Tony: **Apart from that one time that he [name] went downstairs to sort of say to this guy, "Look, leave us alone, that's it, we're calling the police" that is the only time either of us had ever approached him. He's broken a window, we've had to get that repaired through the Council and the Council are just like "Well, whatever." You know, he's forced his way into my home each time this guy has come up to us, to my premises, he's forced his way in, you know, he's thrown stuff. He's... oh, anyway, he's threatened to have all my rats put down and taken away and this was within the first few months of having the rats and that's when he first let himself in... So, but I mean the Council just seem as though, there's an old person, they will just bow down, bend over backwards, and accept anything they say at face value and it doesn't matter what you have to say, it doesn't matter how much evidence you manage to accumulate leading up to the situation, "But they're old, you obviously must have done something". It's like "Well, no, I mean if you'd actually bothered to keep my records from the start you'd see the reason I was housed was because I was completely agoraphobic, thank you. [LAUGHTER] But yeah, I just wouldn't leave the home, I wouldn't say boo to a goose and now, yeah, I'm having to do all of this**

(Hate crime focus group)

Housing polices regarding re-housing those who have experienced hate crime from their neighbours can be perceived as slow in addressing the perpetrator. The Council's 'sit tight' approach is supported by a range of services from counselling to physical security measures. However, with many abusive and violent cases, the victim may not feel safe to remain in their homes and in these cases a priority transfer to another property is sometimes the only option. This desire to be moved quickly can be motivated by a desire to move away from the abuse and the perpetrators.

For survivors of hate crime, moving can be quicker than court challenges and other forms of redress:

Tracey: **I was spoke to the Council and the Council said they don't want to move them because of the rent they want off them so I had to be moved and I really loved my little place and I was the one who had to move but at least I moved to a bigger property, so I can't... It went on for about six years and it was just having all these hassles ... but I had to keep a diary of everything as well so for the evidence for the Court and that so for the Council but they moved me just in time before the Court case.**

(Mental health focus group)

For Tracey, she has been moved from her home in order to escape verbal abuse and hate crime. She experienced six years of this prior to being moved. However, she notes that her move was 'just before' the court case was heard. This evidence suggests a desire to stay in the housing Tracey was in and that the perpetrator be moved, which should perhaps be the first consideration for housing officers. For many, though, there is a desire to leave the area and the housing where a perpetrator and their social networks can be intimidating and violent. This may mean that whilst some want to stay and have the perpetrator dealt with appropriately, others do not want to risk staying even if the perpetrator is removed (this includes the fear of potentially having to deal with further conflicts from extended social networks.) Where hate crime is an issue, these should be considered priority moves. However, even where the choice is given, as noted in chapter 3, moving may not be an option due to a lack of properties adapted to an individual's needs.

## 6.4. Fear of crime

Chapter 5 has discussed how fear of crime has important implications for where people go and when. Avoidance strategies can be deployed in order to feel safer. These can include avoiding particular places. This chapter will now address differences in avoidance tactics within the LGBT communities according to where people lived and offer some indication of the perceptions of places that inform these tactics.

### 6.4.1. Going home

Despite 30% of those who live in St. James Street and Kemptown saying that they have experienced hate crime where they live, this group are the least likely (13%) to say that they avoid going home to where they live due to safety concerns. This rises to 15% for those who do not live in any of the areas listed in the questionnaire and rises steeply (22%) for those who live in the areas of potential deprivation. As chapter 5 showed, LGBT people who live in social housing are over 3 times as likely to avoid going home to where they live (49%) than those who own their own homes (13%) and

those that rent privately (15%). This indicates a pattern of fear and avoidance of areas of residence that varies by tenure and area of residence.

One respondent mentioned their anxiety of the estate where they live and how this linked into their sexuality:

**Think it is more my generalised anxiety levels and fear of what could happen, i.e. homophobia from teenagers on [the] estate I live [on]**

(Questionnaire 16)

These anxieties and fears can result in the concealment of sexual and gender identities. In these cases going home to where one lives may mean concealing 'dangerous' identities, even in 'tolerant' Brighton:

Gemma: **In certain area of Brighton it is known like the gay community and they are recognised and everything but where I live it is not a gay community and I don't think they would like gay people where I am.**

Researcher: So how are you treated where you live then, specifically?

Gemma: **Well nobody knows I'm gay round there. I don't feel safe to turn round to tell everybody I'm gay but there again my neighbourhoods very, it is not, not clean neighbourhoods you know, we don't really know our neighbours that well.**

Researcher: So what do you think would happen if you were out about who you are?

Gemma: **I'd probably get set upon, it is that type of neighbourhood that I might get my windows smashed or**

(Mental health focus group)

Gemma points to the differences that have already been seen in the quantitative data regarding 'gay areas' compared to other areas of Brighton & Hove that are perceived to be less safe. Gemma and Tracey worry about being seen to be gay in the areas in which they live and how this could result in attacks on their property. This is from prior experience of such hate crimes (see also section 6.6). These fears and past experiences therefore inform how comfortable Gemma and Tracey feel about their sexual identities in their areas of residence.

#### 6.4.2. Feelings of safety and avoidance strategies

As shown in chapter 5, only a third (33%) of respondents stated there was nowhere in Brighton and Hove where they did not feel safe. The majority of those who indicated they did not feel safe stated that they felt less safe in

estates on the outskirts of Brighton and Hove (69%). Some noted the potentially irony in creating 'safe' LGBT spaces:

**Not sure you can. It's the people that live in these places and you couldn't just evict them. That would be another form of prejudice**

(Questionnaire 448)

For others, they already live on these estates and seek to increase the numbers of LGBT people in their area (as noted on page 58), there is a perceived link between numbers of LGBT people and experiences of hate crime in an area. Although this link may be spurious, there is clearly some work to be done both to make these estates safer for LGBT people and to address the perceptions of these areas. It should be noted that fear of crime should not be seen as 'irrational', and whilst estates continue to be perceived and, for some, experienced as 'unsafe', LGBT people may require alternative housing options.

## 6.5. Harassment and mental health

As noted in chapter two, hate crime can have implications for health and wellbeing. It is important here to highlight that this can be exacerbated when the harassment occurs in the home, particularly for those who are vulnerable and in social housing:

Tracey: **getting shouted out you know like on the balcony as you are walking down the road, 'oh you fucking puff' and all that and 'go back to Lesbos land' and you know it was getting ... it went on for about six years and it was just having all these hassles and that, they were writing dirty letters to me and everything....**

(Mental Health Focus Group)

Dan: **Just recently there were two kiddies from across the road, they were standing there for well over an hour and half throwing stones at the car until...they weren't happy until they had smashed a window and that was it. You know at the end of the day what can police do, oh, they're children. So do the adults not take responsibility for them? I mean I literally go up to the Council and I say to them well that is homophobic attack, I don't care what you say. The man knew his kids were doing it, he even threw one and it hit a bus. The police came round, saw the evidence, they were satisfied, they went over. I mean at the end of the day what do we still get? We get the intimidation now, do you know what I mean? I didn't want this. It's intimidation <?? – 1.18.45>. I've had my car, damage done to my vehicle, they just plonk their arse, ram right up to the back of it. They take my disabled parking bay,**

**half in and half out and block me in so I can't get out but why? What have I done? I've only been there what 2 years. I hardly go out the house. I very occasionally see the neighbours and if I do go out it's usually late at night when they're all in bed. You know we go to maybe the local shop, go and get some bits, because it's the only time that he can go out. He won't go out like in the daytime.**

(Disabled focus group)

This participant's isolation was clearly affected by the neighbour abuse he experienced. His (and his partner's) mental health difficulties were exacerbated through neighbours that he describes as intimidating and as engaging in criminal damage. Issues of multiple marginalisation were also clear in the hate crime focus group:

Tony: **Yeah, mental health. Yeah, which is the main reason I essentially got put on the vulnerable housing list. The only people that seem to show any care and concern about it were the police on the last time that I had problems with the neighbour downstairs and they were the only ones that took into account. The Council just turned round and said "Well, take your medication if it's that serious". That's what I got from them. It's like "Okay, fine, I take really strong anti-psychotics, you know, anti depressants the lot and I'm being told to take more, the amount I do take leaves me groggy for the first four hours every morning...**

Nigel: **No, it means you sleep throughout most of the day**

Tony: **...Day, you know, and I'm meant to just take them all. That's not the solution, my solution is I'm trying to get myself off this, I'm trying to sort my life out so that I can get on with life, you know, not have to be dependent on as many medication as possible and, yeah, like I say the police have been the only people that have every been considerate about it, even compared to the GPs**

(Hate crime focus group)

Chapter 2 examined some of the issues pertaining to mental health and harassment and this will be dealt with again in the Mental Health report. Here, it is important to note the connections between neighbourhood harassment and mental health issues, and it should be noted that housing and mental health have important overlaps in relation to experiences of hate crime. In the hate crimes focus group the police were an important point of contact for this person in managing multiple difficulties and challenges. This indicates a clear need for cross agency working in order to address the multiple needs that may be presented to any one of the agencies dealing with these areas.

## 6.6. Conclusion

There are indications that there is not enough safe housing for LGBT people as not all housing is safe, or perceived as safe, for LGBT people. Over a hundred respondents had experienced hate crime because of their gender/sexuality in their neighbourhoods. The qualitative research indicated that ongoing harassment is experienced and can be detrimental to mental health as well as exacerbating other health problems. Those who live in social housing are more likely to experience certain forms of LGBT hate crime. Locational analysis suggested that safety initiatives dealing with perpetrators and reporting should not solely concentrate on residents who live in Kemptown or St. James Street. 41% of those who had problems with their neighbours reported the incident. Although there was some praise for the police, there was evidence of slow reactions in dealing with the perpetrators. There was also frustration at some of the requirements made of victims in relation to recording incidents, where the official response was perceived as slow and at times homophobic. Problems of the re-housing of victims of hate crime were also mentioned, and further explorations of the desire to move or to 'sit tight' are needed. Three-quarters (77%) of respondents stated there are places in Brighton and Hove where they did not feel safe. The places where most LGBT people feel unsafe are estates on the outskirts of the city and in the town centre. Most attributed these feelings to fear of prejudice regarding their sexual/gender identities. The majority of those in social housing do not feel safe in the outskirts of Brighton & Hove.





# 7. Monitoring and consulting with LGBT people

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## 7.1. Introduction

This chapter will consider the provision of information by service users about their gender and/or sexual identities and will also look at the modes by which different groups of respondents would like to be consulted regarding the services provided by the police, the Council and the NHS. The final section of this chapter considers how different groups of respondents would like to get information about local LGBT news and events.

## 7.2. Monitoring

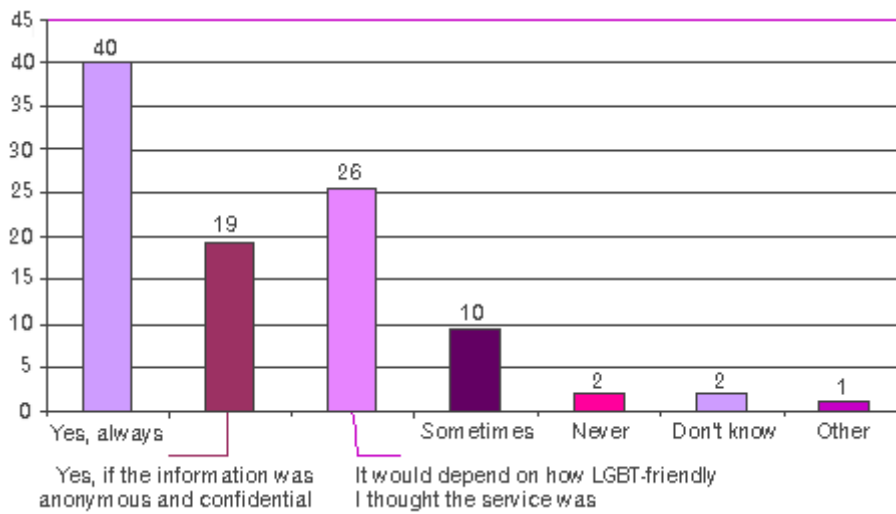
This section looks at the factors influencing whether respondents are willing to provide information regarding their sexuality or gender identity for monitoring purposes.

### 7.2.1. Giving sexual or gender identity for monitoring purposes

60% of respondents will give information about their sexual and gender identities if this information is anonymous and confidential. This figure rises to 85% if the service is considered LGBT friendly (see figure 7.2a).

The vast majority of LGBT people who reported at least one incident of hate crime said that they would be willing to give information about their sexuality or gender identity for monitoring purposes when accessing or using services. Bearing in mind that the total sample here only comprises about 1 in 5 of all respondents who indicated having experienced hate crime (in Q22), 47% (n. 65) answered that they would always be willing to give information about their sexuality or gender identity for monitoring purposes, 24% (n. 33) said they would be willing depending on how LGBT friendly they thought the service was, and 22% (n. 30) said they would be willing if the information was anonymous and confidential. Less than 1% (n. 1) of this group of respondents would never be willing to give information about their sexuality or gender identity for monitoring purposes. It should be noted that there was no significant difference in the likelihood to be willing to give information about personal sexual or gender identity for monitoring purposes between those who had answered that they had reported that their experiences of hate crime or abuse was related to their sexuality or gender identity and those who hadn't.

**Figure 7.2a: Are you willing to give information about your sexual / gender identities when using or accessing services for monitoring services?**



### 7.3. Preferences for different modes of consultation

This section looks at how different groups of respondents would like to be consulted by the Police, the Council and the NHS regarding the services these organisations provide.

61% of respondents would like to see consultations by the police, council and NHS undertaken by questionnaire 61%, perhaps unsurprising as this was the tool used to collect this data. A smaller proportion would like to have open public meetings (47%), LGBT community forums (38%), community events (38%) and LGBT focus groups (36% see table 12.4 c). The citizen's panel was the least favourite (24%).

**Table 7.3a: How would you like service providers to consult with you?**

	Frequency	Percent
Questionnaires	500	61.1
Open public meetings	388	47.4
LGBT community forums	312	38.1
Community events	311	38.0
LGBT focus groups	294	35.9
Citizens panel	194	23.7
Don't know	87	10.6
Other	18	2.2

### 7.3.1. Questionnaires

#### **Sex workers**

There is a significant relationship between whether respondents are or have been sex workers and their likelihood of liking to be consulted through questionnaires ( $p = .01$ ). 84% (n. 43) of those who had exchanged sex for payment or other goods or services in the past or as a one off, answered that they would like to be consulted via questionnaires. This compares to 65% (n. 320) of those who had never exchanged sex for money, goods or services, and 55% (n. 6) of those who said they currently exchanged sex for money, goods or services.

### 7.3.2. Community Events

#### **Age**

Those aged between 36 and 45 years of age are the most likely to want to be consulted through community events (48%, n. 88). 40% of both those aged under 26 (n. 38) and those aged between 26 and 35 (n. 70) said they would like to be consulted through community events. Older age groups were less likely to want to be consulted through community events. 30% (n. 23) of those aged between 46 and 55 years of age would like to be consulted through community events, and a similar proportion (29%, n. 10) of those over 55 gave the same answer ( $p = .04$ ).

#### **Neighbourhood area**

Those who live in St James Street & Kempton are significantly less likely (30%, n. 29) to want to be consulted through community events than those who live in other areas ( $p = .03$ ). 47% (n. 66) of those living in other areas of potential deprivation and 41% (n. 126) of those not living in areas of potential deprivation would like to be consulted through community events.

### 7.3.3. Citizens' panels

#### **Disability**

Those who identify as disabled are significantly more likely (41%, n. 33) to want to be consulted via citizens' panels than those who do not identify as disabled (22%, n. 105) ( $p < .0001$ ).

#### **Age**

Those over 55 years of age are significantly more likely (50%, n. 17) to want to be consulted via citizens' panels than any other age group ( $p = .02$ ). For every other age group, the proportion of respondents who would like to be consulted through citizens' panels was between 23% and 24%.

#### **Housing tenure**

Those who live in social housing are significantly more likely (40%, n. 22) to want to be consulted via citizens' panels than those with other kinds of housing tenure ( $p = .01$ ). 27% (n. 68) of those who privately own their accommodation, 18% (n. 32) of those who privately rent their

accommodation, and 25% (n. 19) of respondents with other kinds of tenure would like to be consulted via citizens' panels.

#### **Neighbourhood area**

Those who live in St James Street & Kemptown are much less likely (16%, n. 15) to want to be consulted through citizens' panels than those living in other areas ( $p = .02$ ). Those living in other areas of potential deprivation are the most likely (32%, n. 44) to want to be consulted through citizens' panels, with 26% (n. 79) of those living in other areas responding that they would like to be consulted through citizens' panels.

### 7.3.4. LGBT focus groups

#### **Hate crime**

There was a significant relationship between experiences of hate crime and the likelihood of respondents wanting to be consulted through LGBT focus groups ( $p = .02$ ). Those who have not experienced any kind of abuse are much less likely (30%, n. 60) to want to be consulted through LGBT focus groups than either those who have experienced verbal abuse or negative comments only from strangers only and in the street only (44%, n. 17), or those who have experienced any other kind of abuse (41%, n. 215).

#### **Trans identity**

Respondents who identify as trans are more likely (58%, n. 19) than those who do not identify as trans (40%, n. 207) to like to be consulted via LGBT focus groups ( $p = .04$ ).

#### **Income**

There was a significant relationship between income level and the likelihood of wanting to be consulted via LGBT focus groups ( $p = .01$ ). Those with incomes under £10,000 p.a. were the most likely (54%, n. 58) to want to be consulted through LGBT focus groups. This compares to the 40% (n. 70) of those earning between £10,000 and £20,000 p.a., the 38% (n. 80) of those earning between £20,001 and £40,000 p.a., and the 32% (n. 20) of those earning over £40,000 p.a. who wanted to be consulted via LGBT focus groups.

#### **Sex workers**

Those who have exchanged sex for money or other goods and services in the past or on a one off occasion are significantly more likely (57%, n. 29) to want to be consulted through LGBT focus groups than those who are currently sex workers (36%, n. 4) or those who have never been sex workers (40%, n. 195) ( $p = .05$ ).

#### **Neighbourhood area**

Those who live in St James Street & Kemptown are significantly less likely (29%, n. 28) to want to be consulted through LGBT focus groups than those who live in other neighbourhood renewal areas (38%, n. 54), or those who live in other areas altogether (47%, n. 144) ( $p = .004$ ).

## 7.4. Local LGBT news and events

This section considers how respondents would like to get information on local LGBT news and events. In particular, it looks at whether there are significant differences in preference of information source/method between those who think that there have been improvements in services provided by the police over the past five years, and those who do not think there have been significant improvements in the services provided by the police (examining the opinion of respondents who have lived in Brighton & Hove for longer than five years). This question was examined to explore how services can communicate to LGBT people about new initiatives and improved services.

### 7.4.1. How would you prefer to get information on local LGBT news / events?

There is no significant difference between those who thought that the services provided by the police have improved over the past five years and those who do not, in their preferences for getting local LGBT news and events information from any of the following sources: LGBT switchboard; LGBT community centres; local LGBT media; local LGBT websites; national LGBT websites; listings; emails; email updates from local groups; web message boards; and flyers or posters.

Those who thought that there had been improvements in the services provided by the police over the past five years were more likely (29%, n. 45) to want to get information on local LGBT news and events through the national LGBT media than those who did not think that there had been improvements in the services offered by the police (8%, n. 1). 17% (n. 15) of those who were not sure whether there had been improvements in services provided by the police would like to get information on local LGBT news and events from the national LGBT media. Clearly this avenue has had some success in reaching a proportion of LGBT people and informing them of police activities and successes. Improvements in the police will be addressed in the next chapter. Here, it is important to note that LGBT people may need to be reached about LGBT issues through diverse avenues, including but not limited to the LGBT press.

## 7.5. Conclusion

The majority of LGBT people are happy to have data collected regarding their sexuality and gender identity if this information is confidential. Those who reported their hate crime are, in the main, happy to give such monitoring data. LGBT people who want information from the LGBT media are more likely to have seen an improvement in the police than those who would prefer to be informed through other means. This indicates both success and the need to continue this line of promotion and dissemination, and the need for using other avenues of publicity.



## 8. Police, safety services and other services for LGBT people

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### 8.1. Introduction

There have been a number of safety initiatives that have targeted the LGBT communities between 2001 and 2006. This is clearly different from earlier eras where the police targeted gay bars and clubs, exposing (and pre 1966 arresting) those who attended them (see Brightonourstory.com). This chapter will examine what LGBT people thought of the services they have received from the police and other safety services. Perhaps because of the history of police engagements with LGBT populations and current positive advances on the part of the police, attitudes to police and safety services performance are complex. The chapter, firstly, will look at perceptions of the police and other safety services, including the perceptions of improvements in the service offered by the police and perceptions of prejudices in the police. The services to victims of hate crime and the use and opinions of generic services by victims of hate crime will then be explored. Finally, the chapter will examine future priorities for safety services and what LGBT people would like to see happen in order to feel safe.

### 8.2. Perceptions of Brighton & Hove Police and other Safety Services

The qualitative focus group data recorded praise for the police, their presence in the Pride parade (which police have led in 2005 and 2006), and their initiatives, including their community liaison officers and their signage outside John Street:

Sean: **They've got a base board outside (John Street) and it states quite specifically that homophobic crime is illegal, you know and stuff like that, and that at least indicates to me that they are not going to victimise me if I go in as a gay man and report some sort of crime. I hope, at least they say so on the outside."**

Jude: **I was very, very surprised (with the police presence in the Pride parade) because it is one of the things, it's**

**like the Forces, they wouldn't dare admit it once upon a time, 'I'm gay'. You'd get thrown out, you know. I was amazed that there were actual police there who would admit to being gay."**

Researcher: **What difference did it make to your attitude to the police?**

Sean: **I'd be more inclined to confide in them over an issue.**

(Older People's Focus group)

Positive stories regarding police treatment of hate crime (in the BME focus group this related to racial abuse) were seen to be important in improving perceptions of this service and respondents' tendencies to report. In this context, word of mouth can be an important tool in instilling confidence amongst marginalised and vulnerable people. The perceptions of the improvements that the police had made were also documented in the qualitative answers to the questionnaires:

**The coverage in the media has shown a huge difference in the services for LGBT people by the police over the last couple of years and there have been a number of incentives to improve reporting and build trust and confidence in the police. The police LGBT community liaison officer has also been working with LGBT groups and building relationships with the local community. I hope this continues and that other statutory services follow their example.**

(Questionnaire 77)

**I think the services the police provide to LGBT people have improved beyond all recognition in the last 5 years. I was working in a local bar when there were those razor slashings in the bushes years ago- when no one would tell the police anything, even about attacks as bad as that. The police have really worked to improve the relationship between the gay community, and full credit to them. I think the area for them to work on now is for the good work they do to be publicised, that the police do pursue and investigate hate crimes, that gay people who report are treated fairly and with respect, and perhaps to get some recognition nationally**

(Questionnaire 262)

Clearly these answers point to the importance of relationship building and the publicity of the positive advances that the police are making. The former is something that questionnaire 77 feels that should be taken up with other statutory services as an example of good practice. Questionnaire 262 believes that the work undertaken here should be recognised nationally, as well as amongst LGBT people more broadly. As mentioned in chapter 7 above, those who read the LGBT press are more



likely to think the police have improved. Questionnaire 77 recognises the positive impacts of this publicity.

The quantitative data supported somewhat these positive stories. 58% of those who have lived in Brighton & Hove for over five years said that the police have improved in the last 5 years, while 38% were not sure (see table 8.2a). However, this varied between LGBT people. Those who didn't report hate crime (57%), along with those who are Deaf (46%), and young (35%) are less likely than other LGBT people to think that the police have improved in the past five years. (Please note these analysis use the entire sample in order to create significant results). Despite the positive answers, there continues to be a perception from some LGBT people of an in-built homophobia in the police that is related its 'macho' culture. Furthermore, the histories of discrimination from the police force against LGBT people is also a factor (see section 8.3 below)

**Table 8.2a: Have the police improved in the past five years** (only those who have lived in Brighton & Hove for over 5 years)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Yes	225	57.3	58.0
No	15	3.8	3.9
Not sure	148	37.7	38.1
Total	388	98.7	100
Missing	5	1.3	
Total	393	100	

### Reporting hate crime

Those who have reported an incident of hate crime to the police (62%) are more likely to say that the police services have improved compared to those who did not respond to the reporting question (57%,  $p = .04$ ). 40% of those who did not give an answer to the reporting question were unsure if the police have improved or not (see table 8.2b). This perhaps indicates a lack of engagement with police services despite experiences of hate crime.

**Table 8.2b: Have the services the Police provide to LGBT people improved** (only those who have lived in Brighton for over 5 years) By reporting

		Some response to reporting question	Missing or did not answer reporting question	Total
Yes (there has been an improvement)	No.	46	179	225
	%	62.2	57.0	58.0
No (the services have not improved)	No.	6	9	15
	%	8.1	2.9	3.9
Not sure	No.	22	126	148
	%	29.7	40.1	38.1
Total	No.	74	314	388
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0

## Deaf

Those who defined as deaf, hard of hearing, deafened or deaf blind (46%, n. 13) are significantly less likely to think the police service had improved than all other respondents (52%, n.394,  $p < .0005$ ).

**Table 8.2c: Have the services the Police provide to LGBT people improved by Deaf (whole sample included as numbers are small)**

Deaf/Hard of hearing		Yes	No	Not sure	Total
Yes	No.	13	5	10	28
	%	46.4	17.9	35.7	100
No	No.	394	23	347	764
	%	51.6	3.0	45.4	100
Total	No.	407	28	357	792
	%	51.4	3.5	45.1	100

$P < 0.0005$

## Physical disability / long-term health impairment

Those with a disability are over twice as likely to think the police service had not improved (8% compared to 3%,  $p = .006$ ), compared to those without a disability. They were also slightly more likely to think it had improved (57%, compared to 50%) and less likely to answer 'not sure'. This shows a diversity of opinion that needs to be investigated further.

**Table 8.2d: Have the services the Police provide to LGBT people improved by Disability (whole sample included as numbers are small)**

Disability		Yes	No	Not sure	Total
Yes	No.	65	9	40	114
	%	57.0	7.9	35.1	100
No	No.	338	20	314	672
	%	50.3	3.0	46.7	100
Total	No.	403	29	354	786
	%	51.3	3.7	45.0	100

$P = 0.006$

## Age

Those over 55 and in the 46-55 age group (57% for both) are more likely to think the police service has improved in the past five years than those under 26 (35%,  $p = .03$ ).

**Table 8.2e: Have the services the Police provide to LGBT people improved by age (whole sample included as numbers are small)**

Age		Yes	No	Not sure	Total
Under 26	No.	42	6	72	120
	%	35.0	5.0	60.0	100.0
26-35	No.	122	8	107	237
	%	51.5	3.4	45.1	100.0
36-45	No.	136	7	103	246
	%	55.3	2.8	41.9	100.0
46-55	No.	69	5	50	124
	%	55.6	4.0	40.3	100.0
Over 55	No.	44	3	30	77
	%	57.1	3.9	39.0	100.0
Total	No.	413	29	362	804
	%	51.4	3.6	45.0	100.0

P=0.032

### 8.2.1. Prejudice

Despite the positive accolades for recent police improvements and the general sense that the police are getting better, 21% of respondents agreed that there was prejudice against LGBT people from the police, with 37% saying that there wasn't, with 42% unsure. This response varied between LGBT people. Groups with a relatively high likelihood of saying that there is prejudice against LGBT people from the police service include: those who reported hate crime (37%); those who are trans (42%); BME (41%); disabled (42%); isolated (33%); living in social housing (31%); and who have mental health difficulties (24%). For some of those who are most vulnerable to hate crime, this clearly has problematic implications for reporting and for trust in the police and safety services.

#### Reporting

Those who have reported an incident are more likely to feel that there was prejudice against LGBT people by or from the police (37%) than those who had not given a response to the reporting question (17%). Those who reported were also less likely to say there was not prejudice by or from the police (34%) or to be unsure if there was (29%), than those who did not answer the question (38% and 45% respectively,  $p=.0001$ ). This could indicate experiences of prejudice and particular expectations from those who reported. This was supported by some of the qualitative data:

**Yes I will never use them again if this was to happen to me again, I will use the ordinary police, what happened was horrific and disgusting and I received not one ounce of support from the community safety team or my housing officer**

(Questionnaire 13)

There were statistically significant differences in the perceptions of the police by trans, ethnicity, disability, age, isolation, mental health and tenure.

### **Trans**

people (42%, n. 15) are more likely to say that there is prejudice towards LGBT people by or from the police service than non-trans people (24%, n. 129,  $p = .02$ ).

### **Ethnicity**

Those who are BME (41%) and those who are identified as other than BME/white (43%) are twice as likely to say that there is prejudice against LGBT people by or from the police ( $p = .003$ ) than those who are white (24%).

### **Physical Disability/Long Term Health Impaired**

Those who identify as disabled or have a long term health impairment are almost twice as likely (42%, n. 36 compared to 22%, 108), to say that there is prejudice against LGBT people in the police service.

### **Isolation**

Those who are isolated (33%) are more likely to say that there is prejudice in the police services than LGBT respondents who are not isolated (20%,  $p < .0001$ ).

### **Tenure**

Those in social housing are the most likely to say that there is prejudices against the police service (31%), compared to other tenure groups. Those who privately own (26%) are more likely than privately rented (22%) and all other forms of tenure (23%) to say that there is prejudice against LGBT people from the police service, ( $P = .04$ ).

### **Mental Health**

Those who have mental health difficulties are more likely (24% compared to 13%) to say that there is prejudice against the LGBT people by or from the police ( $p < .0001$ ). This can indicate an alienation from police services where individuals are already vulnerable to experiences of hate crime (see chapters 2 and 3, above).

### **Age**

In contrast to what could be simplistic assertions of vulnerability based on age, the age breakdown of the question of prejudice suggests a more complex picture. Table 8.2f shows that those under 26 are the least likely to say that there is prejudice against LGBT people from the police force, and the second most likely to be unsure about this issue (47%). Those in the 36-45 age group are the most likely to believe that there is prejudice against LGBT people in the police service (32%), while half of those aged 46-55 are unsure about prejudice by/from the police service ( $p = .03$ ).

**Table 8.2f: In your view is there prejudice against LGBT people by or from the police? By age**

		Under 26	26-35	36-45	46-55	Over 55	Total
Yes	No.	19	41	58	18	11	147
	%	18.8	21.7	31.7	22.5	30.6	25.0
No	No.	35	81	54	22	11	203
	%	34.7	42.9	29.5	27.5	30.6	34.5
Not sure	No.	47	67	71	40	14	239
	%	46.5	35.4	38.8	50.0	38.9	40.6
Total	No.	101	189	183	80	36	589
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

### 8.3. Services to victims of hate crime

**Table 8.3a: How would you rate services to LGBT victims of crime?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Good	90	15.1	25.0
	Neither good nor poor	220	36.9	61.1
	Poor	50	8.4	13.9
	Total	360	60.4	100.0
Missing	System	236	39.6	
Total		596	100.0	

Of those who have experienced any form of hate crime, 15% reported services to victims of hate crime as good and 8% as poor. 40% of those who have experienced hate crime did not answer this question and 37% said that they were neither good nor poor, perhaps indicating a lack of awareness or engagement with these services despite their experiences. This could also indicate variable experiences and this needs further exploration.

Those who reported an incident of hate crime are more likely to report that the services to victims of hate crime were good (31%) compared to those who did not answer the reporting question (22%,  $p=.001$ , see table 8.3b). However, there is no significant relationship between who was reported to (police, community safety team etc.) and the rating of services. The police can help victims of hate crime with other services:

Matt: **The Police, I'm surprised, the Police have been great. To be honest, I thought the Police would be a bit awful, I thought the Council would be the better one. But the Police, they have got cases together, prosecutions ...[The council is] very good on paper and announcements but when it comes to actually doing anything actively, it all gets brushed under the carpet really. As soon as I'd given my statement the Council like don't need to do anything about it any more, and they've let him carry on. I never get any replies, none of**

**my emails or letters are answered, phone calls that I'm promised I'll get by the afternoon just never turn up**

(Hate Crime Focus group)

**Table 8.3b: How would you rate services to LGBT victims of crime? By reporting the incident**

		Reported an incident	Missing or did not answer	Total
Good	No.	40	50	90
	%	31.0	21.6	25.0
Neither good nor poor	No.	63	157	220
	%	48.8	68.0	61.1
Poor	No.	26	24	50
	%	20.2	10.4	13.9
Total	No.	129	231	360
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0

Contrary to the figures regarding prejudice in the police force, this evidence suggests that those who have potentially engaged with the service are more likely to describe it as good:

**I know the services to LGBT victims of hate crime are good, because I work in the criminal justice system here in Brighton & Hove (not for the police), and I have seen on several occasions the police response to reports of homophobic abuse/stone-throwing/attacks, sussex police are very quick to deploy resources to the matter, and have officers <usually senior officer> crawling all over it. They don't always get it RIGHT, but the reports are taken seriously, investigated and resources given to it. Having seen how Sussex police respond, I would feel very confident about reporting any homophobic crime myself to the police in Brighton**

(Questionnaire 262)

Experiences in the 'inside' of police and justice services can show the efforts that the police and other safety services are making, and this clearly instils confidence in LGBT people who work in these services. It also supports the evidence above, which suggests that there should be more publicising of these initiatives. The response recorded in questionnaire 262, recognises that although the police and other services 'don't always get it right', reports are taken seriously, investigated and have resources attached. However, this is only part of the evidence that is revealed by this data. Those who reported an incident of hate crime are also more than twice as likely to describe the services as poor (20%, n. 26) than those who did not respond to the question (10%). When the police do not 'get it right' this can have serious implications for an individual's life:

Massively, I was sexually assaulted in December 2005. This happened because my drink was drugged while I was in (names a club in Brighton). The police I reported the crime to were reluctant to take me seriously unless I had been anally raped (which I had). Their priority was gathering evidence- not my mental or physical health. They did not know what PEP (post exposure prophylaxis) was and I had not been able to advocate for myself I would not have received this treatment. This is a SCANDAL! I was put in touch with the SOLO team who knew nothing about gay male identity and were very, very insensitive. On reporting to the police station I had to tell them why I was there- in front of a queue of people reporting lost mobile phones etc., I had to say 'I am here because I was raped'. I was made to feel like the perpetrator not the victim. I then had to endure the indignity of a medical examiner who said 'it was risky of you to walk home on your own'. I was assaulted after leaving (names a club in Brighton) because I felt ill. This happened on the seafront in hove. My physical injuries have healed but the PEP was excruciating (the NHS staff were amazing). The police re-traumatised me at every turn – they did nothing on time, they had no procedures, they depersonalised me. The man who came to my home to produce an identikit picture (3 months late) said 'he (the rapist) looks like a nice guy you wouldn't expect him to do something like that'. It's a scandal

(Questionnaire 185)

Clearly, there are polarised opinions on the services provided to victims of hate crime. However, for some, the traumatic experience of an LGBT hate crime can be compounded by poor police services and services for the victims of hate crime. Questionnaire 185 highlights how police reporting can emphasise particular aspects of rape that is associated with a specific model of rape. He also had particular issues when entering the police station, which could perhaps be addressed through changes to police procedures and publicising how all of those who experience sensitive crimes can report without having to say this publicly at a police window. Questionnaire 185 also had particular issues with victim support services that were ill-equipped to deal with a gay male. Questionnaire 185's experience with the police was 'traumatising' at 'every turn'.

## 8.4. Generic (not safety specific) services

### 8.4.1. LGBT specific services

Those who have experienced hate crime are less likely to say that their gender/sexual identities are unimportant in their use of services than other LGBT people. 34% of those who experienced verbal abuse from a stranger

in the street only and 27% of those who have experienced other forms of hate crime said that their sexuality/gender identity is unimportant in their use of services, compared to 45% of those who have not experienced hate crime. Those who have experienced verbal abuse from a stranger only in the past five years are the most likely to want LGBT friendly services (29%) and those who have experienced any other kinds of abuse are the most likely to want LGBT specific services (13%) - see table 8.4a for comparative percentages  $p = .001$ ). This suggests that for the majority of those who have experienced hate crime, their gender and sexuality is important and this should be accounted for in the provision of services for LGBT people.

**Table 8.4a: Which type of services would you prefer to use? by experiences of hate crime (recoded)**

		did not experience any abuse	verbal abused/neg. comments only from strangers only and on the street only	any type of abuse	Total
LGBT specific services (run for LGBT people)	No.	22	4	70	96
	%	10.6	10.5	13.0	12.3
LGBT friendly services (welcoming but not targeted at LGBT people)	No.	35	11	111	157
	%	16.8	28.9	20.7	20.1
A mixture of LGBT specific and friendly services	No.	57	10	201	268
	%	27.4	26.3	37.4	34.2
My sexuality/gender identity is unimportant in my use of services	No.	94	13	149	256
	%	45.2	34.2	27.7	32.7
Other (please specify)	No.	0	0	6	6
	%	.0	.0	1.1	.8
<b>Total</b>	No.	<b>208</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>537</b>	<b>783</b>
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

### 8.4.2. Using mainstream services

Table xx shows that those who reported an incident to the police are more likely to say that they feel uncomfortable using mainstream services (46%), compared to those who did not answer the reporting question (29%). They are also less likely to say no to the use of mainstream services (37% compared to 55%,  $p < .0001$ ). This may indicate that previous negative experiences with mainstream services could have impacts on the reporting of hate crime. It could also indicate a reporting of hate crime from mainstream services. This is an area that needs further investigation.



**Table 8.4a: Do you ever feel uncomfortable using mainstream (public but not LGBT specific services)? by reporting an incident of hate crime**

		Some response	Missing or did not give an answer	Total
Yes, but not because of my sexuality/gender identity	No.	28	94	122
	%	19.0	14.6	15.4
Yes, because of my sexuality/gender identity	No.	40	94	134
	%	27.2	14.6	16.9
No	No.	55	357	412
	%	37.4	55.4	52.1
I don't know	No.	24	99	123
	%	16.3	15.4	15.5
<b>Total</b>	No.	<b>147</b>	<b>644</b>	<b>791</b>
	%	18.6	81.4	100.0

### 8.4.3. Knowledge of support around sex/relationships

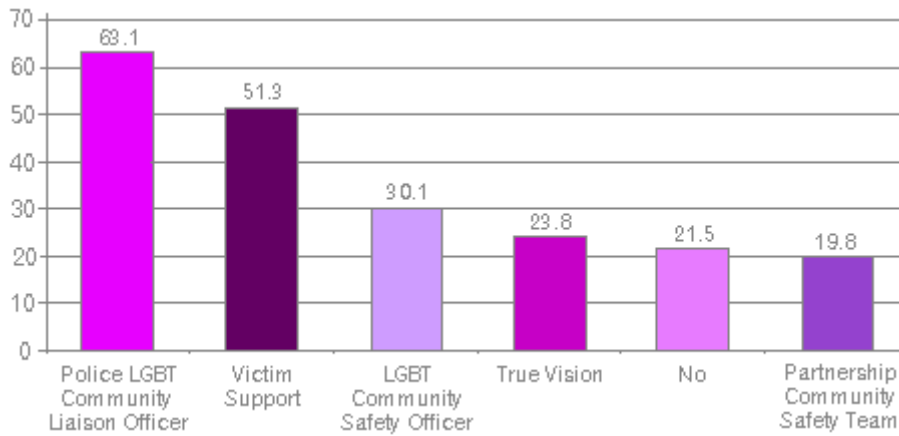
While the analysis showed no significant relationship between having suffered sexual assault and when respondents had last had a sexual health check up, there was a significant relationship between having suffered sexual assault and whether respondents knew where to find help around sex and/or relationships ( $p = .01$ , table xxx). Those who have experienced sexual assault (39%) are less likely to know where to find help around sex/relationships if they needed it than those who have not experienced sexual assault (62%). This may be because they have exhausted avenues that are presumed to be open for this purpose or may be because they have less knowledge or access to support systems and networks. Although these reasons should be investigated, there is a clear need to address this with survivors of sexual assault.

**Table 8.4b: If you needed help around sex/relationships would you know where to find it? By experiences of sexual assault**

		0	Sexual assault	Total
Yes	No.	473	11	484
	%	62.1	39.3	61.3
No	No.	289	17	306
	%	37.9	60.7	38.7
<b>Total</b>	No.	<b>762</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>790</b>
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0

## 8.5. Knowledge of safety services

Figure 8.5a: Are you aware of the following services in Brighton & Hove?

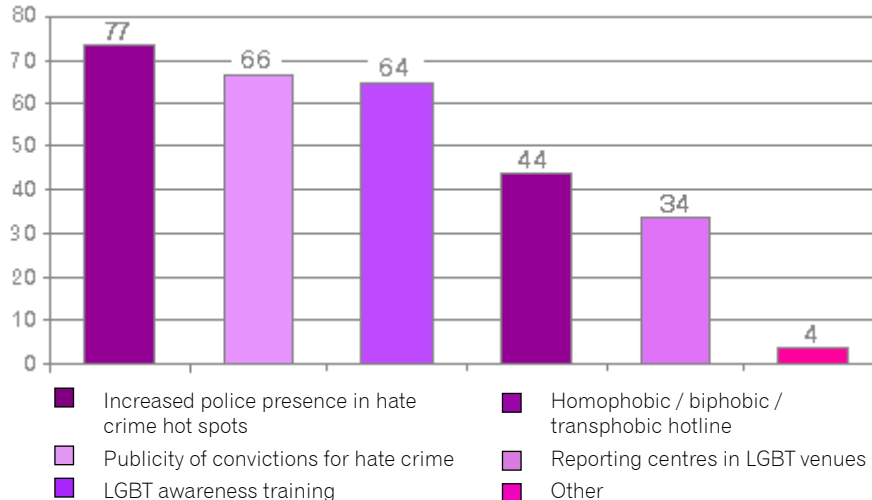


Over half of all respondents were aware of the Police LGBT Community Liaison Officer (63%) and of Victim Support (51%). They were less likely to know about the partnership community safety team (19%) and True Vision self reporting scheme (24%). 21% did not know about any LGBT safety services in Brighton & Hove (see figure 10.4). This test was validated by a fake initiative 'communities against violence'.

Those who have not experienced hate crime are less likely to say that they know of the True Vision packs (17% compared to 26% of those who had experienced verbal abuse and 30% of those who experienced other forms of abuse,  $p = .003$ ). However, there are no significant differences between those who had experienced hate crime and those who have not in relation to other safety initiatives.

## 8.6. Future priorities

Figure 8.6a: Which of the following would you like to see in the future?



The majority of respondents indicated they would like to see an increased police presence in hate crime hotspots (73%), increased publicity for convictions for hate crime (66%), and LGBT awareness training for police and service providers (65%) (see figure 10.6).

The questionnaire asked all of those who said that there were places in Brighton & Hove where they felt unsafe what would improve their feelings of safety. A number of solutions were suggested to address hate crime, homophobia, biphobia and transphobia in estates and across the city. Table 8.6a highlights the key categories in this qualitative data.

**Table 8.6a: What would help make you feel safer in these places? Major categories**

Categories <sup>1</sup>	No. of responses <sup>2</sup>
Greater, better or more visible police presence	122
<i>With specific comments about<sup>3</sup>:</i>	
greater/more visible presence at night	9
greater/more visible presence in LGBT areas/gay village	5
Better policing/more understanding of issues from police	5
More active policing against homophobia:	4
Of which greater LGBT police presence at night	3
Comments re: alcohol, drugs, abuse, violence and/or anti-social behaviour	36
<i>With specific comments about:</i>	
problem of/need for reduction or policing of yobbish/violent/abusive behaviour	21
problem of/need for reduction or policing of drunk people/public alcohol and drug culture	26
Better street lighting/CCTV	29
Education/training campaigns	17
in schools/for young people	8
More acceptance/tolerance, less homophobia	16
Own resources (avoidance of problem areas, own confidence in self/greater sense of own security)	15
Nothing	11
Better protection of LGBT customers by bars and clubs and intervention from other LGBT people when incidents happen	10
Don't know	9
Changes in/to 'straight' culture	4
Media/image/poster based campaigns	4
Pedestrianising St James Street and re-routing bus routes away from St James Street	4

<sup>1</sup> Where a response falls into one or more category and contains a comment that does not fall into one of the major categories, the response is counted within the major categories it falls into and is listed under 'Other responses'.

<sup>2</sup> This indicates number of time respondents suggested each item, and permitted respondents to suggest multiple items.

<sup>3</sup> Subsets of a major category (listed under 'with specific comments about') are not mutually exclusive with respect to other subsets of the same major category.

Hate crime deterrents and stronger penalties	3
More visible LGBT presence in public	2
More people on the streets at night	2
Reporting points/alerts on street	2

122 people said they would like to see greater, better and more visible police presence. 36 commented on alcohol, violence abuse or anti-social behaviour. Within this category are responses that only mention drunkenness (and/or drug use), without mentioning abuse, violence or anti-social behaviour. There are also responses that only mention abuse, violence and anti-social behaviour. However, many responses mention both drink (and/or drugs) and violence, abuse and anti-social behaviour; but only some of these make an explicit association between the two. In addition, specific groups (e.g. 'lads', 'teenagers') are often mentioned, but not all of these responses link these groups to either or both drunkenness (or drug taking) or violence, abuse or anti-social behaviour. 11 respondents said that nothing would help them to feel safer and 15 people said that they would use their own resources to feel safer.

### 8.6.1. Police presence

The desire for an increased, better and more visible police presence was not about a simplistic increase in police presence; sensitivities around particular issues around cruising areas were apparent:

**better lighting, more police on streets (esp. gay ones), no police in cruising areas, reporting points/safe spaces where u can go when scared**

(Questionnaire 185)

**Police presence in gay cruising areas to prevent hate crimes, can also lead to convictions, or fear of convictions, for consensual sexual activity**

(Questionnaire 297)

Questionnaire 185 argues for more police but not in cruising areas, and questionnaire 297 emphasises that police can be perceived as seeking to prosecute those who use those areas rather than the perpetrators of hate crime. Questionnaire 185 asks for help points and emergency lines to be placed in hate crime hotspots, which could be seen as virtually increasing police presence.

Some argued that the policing of LGBT areas was good and recognised LGBT issues:

**We have a very understanding police force in the cruising areas and St James St. I'm not sure they could be any better**

(Questionnaire 492)

Although some asked for increased police presence – and this was apparent in the quantitative data – others noted that this had not had an effect. Reporting (as this report has illustrated) continues to be an issue. They also noted that readings of these initiatives can lead to suspicion of the police's motives. What was clear from the qualitative data was that there was a desire to see continuity in policing, not just short lived campaigns that are seen as responses to high profile incidents.

**Neighbourhood policing/patrols/police presence on the streets/continuity of police initiatives... not short burst of police activity then a dropping off until the next crisis or publicity about police ineffectiveness**

(Questionnaire 183)

There was a desire to hear about convictions as well as safety initiatives, and two people also wanted to see hate crime deterrents and stronger penalties. Publicising this can improve how safe people feel:

**Hearing through the media that attacks and hate crimes in Duke's Mound were leading to convictions**

(Questionnaire 297)

## 8.6.2. Education

There was also a desire to see attitudes towards LGBT people being changed within and outside safety services. This included education (19 people), through to a desire for a shift in societal attitudes and prejudices.

**There's far too much concentration on responding to crime and criminals and not enough in preventing crime through changing the culture. Why should people risk further distress in reporting when a tiny fracture of cases ever result in a prosecution. Schools are breeding grounds for homophobia, and LGBT people learn to internalise a negative self-image, and to beat ourselves up for being outsiders. Mainstream services are failing to provide safety for LGBT users. I would never feel safe in talking about an issue relating to my gay identity at an open reception desk in front of others. Hardly any services have any visible signs of friendliness. The absence of some visible LGBT welcome, just a poster would do, deters me from using a service in the way I need. The police and council need to understand that there needs to be community ownership of safety campaigns**

(Questionnaire 696)

Educating children was important for 8 people:

**Educating children in schools about LGBT so they understand it and there is less homophobia. Religious groups stopping being homophobic and instead welcoming LGBT people**

(Questionnaire 838)

Questionnaire 838 recognises education is not simply about educating children.

**knowing that trans awareness is discussed in schools in the long term + more police + naming and shaming of transphobic/homophobic people**

(Questionnaire 212)

Participants spoke of educating licensees, and there was also a desire to educate other LGBT people. In the outlying estate focus group it was noted that neighbourhood renewal officers engaging in such ventures as promoting a Pride float both changed the perceptions of LGBT people about these areas and challenged prejudice in these areas, helping to make LGBT people who live there feel safer:

Andy: **If you go to a [gay] pub and you say 'I'm from Whitehawk', and they're like, 'Well where's your Burberry?'. The Pride in Whitehawk float challenges that. So I think it's about having more positive imagery. It's challenging what they usually think about, about LGBT communities.**

(Outlying estate focus group)

Educating LGBT venues was also important, and there was a desire for seeing visible evidence of diversity amongst LGBT people in these venues, as well as visible LGBT messages in mainstream venues.

**More public images of acceptance of LGBT in mainstream venues, clearer equal ops symbols in LGBT venues, better community policing for Deaf LGBT community.**

(Questionnaire 654)

### 8.6.3. Other responses

There were responses that did not fit within the categories created for table 8.6a; these are detailed in table 8.6b.

**Table 8.6b: Other responses**

16	think it is more my generalised anxiety levels and fear of what could happen, ie. homophobia from teenagers on estate I live.
162	Not sure. I am a woman so it feels normal to be wary when out at night, however I feel safer in Brighton than anywhere else I

	have lived. I feel very wary of being gay when I am almost anywhere else outside of Brighton. We are lucky to live here.
187	Home hate will always be there
317	being able to request a lesbian/gay worker to attend my home
401	Patrolled busses
465	Such places won't be safe in our lifetimes – it needs a sea change in social attitudes
553	Faith in police/higher presence. Zero tolerance attitude to homophobia- quick response if in danger - faith in community to help me if I'm in trouble. Services and communities that aren't specifically LGBT seen to be supporting us
556	my safety issues are only due to me not reporting the abuse so I live in fear of bumping into my abusers (which has happened) but as far as homophobia is concerned I feel safe and able to defend and stand up for myself if need be
571	More police Active positive council approval - telling Brighton people how much we bring into the city, in money and culture
572	mixed venues in West Street and support of the police
602	more prevention of abuse – I have heard too many harrowing tales from women who've been raped there
645	People need to understand how intimidating drunken behaviour is particularly in groups. Why should citizens feel they have to duck their heads to avoid eye contact which could result in an abusive comment? The streets of Brighton & Hove don't feel safe at night. While it is important to implement laws which curtail drinking / drunkenness in public places there also needs to be some way of educating people who intimidate others. May be anti-social behaviour orders (like parenting orders) should carry an element of education courses?
696	visible signs of friendliness, knowledge of where to get help, etc
700	Brighton has an aggressive feel to it at night, like many town centres I suppose. But I feel it more as I have gotten older
704	Effective support and authorities dealing with such incidents
719	I would certainly be conscious of my behaviour with my partner if out in central Brighton in the evenings but we don't go much because of childcare
724	more visible CCTV, more police presence at night. better transport - night bus is unsafe and lots of people won't use it, I want to use it but feel unsafe on the number 7 after 11pm.

## 8.7. Conclusion

It is clear from this chapter that there are both positive and negative perceptions and experiences of the police and safety services. The police, for some LGBT people, have improved in the past five years and provide a good service. However, there are still some fears of prejudice that tie into reporting and reasons for not reporting (see chapter 4). There are polarised opinions on the services provided to victims of hate crime. However, for some, the traumatic experience of an LGBT hate crime can be compounded by poor police services and services for the victims of hate crime. Clearly, negative experiences and historical contexts continue to

have pertinence, but these services are addressing this legacy and attempting to ensure that services provided to LGBT people are appropriate. The majority of those who have experienced hate crime believe that their gender and sexuality is important and this should be accounted for in the provision of services for LGBT people. Thus, when examining improvements in services for LGBT people, this should be taken into account.



## 9. Conclusion

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This report has shown that hate crime continues to be extensively perpetrated against LGBT people. This can result from and result in further support needs and vulnerabilities. Fear of crime also impacts the ability of LGBT people to be themselves and live lives that are free not only from violence and abuse, but also from the fear of violence and abuse. The police and other safety services can be seen to have improved, but there is still work to be done. This chapter will outline the main points of all the chapters and then address the issues for specific marginalised groups across the report.

### 9.1. Overview of all the chapters

Chapter two argued that hate crime can take insidious forms that are often ignored, 'tolerated' and that remain unnamed. Yet, these hate crimes can have emotional costs and effects. Hate crime can both impact on, and result from, vulnerabilities around mental health and isolation. Peer support for hate crime can be important and safe spaces in which to discuss safety with other LGBT people can be helpful. The chapter finished by arguing for a broad definition of safety that was not simply about not experiencing hate crime (although hate crime is the focus of this report), but including raising awareness of acceptable behaviours, equalities initiatives and broader community engagements.

The majority of LGBT people who completed this questionnaire had experienced some form of hate crime. Although it is assumed that this comprises mainly of verbal abuse/negative comments from a stranger in the street, only 40 people had only experienced this form of hate crime, indicating that the majority of people have experienced something other than or as well as verbal abuse/physical violence from a stranger in the street. These experiences varied within the collective, illustrating particular vulnerabilities and potential risk factors within this grouping. This chapter identified trans people, bisexual and queer people, those who defined in a category other than lesbian, gay, bisexual or queer, young people (those under 26), and isolated individuals as vulnerable to hate crime. Those over 55 are the least likely to experience hate crime. Furthermore, it showed that bi, queer and trans people are more likely to experience hate crime in LGBT venues and from other LGBT people.

Chapter three demonstrated that only a minority of LGBT people who experience hate crime report these incidents. Where hate crimes are reported, the verdict regarding the responses was mixed, with 49% saying the response was good. Similar to chapter one, this was because hate crimes were not considered 'serious enough' and some forms of hate crimes were not believed to be priorities for services. Reporting is also

related to LGBT people's historical engagement with police services who have not, historically, shown respect to this community, and this continues to be play a part in decision making about reporting. However, there are also internal tensions within the LGBT communities when reporting hate crime that occurs between LGBT people. This includes fears of a loss of social networks and fears that these particular forms of discrimination that will not be 'taken seriously'. There were some indications that the purpose of reporting can be not only to seek support in dealing with perpetrators, but also as a strategy to enable victims to feel deal with their experiences of hate crime.

The relationships between fear and experiences of hate crime are diverse. For some groups, both fears and experiences of hate crime are high, and this chapter has shown a link between fear of crime and experiences of hate crime. Those who are trans along with those who are isolated, have mental health difficulties or are from particular neighbourhoods both fear and experience more hate crime than other LGBT people. Those living with HIV are more likely to fear crime, but have similar levels of experiences of hate crime to other LGBT people, except with respect to negative comments. This shows that negative comments may have implications for security and feelings of safety. However, in terms of age, those who are older are more likely to fear crime and deploy avoidance strategies; however, they are less likely to experience hate crime. There are clear avoidance strategies used by LGBT people perhaps in relation to these fears and experiences. The majority of LGBT people at times avoided public displays of affection and going out at night, and this has implications for the freedoms people perceive themselves to have in terms of expressing their sexuality and where they feel they can go. Unsurprisingly, there was a strong correlation between isolation and avoiding going out at night.

It could be argued from the chapter that addressed housing and safety that there is not enough safe housing for LGBT people as not all housing is safe, or perceived as safe, for LGBT people. Over a hundred respondents had experienced hate crime because of their gender/sexuality in their neighbourhoods. The qualitative research indicated that ongoing harassment is experienced and can be detrimental to mental health, as well as exacerbating other health problems. Those who live in social housing are more likely to experience certain forms of LGBT hate crime. Locational analysis suggested that safety initiatives dealing with perpetrators and reporting should not solely concentrate on residents who live in Kemptown or St. James Street. 41% of those who had problems with their neighbours reported the incident. Although there was some praise for the police, there was evidence of slow reactions in dealing with the perpetrators. There was also frustration at some of the requirements made on victims in relation to recording incidents whereupon the official response was read as slow and at times homophobic. Problems of the re-housing of victims of hate crime were also mentioned, and further explorations of the desire to move or to 'sit tight' are needed.

Three-quarters (77%) of respondents stated there are places in Brighton and Hove where they did not feel safe. The places where most LGBT people feel unsafe are estates on the outskirts of the city and in the town centre. Most attributed these feelings to fear of prejudice regarding their sexual/gender identities. The majority of those in social housing do not feel safe in the outskirts of Brighton & Hove.

It is clear from chapter 8 that there are both positive and negative understandings and experiences of the police and safety services. The police, in the opinion of some LGBT people, have improved in the past five years and provide a good service. However, there are still some fears of prejudice that tie into reporting and reasons for not reporting. There are polarised opinions on the services provided to victims of hate crime. However, for some, the traumatic experience of an LGBT hate crime can be compounded by poor police services and services for the victims of hate crime. Clearly, negative experiences and historical contexts continue to have pertinence, but these services are addressing this legacy and attempting to ensure that services provided to LGBT people are appropriate. The majority of those who have experienced hate crime believe that their gender and sexuality is important and this should be accounted for in the provision of services for LGBT people. Also, when examining improvements in services for LGBT people, this should be taken into account.

## 9.2. Details of specific marginalised groups

### 9.2.1. Young

Young people (those under 26) are more likely to have experienced all forms of hate crime, except criminal damage, harassment and sexual assault (although 11 people out of the 29 that had experienced sexual assault were under 26), compared to other LGBT people. There was also evidence of hate crime occurring at school/in education and this supports other studies that have specifically investigated this.

Despite their experiences of hate crime, young people are less likely to fear crime or avoid going out due to safety fears than other LGBT people. 13% of young people felt very safe outside in Brighton at night, 40% felt safe, 12% felt unsafe, and less than one percent (n. 1) felt very unsafe. 91% (n. 111) felt safe or very safe outside in Brighton during the day. Less than one percent (n. 1) of those under 26 felt unsafe or very unsafe outside in Brighton during the day. Those under 26 years of age were also significantly less likely than other age groups to feel unsafe in places, services or facilities in Brighton and Hove. Only 36% (n. 36) of this age group felt unsafe in Brighton & Hove and they are less likely than other age groups to avoid going out at night due to safety fears. Those under 26 are less likely than other age groups to think that the police service has improved in the past five years (35%,  $p = .03$ ).

### 9.2.2. Older

Those over 55 are the least likely to experience hate crime and are (53%) more likely to say that they have not experienced any form of hate crime in the past five years than other LGBT people. Yet, older people are more likely to fear crime and feel unsafe. Only 75% of older people felt safe or very safe outside in Brighton during the day which is much less than other LGBT people, particularly young people. 9% felt unsafe or very unsafe outside in

Brighton during the day and those over 55 years of age were least likely to find no places, services or facilities in Brighton and Hove in which they felt unsafe (16%). 69% of older people avoiding going out at night. Those over 55 and in the 46-55 age group (57% for both) were more likely to think the police service has improved in the past five years than other age groups.

Those over 55 years of age were significantly more likely (50%, n. 17) to want to be consulted via citizens' panels than any other age group. Older people were less likely to want to be consulted through community events (29%).

### 9.2.3. Trans

Trans people are a particularly vulnerable group and their safety issues are clearly important as it can continually impact their lives. Their experiences of hate crime, their safety fears and their avoidance tactics are coupled with economic vulnerabilities, and trans respondents in the questionnaire were significantly more likely to have low incomes (3 times more likely to earn under £10,000,  $p < 0.05$ ) and were more likely to be unemployed.

Trans people are more likely to have experienced all forms of hate crime except teasing than LGBT people who are not trans. They are less likely to say that they have not experienced hate crime in the past five years (14% compared to 28%,  $p = .05$ ). People who are trans are more likely to experience hate crime in the street than other LGBT people and this is supported by the qualitative data. They are also significantly more likely to have experienced hate crime in and from an LGBT venue, event, service or group and from an LGBT person than those who are not trans.

However, trans people were significantly more likely to report an incident of hate crime than those who did not identify as trans, and this shows a reliance on services and potentially support networks.

Only a third (n. 12) of trans respondents felt very safe at home and 25% (n. 10) of them felt safe outside at night. Those who identify as trans are significantly more likely (79%, n. 27) to feel unsafe in places, services or facilities in Brighton and Hove than those who do not identify as trans (53%, n. 288) ( $p = .007$ ). Trans respondents are much more likely (63%, n. 27) to at least sometimes avoid going out compared to non-trans respondents (31%, n. 165). Yet, those who identify as trans are less likely to at least sometimes avoid public displays of affection.

Those who identify as trans (42%, n. 15) are more likely to say that there is prejudice towards LGBT people by or from the police service than non-trans people (24%, n. 129,  $p = .02$ ). Trans people indicated that they have had difficulty in finding accommodation. In the private rented sector, there was evidence of transphobic landlords and this can also be the case when living in council supported accommodation.

#### 9.2.4. Bi, Queer and other sexualities

Bisexual and queer people and those who define themselves in a category other than lesbian, gay, bisexual or queer are more likely to have experienced harassment, negative comments teasing and bullying than lesbians or gay men. Those who identify in a category other than lesbian, gay, bisexual or queer are more likely to have experienced sexual assault than lesbians, gay men or bisexual or queer people. Those who define as an other sexuality (44%, n. 12) are more likely to report an incident than bisexual and queers (29%, n. 16). The least likely to report were lesbians (20%, n. 41) and gay men (26%, n. 81).

Amongst those who have experienced hate crime, those who are bisexual and queer are more likely to experience hate crime in an LGBT venue than lesbians and gay men. Bisexual and queer respondents, and those who identify as of an 'other' sexuality, are significantly more likely to feel unsafe inside LGBT venues than lesbian or gay respondents. Bisexual and queer respondents are the most likely group by sexuality to not feel safe in the 'gay village'.

Those who identify as of an 'other' sexuality are significantly more likely (79%, n. 19) to feel unsafe in places, services or facilities in Brighton and Hove than lesbians (50%, n. 99), gay men (57%, n. 175) or bisexual or queer respondents (48%, n. 26) ( $p = .04$ ). Most gay (66%), lesbian (63%) and bisexual (62%) respondents felt very safe at home compared to only 43% of those who are of another sexuality. Those of a sexuality other than lesbian, gay and bisexual are also less likely to feel very safe outside in Brighton in the day or at night. Those who identified as of an 'other' sexuality are significantly more likely (79%, n. 19) to feel unsafe in places, services or facilities in Brighton and Hove than lesbians (50%, n. 99), gay men (57%, n. 175) or bisexual or queer respondents (48%, n. 26) ( $p = .04$ ). Bisexual and queer respondents are the least likely to at times avoid going out at night (23%, n. 12), while 30% (n. 58) of lesbians and 33% (n. 102) of gay men avoid going out at night at least sometimes.

#### 9.2.5. Isolation

Isolation can result from experiences of hate crime, and people may be more vulnerable to hate crime due to their isolation.

Those who are isolated are more likely to have experienced all forms of hate crime in the past five years compared to those who are not isolated. Feeling isolated also correlates with an increased likelihood of having experienced hate crime inside a home, in an LGBT venue or event, in a mainstream venue or event, at school/college/university, or in the neighbourhood respondents live in. Although those who are isolated are more likely to report an incident of hate crime, compared to other LGBT people, they are also more likely to say that they did not report an incident because they didn't trust anyone.

Those who feel isolated are more likely to feel unsafe in some places, services or facilities in Brighton & Hove than those who do not feel isolated, and are also more likely to feel less safe outside in Brighton

during the day and outside in Brighton at night compared to other LGBT people. Respondents who have felt isolated are much more likely to avoid going out at night at least sometimes (53%, n. 115) than those who have not felt isolated (19%, n. 68). Those who have felt isolated are significantly more likely to feel unsafe outside LGBT venues than those who have not felt isolated and are also more likely to avoid public displays of affection than other LGBT people.

Isolated LGBT people are more likely to say that there is prejudice in the police services than LGBT respondents who are not isolated.

### 9.2.6. Mental Health and Suicide

Mental health difficulties can result from experiences of hate crime, and people may be more vulnerable to hate crime due to their mental health difficulties. Chapter 2 explored some of the issues pertaining to mental health and wellbeing and experiences of hate crime. This section will highlight the key issues that arose from the subsequent analysis for those with mental health difficulties and those who have thought about and attempted suicide.

LGBT people with mental health difficulties are more likely to say they have experienced all categories of hate crime, except for criminal damage. Yet, those with mental health difficulties are more likely to report an incident (29%) compared to those who have not had difficulties with their mental health in the past five years (15%  $p=.001$ ).

Those who have thought about and attempted suicide in the last five years are the most likely to have experienced hate crime on the basis of their gender or sexual identity in the last five years. Those who have thought about suicide but not attempted it within the last five years being are more likely to have experienced hate crime than those who have never thought of or attempted suicide. This links to Johnson's (2007) investigation of suicidal risks amongst LGBT people. More generally, apart from criminal damage, those who have thought about and attempted suicide over the past five years are more likely to have experienced each of the categories of hate crime than those who have thought about but not attempted suicide who are, in turn, more likely to have been victims of hate crime than those who have never thought about or attempted suicide.

Over half of those who have experienced mental health difficulties do not feel safe in some places, services or facilities in Brighton & Hove, and they are more likely to feel unsafe outside LGBT venues than LGBT people who do not have mental health issues. Those who have mental health difficulties were more likely to avoid going out at night than those who do not have mental health issues.

### 9.2.7. Physical disability/long term health impairment

Those who identify as physically disabled or long term health impaired experience similar levels of hate crime to other LGBT people, but they are

more likely to have reported an incident of hate crime than those who did not identify as disabled.

Those with a disability or long-term health impairment are less likely to feel very safe or safe and more likely to feel unsafe/very unsafe at home and outside in Brighton in the day and at night. They are more likely to feel unsafe in relation to places, services or facilities in Brighton and Hove, compared to those who do not identify as disabled. Disabled respondents are less likely feel safe inside LGBT venues and are more likely to sometimes avoid going out at night.

Those with a disability are over twice as likely to think the police service had not improved (8% compared to 3%,  $p=.006$ ). They were also slightly more likely to think it had improved (57%) and less likely to answer 'not sure'. Those who identify as disabled or have a long term health impairment are almost twice as likely (42%, n. 36 compared to 22%, 108) to say that there is prejudice against LGBT people in the police service. This shows a diversity of opinion that needs to be investigated further.

### 9.2.8. Neighbourhood area

LGBT people who live in different areas of the city experience similar levels of verbal abuse, physical violence, harassment, negative comments, teasing and bullying. However, those who live in areas of potential deprivation are more likely to experience criminal damage, sexual assault and hate crime in the neighbourhood in which they live than those who live in other areas. Residents of Kemptown and St. James Street are less likely to say that they have experienced bullying compared to those who live in other parts of the city. They are also more likely (85%, n. 82) to have experienced hate crime in the street than those who live in other areas.

Those who lived in areas of potential deprivation and St. James Street & Kemptown are more likely to feel unsafe in places, services or facilities in Brighton and Hove than those who live in other areas of the city. Respondents living in areas of potential deprivation other than St James Street & Kemptown are more likely to feel unsafe in the 'gay village' than other groups.

### 9.2.9. Tenure

Those who live in social housing are more likely than any other tenure group have experienced hate crime. Perhaps because of this, LGBT people who live in social housing are over 3 times as likely to avoid going home and to avoid going out at night than groups with other kinds of housing tenure.

Those in social housing are the most likely to say that there are prejudices against LGBT people from the police service (31%), compared to other tenure groups. Those who privately own (26%) are more likely than privately rented (22%) and all other forms of tenure (23%) to say that there is prejudice against LGBT people from the police service ( $P=.04$ ).

### 9.2.10. Income

Those on a low income (<£10,000) are less likely to feel safe or very safe outside in Brighton during the day. Similarly, while only 7% (n. 9) of those earning under £10,000 p.a. felt unsafe or very unsafe outside in Brighton during the day, there were no respondents earning more than £40,000 p.a. who felt unsafe or very unsafe in outside in Brighton during the day. Those earning less than £10,000 p.a. are much more likely to avoid going out at night at least sometimes than those with higher incomes.

### 9.2.11. HIV

37% of those who are living with HIV experienced discrimination on the basis of their gender and/or sexual identities in the areas where they lived. Those who are living with HIV have similar levels of experiences of all forms hate crime in the past five years except negative comments, compared to those who are not living with HIV. Those who have tested positive are more likely to say that there are places, services or facilities in Brighton and Hove where they do not feel safe, compared to those who have either tested negative or have not had a test result. Those who have tested positive are significantly more likely (14%, n. 4) to not feel safe inside LGBT venues, in the 'gay village' and in cruising grounds than those who have tested negative or have not been tested.



# 10. Recommendations

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## 10.1. Inter agency working and cross service provision

It is recommended that:

- ▶ Multi-agency working is increased to involve all relevant services and agencies (e.g. adult social services, housing). This includes a centrally held hate crime/incident database that is created with in-build referral mechanisms to relevant services in parallel with a common reporting framework/tool integrated across all relevant agencies. This should also have the capability of allowing people to report anonymously and confidentially- particularly where other LGBT people are implicated. Anonymised data collected in this way should be reported to all the relevant agencies and local LGBT communities
- ▶ Local agencies and fora agree a shared definition of safety that moves beyond reducing hate crime. This definition should be widely publicised and used to raise awareness of acceptable and unacceptable behaviours that LGBT people experience.
- ▶ Common hate crime reporting framework/tool is created and used across a range of services and groups, to provide accurate data that is collated by safety services/police and reported to all the relevant agencies and local LGBT communities. This should also have the capability of allowing people to report anonymously and confidentially- particularly where other LGBT people are implicated.
- ▶ Services, agencies and groups work together to develop a robust and effective referral mechanism to the appropriate services
  - Services and agencies to refer and report, but also continue to be involved in cases and receive feedback
- ▶ Dedicated specialist LGBT safety case workers are appointed to work across agencies to provide an accessible reporting point and to develop expertise in case resolution (including housing, adult social services, police, community safety teams)
- ▶ City-wide inter-agency awareness raising campaigns are undertaken to ensure knowledge of unacceptable forms of hate crime that includes all key partners

## 10.2. Reporting of incidents of hate crime

It is recommended that:

- ▶ Measures to increase the reporting of hate crime against LGBT people are developed and implemented. These should include:
  - Organisational reform of services to ensure that hate crime reports are investigated and resolved in a manner which takes account of their seriousness and the heightened level of impact on those involved, and that the heightened level of importance given to hate crime reports be communicated to service users.
  - Involvement of all mainstream services (e.g. adult social care; housing)
  - Development of safe processes and spaces for reporting
- ▶ Frontline workers and managers are retrained to engage with LGBT people who have experienced hate crime
  - Retraining to keep up to date with the current best practice and best training
  - Development of a centrally held multiagency training resource including capacity to deliver training to partners
- ▶ Awareness raising activities are undertaken among LGBT communities that reports of hate crime will be taken seriously, addressing past negative experiences of reporting
- ▶ Rigorous service delivery evaluation processes and robust processes for the tracking of cases is developed.
  - Due to barriers to labelling/reporting hate crime, these processes must pertain to the reporting of any crime against LGBT persons, not just hate crimes
  - Anonymised service evaluation and case tracking information should be reported publicly and to relevant LGBT groups
- ▶ Support services (statutory and voluntary) are in place and are able to deal sensitively with LGBT victims of all forms crime when they do report.

### 10.3. Monitoring and consulting with LGBT people

It is recommended that:

- ▶ There is robust engagement with the LGBT community regarding safety priorities via a variety of methods and media
- ▶ LGBT people are reached about LGBT issues through diverse avenues, including but not limited to the LGBT press.
- ▶ Regular polls to monitor how safe LGBT people feel across the city are carried out.
- ▶ Regular and timely consultation is undertaken with community groups and individuals on progress of LGBT safety strategy to highlight successes and receive feedback.
- ▶ LGBT people are given the opportunity to safely detail their sexual/gender identity when they report any form of crime. This is examined in light of this report, acknowledging that hate crime may not be recognised as such by LGBT victims.

### 10.4. Police and Safety services

It is recommended that:

- ▶ Measures are developed to build on the positive work already being done to continue to improve the perception of the police and address historical associations
- ▶ LGBT safety initiatives are targeted across the city so that all residents know about them, not just those who live, work or socialise in areas identified as 'gay'.
- ▶ Increased capacity of casework services to cope with increased level of referral
- ▶ A range of personal safety strategies to empower LGBT individuals and groups are developed using safety services and community organisations, these should especially pertain to those most at risk and repeat victims
- ▶ Initiatives and services aimed at reducing homophobic, biphobic and transphobic incidents are promoted across the city and not just in the city centre

- ▶ Services work with mainstream press and information agencies to ensure LGBT issues are accurately and appropriately reported. Work with the LGBT press to ensure safety issues are reported
- ▶ Identify and monitor hotspot areas and carry out a range of targeted work to improve safety in these areas in consultation with LGBT communities.

## 10.5. LGBT services

It is recommended that

- ▶ Support is given to agencies and groups providing services to LGBT people to ensure that they have the expertise and processes to monitor and report hate crime to relevant safety agencies
- ▶ Structured and resourced peer-support groups are created for LGBT people who have experienced hate crime.
- ▶ Specialist targeted support is provided for vulnerable LGBT groups including trans people and young people who experience hate crime

## 10.6. Health and Wellbeing

It is recommended that:

- ▶ Targeted support and help across safety services and LGBT groups is provided specifically for people who are isolated
- ▶ Mental health service providers support LGBT people who have experienced all forms of hate crime and participate in inter-agency working as above.

## 10.7. Safety and Equalities

It is recommended that:

- ▶ Safety and equalities initiatives are developed that address prejudices within the LGBT communities. In particular biphobia and transphobia amongst LGBT people is addressed
- ▶ The lack of knowledge around for survivors of sexual assault is addressed

- ▶ Public perceptions of hate crimes against LGBT people are addressed, in particular moving beyond a narrow focus on 'stranger danger' and the acceptability of verbal abuse
- ▶ LGBT venues and events to avoid discrimination against bisexual people and trans people and safe space is provided by and for groups that may not be inclusive of all LGBT people
- ▶ Positive images of LGBT people are promoted in recruitment and promotional materials

## 10.8. Neighbourhood safety

It is recommended that

- ▶ Fear of hate crime on outlying estates be monitored and challenged by positive messages regarding safety, LGBT lives and publishing crime rates broken down by area utilising positive images.
- ▶ Initiatives and services aimed at reducing homophobic, biphobic and transphobic crime are promoted across all neighbourhood areas. This could include publicising positive messages regarding LGBT people to other residents of outlying estates and diversity awareness events and training is developed for all communities throughout the city
- ▶ Measures are taken to reduce the isolation of LGBT people in outlying estates including residents' associations and neighbourhood action groups becoming more LGBT inclusive and empowered to reach out to LGBT individuals

## 10.9. Further Research

Further research is needed:

- ▶ As outlined in the introduction, to explore the history of safety issues in Brighton and Hove. One area that arose in research was the Anti-Victimisation Initiative and this needs further investigation from a plethora of voices. This research should also address the effects and impacts of this, individually and to LGBT communities, partnerships and other initiatives
- ▶ To investigate how LGBT people report (and don't report) crimes that are related and not related to their sexualities/gender identities
- ▶ To explore the links between the type of hate crime experienced and the likelihood of reporting

- ▶ To examine the diverse opinions of police service and how these differ between LGBT people

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# Your feedback

We welcome any comments and suggestions.

Please email your feedback to us at:

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or by post to:

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Downloadable copies of this and other resources are available from the Count Me In Too website including a directory of local LGBT support organisations and groups.