HATE CRIME SURVEY REPORT

Perspectives of victims, at-risk groups and NGOs

when LAW & HATE collide

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1 The „When Law and Hate Collide" Project

The "When Law and Hate Collide" project is funded by the Daphne III program of the European Union. The program aims at contributing to the protection of children, young people and women against all forms of violence and attains a high level of health protection, well-being and social cohesion. Its main objective is to contribute to the prevention of and the fight against all forms of violence and aims to take preventive measures and provide support and protection for victims and groups at risk[1].

The project consists of a collaboration between three project partners: the Lancashire Law School at the University of Central Lancashire, United Kingdom, led by the project's Principal Investigator Professor Michael Salter; the Department of Philosophy, Linguistics and Theory of Science at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden, led by Professor Christian Munthe; and the Institute of Special Needs Education within the Department of Education Sciences at the Goethe University Frankfurt, led by Professor Michael Fingerle.

The overall aim of the project is to look at the concept of Hate Crime in a European context and explore possibilities for a Hate Crime law in Europe. The interdisciplinary project team looks therefore at the theme of Hate Crime from a legal (University of Central Lancashire), ethical (University of Gothenburg) and psychological (Goethe University) perspective.

The project aim of the empirical part of the project partners at Goethe University is to understand the psychological aspects of Hate Crime regarding the experience of victimization, victim support and possibilities for preventive measures. This focus is motivated by two concepts.

Firstly, we look at Hate Crimes as a variety of social discrimination. Hate crimes are identity crimes, their aim is to attack the social identity and to depreciate the value of people who belong to what is called „target groups". Usually, members of such groups are experiencing such acts of social discrimination on a broader scale whether these acts are classified as crimes or not. From this point of view, Hate Crimes happen in a certain social climate which exists in social localities or even in the society as a whole. To have an influence on these factors, it is not only important to document the pain of victims. It is necessary to give the victims and the members of target-groups a voice and to ask them about their experiences and about what they think about the usefulness of a Hate Crime legislation. Also NGOs - which are active as support groups and/or as a political lobby - play a crucial role in what one could call the empowerment of target groups.

Secondly – and in a certain way, this point of view is linked to the question of empowerment – did we base the design of our empirical research on the concept of

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[1] http://ec.europa.eu/justice/grants/programmes/daphne/

resilience, which has become pivotal in the area of both prevention and therapy over the last decade. Resilience is usually defined as a person's capacity to master adversaries and critical life events (e.g. Sroufe, 2005, Masten, 2010, Fingerle, 2011b). Of course, it would be misguided and even cynical to use the concept of resilience in the sense that members of target groups could develop personal abilities to avoid Hate Crimes. Instead of this misconception we are interested in personal resources which enable a person to cope with the trauma which comes along with being the victim of a Hate Crime. Moreover, according to a concept of resilience which was formulated already at the early stages of this kind of research and which has been emphasized recently under the notion of a (social) ecology of resilience (Ungar, 2011) we are interested in the documentation of the social resources victims and members of target groups need to cope with the aftermath of Hate Crimes and to empower themselves.

The Hate Crime Survey Report represents one of the outputs of the research conducted at the Goethe University. It will give a short introduction into the subject of Hate Crime and Hate Crime victimology regarding the impact of Hate Crimes on the victim and on the community. It furthermore will cover the area of victim support and potentials for supportive social ecologies. We will then present our main research questions and our research design followed by the results of a focus group we conducted with experts on Hate Crime and the results of a survey we conducted with victims and groups at risk as well as a survey we conducted with representatives of NGOs, who work against discrimination and/or with victims of Hate Crimes or groups at risk. Finally we will discuss the overall results and give recommendations for a Hate Crime policy as well as for the augmentation of a policy by linking in to prevention and support measures.

2 Theoretical Background

As background to our study we would like to give a short introduction to what is a Hate Crime, who are the offenders of Hate Crimes and what kind of impact does the experience of being a victim have on the victim itself but also on the social group or the community he or she belongs to. The term community stands on the one hand for the direct local community the victim or at-risk person might be in contact with and on the other hand the broader community – say for example nation-wide – which is more to be conceived on a meta-level. Furthermore we would like to look at victim support and possibilities to see the local social system as a kind of resilient ecology with the potential to be used as a resource for victim support but also for preventing such crimes.

2.1 Hate Crime

The term Hate Crime refers to a criminal act against a person which is motivated by a bias against the perceived personal characteristic of the victim or a perceived group membership of the victim. These groups or characteristics include but are not limited to race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation or disability.

Brax and Munthe (2013, p. 5) describe the notion of the term Hate Crime[2] in general terms as "an (1) independently criminal act (such as assault, theft, murder, rape, harassment, and so on) where (2) some sort of negatively biased, disparaging and/or discriminatory attitude on part of the offender towards a social group to which the offender links the victim [or its property], is (3) in some qualified way connected to, plays a role in or explains the occurrence of the crime."

Although the term Hate Crime seems to imply at the first glance that it is a criminal act which differs from others by the prominent presence of a certain emotion – i,e, „hate" – it has to be stated, that this is a misleading notion as the quality „hate" is not sufficient to characterize such crimes – neither in the sense of a proper definition nor in order to understand it's motives and consequences. The term itself is not rooted in the academic discipline of psychology but in the cultural discourses of the U.S.. The term was presumably chosen for its semantic appeal and not because it was funded on a specific psychological theory.

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[2] For an in depth discussion on the concept of Hate Crime and the term itself within the "When Law and Hate Collide" project, please see the introduction to the philosophy of Hate Crime by David Brax and Christian Munthe (2013).

Another term for Hate Crime often used instead is "bias crime" (Lawrence 1994, Perry 2005). The term bias describes not an emotion as the word hate does but relates more to the attitude and/or prejudice that underlies the motive in a Hate Crime. However, the term Hate Crime – also based on the historical development of the term since the middle of the last century – still dominates the discussion and will also be used mainly within this report.

Within some countries, such as the United States or the United Kingdom, special Hate Crime laws exist which define bias-motivated acts as a specific type of crime, give the possibility for a case-specific penalty-enhancement and enforce monitoring by the collection of data on Hate Crimes within the country.

Germany has no specific Hate Crime legislation, but section 46 of the German Criminal Code (Strafgesetzbuch, StGB) about the principles for determining punishment gives the possibility to take into consideration "the motives and aims of the perpetrator; the state of mind reflected in the act and the willfulness involved in its commission" which gives the judge the possibility to adapt the punishment case specifically. In earlier cases hate and bias have already been considered as aggravating factor for sentencing (Coester 2008).

As the existence of a specific Hate Crime law and the commitment to monitor such incidents is not a standard in most European countries, organizations like the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) have been formulating guidelines for countries on how to improve their legislation and policy regarding Hate Crimes (e.g. OSCE/ODIHR 2009a, 2009b).

2.2 Hate Crime Offenders

Regarding the offenders of Hate Crime there are two main points of interest: to know who they are and what kind of motivation they act upon. The limited data on offenders of Hate Crime varies from country to country in terms of information that are provided and is thus barely comparable with each other. Iganski and Smith (2011) conclude in their review, including a study of their own, that Hate Crime offenders are mostly male and the majority of them were adolescents or young adults which complies with general data on offenders.

There have been various efforts by researchers to create a typology of offenders. McDevitt and colleagues (2002) propose a typology with four categories: "'thrill-motivated' offenders who are motivated by excitement, bragging rights, and peer acceptance; 'defensive' offenders who perceive outsiders as a threat to their way of life, their community, and their privileges; 'mission' offenders, defined as those committed to a supremacist ideology; and 'retaliatory' offenders, inspired to avenge perceived assaults on the group." (Sullaway 2004, p.275).

Sullaway (2004, p. 276) describes two main theories on how offenders get involved in a "Hate Crime group": "Deprivation theory suggests that hate ideology fulfills

needs for social affiliation and group membership in youths who are emotionally and economically vulnerable. Interpersonal bonds theory suggests that recruitment into hate ideology occurs through social networks. Once social ties are established, the new member is introduced into group ideology, which maintains the social tie."

This complies with Ekzekial (1995) who suggested from his qualitative research that with Hate Crime offenders there are perpetrators who are involved because they seek membership and belonging or are merely searching for crime opportunities while not being focused on ideology and those perpetrators who acted mostly on their ideological conviction.

Turpin-Petrosino (2002, p. 284) furthermore summarizes from various studies that members of hate groups "are frequently described as youth who are academically unsuccessful, have poor family relationships, and are insecure, alienated, impotent, and angry […] backgrounds of family violence and child and substance abuse are not uncommon."

Additionally, Sullaway presents other reasons such as discomfort with social change or environmental influences, such as the 9/11 attacks which triggered increased hostility against people with Arabic or Muslim background. Apart from the above sometimes mental illness may add to the motivation.

However, there has been little research on why particular people would offend in a particular environment under particular circumstances, while other people, coming from the same background, living in the same neighborhood and experiencing the same circumstances would not become offenders. It is obvious that there is more research needed to gain reliable data on the characteristics of perpetrators and to be able to provide appropriate means for prediction, prevention and intervention.

2.3 Impact of Hate Crimes on Victims and Communities

Regarding the impact of experiencing a Hate Crime, we will first look at research results on "general victimization" to then look at the specific experiences of Hate Crimes victims and the special impact the incident can have on the victim's social environment or his or her community, respectively.

Impact of Crimes on Victims

Each victimization experience is different. However, researchers have found very similar patterns of reactions to this experience (Frieze et al. 1987). Frieze and colleagues (1987) reviewed research on general psychological reactions to victimization and found a loss of a sense of self, a loss of safety or invulnerability and the feeling of inequity or injustice to be common features. They also reviewed behavioral coping responses and found that redefining the experience of the victimization to be less severe than originally perceived is a common coping strategy

as well as for the victim to blame itself for the incidence as a mean to compensate the experienced feeling of lost control.

The response to victimization can also be looked at from a time-perspective, which can be divided into immediate, short term and long term reactions:

Immediate reactions: The immediate reaction after criminal victimization can be described as impact-disorganization phase which can include numbness and disorientation and feelings such as denial, disbelief, loneliness, depression, vulnerability, and helplessness (Bard, Sangrey 1986). These feelings may become less with time and even fade away, but chances are that when there is no appropriate response to these symptoms or if support is hostile or not available, that they can turn into long term symptoms (Frieze et al. 1987).

Short term reactions: Within the next hours or days, symptoms and feelings about the incident may change. Bard and Sangrey (1986) call this recoil which on average lasts three to eight months. Feelings can constantly change from fear to anger, from sadness to elation, to self-pity or even guilt. In this phase of reorganization, Frieze and colleagues suggest that victims might be especially responsive to social support. Depending on the persons coping abilities and on available resources the victims reorganization may either be adaptive or maladaptive.

Long term reactions: The final stage can be described as reorganization. If the process or reorganization has a positive outcome, the victim is able to resolve the experienced trauma through building more effective defensive-vigilant behaviors and to readjust to everyday life by revising his or her values and attitudes. Silver and Wortman (1980) observed that a successful process of coping with the experience of being a victim can enhance personal growth. But of course, long term reactions can have a negative outcome when the victim does not recover well and symptoms of trauma remain persistent.

Impact of Hate Crimes on Victims

When looking at the research on victims of Hate Crimes it becomes clear that there seems to be additional impact experienced by the victim and also by the community the victims lives in or does belong to.

Herek, Gillis and Cogan (1999) described the impact of Hate Crime victimization by a study on Hate Crime victimization among lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults where they focused on the mental health consequences of Hate Crimes based on sexual orientation. Within the study they compared the impact of victimization between respondents who reported having experienced a bias-motivated crime versus nonbias-motivated crimes.

They found that victims of Hate Crimes had an overall higher level of psychological distress including depression, stress and anger. This was also confirmed by other studies where after one year victims of bias assault reported significantly greater nervousness, anger, intrusion and concentration difficulties at work in

comparison to victims of nonbias motivated assaults (Mc Devitt 1999). The raise in distress may be a consequence of a higher sense of personal danger and vulnerability that impacts on their sense of identity including their sexual orientation. Herek and colleagues underline that those feelings of perceiving the world as more dangerous, unpredictable and hostile are common among victims of all crimes but that the sense of vulnerability in cases of Hate Crime is linked to the identity the victims perceive they have been attacked for. This can be especially harmful as sexual orientation – but also other characteristics that one can be attacked for such as religious background or disability – are a very important part of the self-concept.

In this context Janoff-Bulman (1979) has described two kinds of self-blame by (non Hate Crime) victims: behavioral self-blame and characterological self-blame. Behavioral self-blame refers to connecting the incident to one's own behavior, for example "I should not have gone to this dangerous district" in order to retain the feeling of supposed control to have been able to prevent the event. On the other side, characterological self-blame is related to self-esteem, where some characteristic of the person seems to be directly connected to the happening of the incident. As most characteristics are not easily modified, there seems to be no possibility of control over future victimization.

Janoff-Bulmann (1979, 1982) described behavioral self-blame to be associated with a high level of self-esteem and a perceived possibility to avoid future victimization whereas characterological self-blaming can be seen as predictor of depression and poorer adjustment (Hill, Zautra, 1989).

Sullaway (2004) therefore states, that it is thus understandable that victims of Hate Crimes experience greater distress than victims of nonhate crimes. If the crime is related to attributes like ethnical background or physical disability it is not possible for the person to simply change this attribute to regain a feeling of control or to reestablish the conviction to be able to evade future victimization.

Herek, Gillis and Cogan (1999) furthermore suggest that the recovery from experiencing a Hate Crime may take more time than recovery from a comparable nonhate crime. While victims of Hate Crimes reported stress symptoms for as long as 5 years, victims of non-biased crimes reported a substantial drop of distress within the first two years after the crime.

Impact of Hate Crimes on Communities

One aspect of Hate Crime often discussed is the increased impact on the community. Crimes in general always have multiple victims, like the victim itself but also his or her family or friends for instance by causing suffering for them, too, by witnessing the victimization.

But Hate Crimes have even the potential to co-victimize whole communities as the purpose of a Hate Crime is not only to target the person itself but to target him or

her for being a representative of a group or community, respectively, which sends "a message" to the community itself that they could be targeted in the future, too.

Iganski (2001) calls this "waves of harm generated by Hate Crimes" (figure 1), where the crime not only impacts on the victim but also on the victim's "group" in his or her neighborhood and even on the victim's group beyond this neighborhood. Boeckmann and Turpin-Petrosino (2002, p. 209) state in this context that "the realization that one's 'community' may be targeted because of it's [sic] immutable or prominent characteristics slowly erodes feelings of safety and security." The incident can even impact on other communities who might be at risk for being threatened by Hate Crimes and who feel directly threatened by these incidents. And finally, through their occurrence, Hate Crimes constitute the risk of impacting societal norms and values in general.
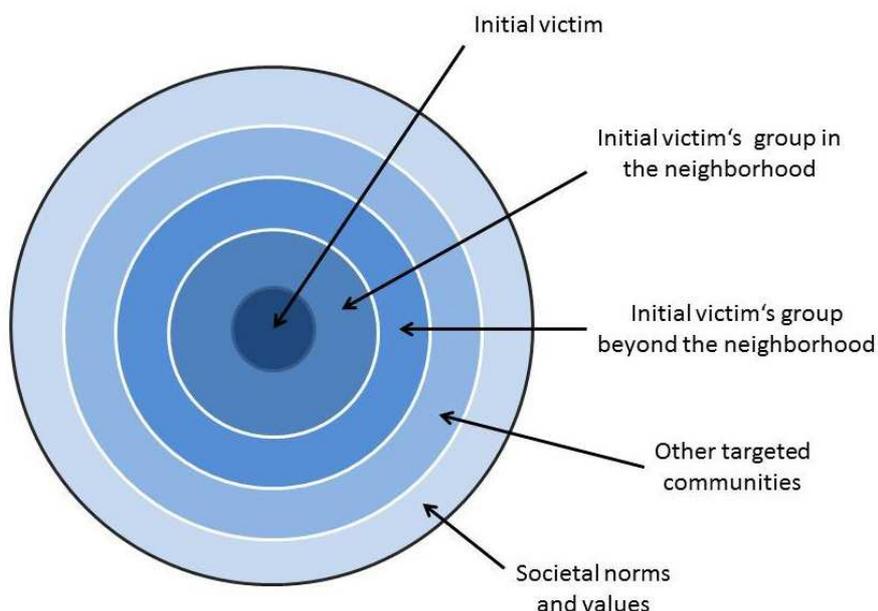
Figure 1: Waves of Harm Generated by Hate Crimes (adapt. from Iganski 2001, p. 629)

However, communities are not only harmed by Hate Crimes they may also be sources of self-esteem for their members and may contribute to harmed persons recovery from trauma. Athough it has to be acknowledged that empirical research on the actual impact of a Hate Crime on the targeted community is still limited (Sullaway 2004, p.279-280) the same is true for the role communities may play in trauma recovery. From a resilience point of view a person's conviction that she/he is a member of a group which is valuable (in a humanistic sense) and which maybe even influential may be helpful in coping with the aftermath of a Hate Crime.

2.4   Victim support and supportive social ecologies

Hate Crimes have in general the tendency to be unreported (Herek 1989). Some studies on victims of crimes state that only a very small minority of 2-7 % seeks actual professional support, such as therapy (Friedman et al. 1982, Knudten et al. 1977) and of those who experienced more violent crimes about 9-18 % would seek professional support (Golding et al. 1988). Norris and colleagues (1990) describe some variables that may increase the probability of seeking help, such as internal locus of control, social support, level of distress, and the presence of violence in the commission of the crime.

From our point of view it would be misguided if Hate Crimes were analyzed purely at an individual level, if they were reduced on victims and offenders. As the OSCE/ODIHR put it in their guidelines "Social acceptance of discrimination against particular groups is an important factor in causing Hate Crimes to increase." (OSCE/ODIHR 2009, p. 20) To look at Hate Crimes as purely interpersonal incidents denies the fact that Hate Crimes occur in social settings - settings whose characteristics may increase or decrease the probability for the occurrence of Hate Crimes. Social factors are important for both the positive development of individuals but also for the prevention of crimes and for delivering help and support when a crime has happened.

Goodey (2005) formulates some of emotional, material and social needs victims have need of after experiencing a crime: reassurance and counseling, medical assistance, financial and practical assistance to secure property, information about case progress and guidance about what to expect in court, the chance to express how the crime has affected them, assistance with filling out a form for state compensation and information about the release date of "their" offender. These are forms of support which cannot be given primarily and solely by victims' families and friends but which have to be given by local authorities, the local law and health institutions, and other members of the local administration.

Over the last decade several authors stressed this perspective with regard to the concept of "community resilience" (e.g. Mykota & Muhajarine, 2005; Clauss-Ehlers & Levi, 2002). Community resilience means, that local environments can be interpreted as being resilient to challenges and negative influence in the same sense as persons can be attributed as resilient against the influence of stress or negative events. The term "community" can be misleading in the context of the present report, as it has been used above to denominate the social group which is attacked by a Hate Crime or the social networks of people who belong to a target group, respectively.

As the term "community resilience" was never coined with this type of "community" in mind (at least not primarily) we will speak instead of resilient ecologies whereby we are looking at neighborhoods and local support systems. These systems of support may have the form of private networks, NGOs, or they may be part of the local administration. In summarizing these factors under the semantic umbrella term

"resilient ecologies" we follow the proposal of Michael Ungar who – in an influential paper which was published in 2011 – emphasized a central result of studies which were dedicated to the question how individuals cope successfully with stress and critical life events (Ungar, 2011). He pointed out to the circumstance that resilience is not a purely individual personality trait but the result of an interaction between personal traits and environmental factors which play the important role of social resources.

Mykota and Muhajarine (2005) found out in a study which was conducted in Canada that there seem to be certain characteristics of neighborhoods which are linked to the absence of violence and other forms of problem behavior. Such neighborhoods emphasize a feeling of safety among the locals as well as a collective acknowledgement of cultural pluralism. There are functional social organizational networks and a variety of public institutions for recreation and education like parks, libraries or community centers. As a whole these social factors seem to act as protective social factors fostering the positive development of youths and they are forming a resilient ecology.

Clauss-Ehlers and Levi (2002) studied neighborhoods in Mexico City and came to the conclusion that although they were, too, able to identify social factors which protected these localities from the risk of crime and violence. These factors were specific for the cultural context. They identified three factors, Familismo, Respeto, and Personalismo which played a crucial role in the protective process. These terms are reflecting the importance of family structures, the authority of elder family members and that personal relations are seen as important as such and not just as a mean to reach egoistic goals.

There still seems to exist no study which was focused on Hate Crimes but these two examples may nevertheless underscore the importance of resilient ecologies. They also raise the important question of cultural sensitivity. As it is the case with personal protective factors, social resources may also work differential in different cultural contexts.

3 Research Questions and Research Design

From our review of the current literature it becomes clear that the experience of being a victim of a Hate Crime constitutes a major source of stress which, in comparison to the experience of victimization in general, seems to be more complex especially in ways of coping. Still, there are a lot of open questions when it comes to understanding how victims feel and how exactly they cope with the incident. Iganski (2008) emphasizes in this context the significance of understanding the greater harms of Hate Crime to provide appropriate support for victims, justify enhancing penalties, targeting necessary resources and also to improve measures when working with Hate Crime offenders.

Furthermore it became clear that Hate Crimes not only harm the victim but also have an impact on the social group the victim perceivably belongs to, as well as on the local community. Thus, we aimed to have a closer look at the impact on communities but also at possible responses from the community with respect to the resources it provides.

By taking the community aspect into account, it was important for us not only to include the voices of victims and at-risk groups but also to hear about the experiences and opinions of experts within the area of victim support and community support. Thus, we decided to not only conduct a survey with victims and at risk-groups but also with representatives of NGOs who work with victims or with communities to gain insight into their professional expertise within the area of Hate Crime but also into their everyday work.

Regarding the discussion about possibilities for a Hate Crime law, we thought it crucial to learn more about the views and opinions of the people affected by such a law and thus wanted to know how victims, at-risk groups but also NGOs as experts on Hate Crime would regard a Hate Crime law and what, in their opinion, a Hate Crime law should look like.

The main objectives for our empirical work were therefore a) to explore the perspective of victims of Hate Crime, of at-risk groups and of NGOs working with victims/at-risk groups, b) to find out about possible coping mechanisms and opportunities for support and to underscore the needs of victims by analyzing the influence of community variables and personal resources on the process of recovery from trauma and c) to deepen our understanding on how this knowledge could be integrated into a Hate Crime policy.

To meet those research objectives we first started our research with a focus group to explore the field and to consecutively be able to design a survey that would reflect the results of the focus group and could differentiate and quantify these results. Within the next chapters we will thus first provide the results of the focus group and

then present the methodology and the results of two online surveys we conducted, one with victims and at-risk groups (HC Survey) and the second with representatives of NGOs who work against discrimination in general and/or with victims and at risk-groups directly.

4 Focus Group

4.1 Introduction

The focus group was conducted with various international experts: researchers, practitioners, therapists and political representatives. The focus group was connected to two research objectives. The first objective was to deepen our understanding of what kind of specific needs victims and at-risk groups have, how communities and individuals can be empowered, and how this could/should be reflected within Hate Crime legislation. The second objective – connected to the first one - was the generation of research questions and the choice of appropriate research scales for the empirical core of the project, the NGO and Hate Crime Survey.

As a preparation to the focus group we conducted telephone interviews with representatives of two different NGOs who work in the area of general (Opferhilfe e.V.) and specific (MANEO) victim support. We asked the representatives questions about their victim support work, their knowledge of the Hate Crime concept and their experience with Hate Crimes in their everyday work. The research goal of these interviews was to explore the field, get into contact with experts and to plan the design of the focus group.

Within the focus group two central questions regarding the concept of Hate Crime were discussed. First of all, the discussion focused on victims of Hate Crime. Central questions related to victims of Hate Crime were: how can communities or individuals be empowered (i.e. LGBTQ people, persons with disabilities, etc.), what specific needs do victims of Hate Crime have, and what kind of support should/could be delivered to them. The other significant question that was discussed concerned the concept of Hate Crime as well as its specific definition and the practical implementation of Hate Crime laws in the EU. Thus, the focus of this second central question was on debating about what kind of recommendations should be given to the legislations of the EU concerning Hate Crime laws.

4.2 Results

In the following the main results of the focus group will be summarized. The first part concentrates on victims and their general and specific needs for support and protection, including themes such as access to victims and delivering help, reporting and monitoring, special needs of victims within the LGBTQ community or of victims with disabilities. Additionally to this point the needed research on offenders was discussed. The second part focused on the concept of Hate Crime in general and a

discussion on whether to include concrete or rather abstract criteria for "groups" to be included into a Hate Crime law.

4.2.1 Victims of Hate Crimes and their specific needs

Regarding the topic of victims of Hate Crimes and their special needs, various aspects were discussed. In addition to concrete recommendations for working with certain groups of potential Hate Crime victims (work with LGBTQ persons, persons with disabilities), general difficulties in working with Hate Crime victims were addressed.

General needs of Hate Crime victims

Concerning the general needs of victims of Hate Crime, it seems to be very important that victims receive support in that they are encouraged to report a Hate Crime and learning to cope with being targeted because of a specific attribute (i.e. being homosexual, black, etc.). The experts agreed that the needs of victims of Hate Crimes tend to be special and different from general victim support and should not be neglected, i.e. because there was harm caused to an individual which was targeted because he/she is part of a specific group which was victimized too so the help system has to react on both levels. In general there is a need for targeted specialized therapeutic interventions and expertise, so that skilled health care representatives and therapists that are knowledgeable about certain victim groups (i.e. LGBTQ) are required. The question what kind of specific skills and competencies such therapists/counselors should possess in order to be able to address the victims' needs should be answered by skilled clinicians who work in the respective field and would likely show a high rate of agreement in their recommendations.

Access to victims and delivering help

Many participants articulated that a common problem in working with victims of Hate Crimes is getting access to victims and delivering help to them. According to their experiences, victims of Hate Crime experience various barriers (i.e. disability, shame, negative reactions of others, not knowing where to go) which keep them from reporting Hate Crimes to governmental institutions like the police and seeking help. So it is a challenge to actually deliver support to victims of Hate Crime. NGO victim support organizations that emerged from grassroots movements and aim to empower Hate Crime victims and to offer support play a vital role in getting access to Hate Crime victims.

There is an obvious need for low threshold services like the work of LGBTQ-NGO victim support organizations which use telephone helplines in order to gain access and deliver help to victims who won't go to institutions like the police. These helplines are meant to be used as a kind of first immediate help and basic support for victims that needs to be followed up by getting into personal contact and delivering more intense

help, like therapies etc. An important part of getting access to victims would also be the use of internet-based support, i.e. to install the possibility of chatting with professionals and getting access to information through homepages, which would make access to victims a lot easier especially for young persons who are used to this kind of communication.

Reporting and monitoring

Associated with the general problem of access to Hate Crime victims is a problem of reporting Hate Crimes to the authorities and the recording of a crime as a Hate Crime. As already mentioned, victims of Hate Crimes face different barriers when reporting Hate Crimes to authorities, like practical factors (i.e. not being able to speak, being mentally retarded, being visually impaired and thus not able to describe an offender), not knowing what different options they have (i.e. NGOs, police, etc.) and how to contact them or the authorities not being trained well enough for registering Hate Crimes. This is especially obvious when investigating the reporting rates for Hate Crimes experienced by multiple minority victims, which are extraordinarily low. As such, a dark figure of Hate Crimes that remain unreported exists.

Special needs of victims with disabilities

The problem of reporting and recording Hate Crimes is also connected to the special needs that victims of disability-related Hate Crimes have, which was discussed in some detail. Disabled persons as victims of Hate Crimes seem to have very different needs, because it is not a homogenous group and there is a very wide range of disability. Because of different disabilities there seems to be a certain kind of "vulnerability" of groups and individuals and as such, i.e. visually impaired people who were surveyed about their experiences with Hate Crime say that they need extra assistance in reporting Hate Crime by the police. Some experts mentioned that there is very few data available about the prevalence of Hate Crimes against disabled people.

There is a problem of categorization and recording of a crime reported to the police by disabled people, because for instance, the German police does not categorize this as a Hate Crime but a regular crime. Furthermore, many disabled people experience regular hostility, so they might think that it is a normal experience to be harassed which might be another reason for them to not go to the police and report a Hate Crime. For people with mental disabilities, there is also the problem that judges do usually not believe their testimony so there is a need for additional training and expertise of judges, prosecutors and policemen in examining Hate Crimes and to find out the truth, because a "traditional" testimony will not be enough.

So because of this, there is a need for training and expertise in dealing with Hate Crime victims for representatives of the juridical system as well as the police (i.e. sign language training for police officers) which would make getting in contact, as well as the reporting and categorization of Hate Crimes a lot easier. Telephone helplines might

not be as effective for helping victims of disability Hate Crime because a subgroup of them (i.e. mentally retarded people) would have difficulties in using them. However, there are efforts to counter this problem, like establishing third party reporting centers for Hate Crimes against disabled people in the UK. Concerning challenges for the educational system connected to Hate Crimes and discrimination of disabled persons, the inclusion of disabled students in the "regular" school system was also mentioned. It was assumed that awareness of prejudices and situations where Hate Crimes and negative behavior by majority groups could occur need to be raised in order to assist a successful inclusion.

Research on the offenders

Besides working with and giving support to Hate Crime victims, there was also an agreement amongst the experts that work with and research about offenders is of high significance. It was rated as highly relevant to conduct research on risk-factors for committing Hate Crimes and use existing research on offenders as basis for prevention work. Since offenders are often below 18 years of age, prevention work with young people is especially relevant. This being the case, the prevention of Hate Crimes by potential offenders is vital work but naturally, intervention with people who have already committed a Hate Crime has different goals and needs to be conducted differently. In the work with Hate Crime offenders also arises the need to train and guide administration, officials, policy makers and professionals, just like training of government officials is needed for dealing with Hate Crime victims. It was criticized that government officials and policy makers often confuse the concepts of prevention and intervention with offenders and do not clearly understand their specific targets/goals and methods. As such, the cooperation and meetings between them and experts who work in the field of Hate Crime offenders seem not as productive as they could be.

It was recommended that an explicit and precise description of goals and targets for intervention and prevention work with Hate Crime offenders or at risk offenders is needed for policy people as well as practitioners (illustrating how a program works, how it is developed, who is the target group, etc.). Practitioners who work with offenders are often frustrated and overwhelmed with the problem which might lead to problems like them using interventions that have a low fit and usefulness for decreasing the danger of reoffending for Hate Crimes (i.e. intercultural course-work for sex offenders) because of a lack of guidance and training.

It was also mentioned that the role of teachers and social workers in the concept of Hate Crime should not be neglected and therefore, it is important to sensitize them for Hate Crimes and raising awareness of the problem and situations in which prejudices and Hate Crime can occur. As well, such intervention programs need to be thoroughly evaluated in their effectiveness and might work differently in different parts of the EU like rural areas with classically xenophobic and less socially developed milieus. Legislators who have to make decisions about Hate Crime policies and are

responsible for their implementation also need explicit guidance by experts in the field in order to choose appropriate approaches.

Special needs of LGBTQ

The special needs of LGBTQ-Hate Crime victims were discussed very intensely. Again, the importance of the work being done by NGOs for victims of LGBTQ-related Hate Crime was mentioned. Besides an improvement in the situation of the NGOs (not working out of basements and able to work openly nowadays) and an increase in resources at their disposal (i.e. counselors and lawyers), there is still a glaring lack of money which makes evaluation of their work difficult.

Connected to this is the problem that NGOs cannot afford to pay for necessary therapist work for several years and that i.e. in Sweden people are forced to go to private clinicians who are expensive and there are not that many therapists there who are specialized in LGBTQ themes. Thus, there is a need to integrate the therapists' work more into authority and health system in order to support the victims. Additionally more therapists are needed in this field that are knowledgeable of the special problems and needs of certain subgroups (i.e. transgender people) who can differ very much from problems of other victims.

Concerning practical needs and work with LGBTQ Hate Crime victims, there are different kinds of help that are needed, like immediate help when the crime just happened (i.e. get people in contact with police and lawyers, talk to comfort, give information), but a different kind of approach when victims come to the NGOs several years after the crime has happened, which seems to be very common in dealing with LGBTQ-related Hate Crime. If that is the case, support must focus on therapeutic help which aims at empowering people to being able to live their daily life again and coping with PTSD. Experts in the field of Hate Crimes against LGBTQ people cite a lack of societal acceptance of a LGBTQ-life style as a crucial problem. In addition, LGBTQ related research as well as support work is not regarded very highly which results in problems like having to start research through a back-door of other research topics (i.e. HIV or emancipation research), since money is difficult to get for LGBTQ-related research. Regarded as focal point here is the work with young people since they are often victims of LGBTQ-related Hate Crime but also the offending party.

There is a big problem in that violence against LGBTQ people is kind of accepted in parts of society and this acceptance starts in schools where for instance the use of the word "gay" for anything negative and as a slur is very common. It was criticized that even professionals like social workers or social pedagogues often perceive this as unproblematic and do not intervene here. Consequently, a lack of intervention at a young age and in school is regarded as a cause for problems like ignorance/unawareness and tolerance for violence against LGBTQ people since it is not regarded as problematic.

So besides training the competencies of potentials victims (i.e. self-defense courses in peer training) and promoting the behavior of seeking help (i.e. encouraging people to seek help and inform them about various contact points), the experts also recommended the use of prevention programs and trainings for potential Hate Crime offenders, preferably in schools. For young people, the aforementioned internet based offers seem to be crucial to get access to them, but additionally, for severe problems (i.e. when there is a risk of suicide), there needs to be a personal contact and further help like therapies. So NGOs need to deal with a lot of Hate Crime related problems, but the question is where can such competencies be fostered and where can their personnel be trained.

4.2.2   The concept and definition of "Hate Crime" and Hate Crime laws

The concept of Hate Crime, how it should be defined and what kind of recommendations concerning the legislation and laws should be given, was discussed very intensely and controversial.

The concept of Hate Crime

First of all, the concept of Hate Crime was defined as a concept of social problems which means that it is a little subjective and co-constructed by social groups. For example, groups in the USA had problems with violence and discrimination against them, so they proved that they were systematically targeted because of their identity and demanded a law to protect them (i.e. formation of civil right groups and situation of black people). So these laws reflect a social reality in that people in the society name problems (here: persecution) and something was done about it. Thus, the formation of criminal law is rooted in social reality and the needs of its members. It is not god-given.

In contrast to other criminal offenses, it was stated that Hate Crimes target certain attributes that are identity constructing for the victim. People are not targeted because of a personal relationship with the offender (i.e. personal conflict, jealousy, etc.), but because they are part of a group with the same attribute (i.e. skin color, sexual orientation). It might hurt the victim more because his or her identity was targeted and it was done to harm a whole group of people, so every member of the group could have been a potential victim and fear is spread to the whole group because of this.

Another expert added that it is not an increased amount of harm and hurt, but that the distribution of hurt is not equal amongst different groups in society (i.e. fear was spread in Malmö because of shootings but decreased when it was revealed that only dark haired people were targeted), so it's only some people that are hurt more than others. . As such, in addition to using the criminal law in order to address social problems, using and prioritizing Hate Crime laws regarding the punishment of offenders and taking the harassment of victims into account, is a viable option.

Consequently, "Hate Crime" is a social problem that is part of a social reality in a specific country. Naturally, this means that the specific social reality might differ in various countries (i.e. common targets of Hate Crime might be different in the USA and a specific country in the EU) in a way that different groups are targets of Hate Crimes and systematically persecuted. In order to prove a systematic social problem of a group, some experts emphasized the need for a stable and working monitoring system for Hate Crimes. If such a system is missing, then there is no way to demonstrate the existence of social problems. So in order to make persecution of groups visible and have evidence you need a systematic monitoring system that is able to record data. Legislations can hide the existence of Hate Crimes just by not registering them or not categorizing them as Hate Crimes but i.e. regular crimes.

Connected to this is the need for money, since money is required to install and evaluate programs against Hate Crime systematically but this cannot be done without the basis of research data and for this a systematic monitoring system is necessary. Thus, one central recommendation to the legislation, policy and support initiatives would be to install a systematic monitoring system that is used to record Hate Crimes. Another expert underlined this problem, since for example in Sweden people have no idea how many convictions for Hate Crimes there were during the last years because judges do not report them properly.

Regarding current Hate Crime laws in the EU, it was stated that there are some similarities to each other (i.e. using lists of groups) in the various countries, but because of different legal systems and constitutions they are actually implemented quite differently. Consequently, it is quite difficult to formulate guidelines for Hate Crime laws on an overarching European level and Hate Crime laws will have to be implemented differently in various countries.

With reference to Hate Crime laws, many experts advised that it is important for victims of Hate Crimes that it is acknowledged that they suffered from a Hate Crime and that criminal sentences reflect that fact. This might improve recovery from the crime for the victims, their relatives and the group of the victim. One expert stated that in the case of the murder of Sophie Lancaster in the UK, who was murdered because she was a Goth, the mother of the victim had a lot of personal benefit from the judges' exclamation that it was a Hate Crime. Another possibility is the use of "flexible" laws.

A participant cited legal system in the UK as an example which he called a flexible system, since judges are free to interpret a little and use different bits to impose a sanction for example through exception regulations which allow them to consider aggravating factors even without having a Hate Crime law. Besides a lack of data if a Hate Crime is not properly reported, recording Hate Crimes seems to be important for victims and reparations so that a group and its problems with persecution becomes visible and their problem is taken seriously. As such, for victims it's not only important that an offender gets a harsher sentence but that it is stated that this was a Hate Crime and that it becomes part of the public record.

List of groups vs. abstract criteria

A vital point of the discussion amongst the experts focused the question how the concept of Hate Crime is to be defined in Hate Crime laws. In summary, there were two main suggestions. On the one hand it was recommended to define lists of groups that can be victims of a Hate Crime, on the other hand it was proposed to use abstract criteria for the inclusion of people in Hate Crime laws instead of fixed lists.

Supporters of a list of groups that are targets of Hate Crime stated that all countries with some kind of Hate Crime legislation use something akin to a list (i.e. it is common practice), even though there are regional differences like having extremely large lists in Belgium and specific things that reflect a country's core values and social reality (i.e. "lack of religious affiliation" in Poland since Religion is strongly integrated into daily life so open atheists are a small minority).

An argument for defining a list of groups that can become victims of Hate Crimes is that if you mention specific groups (i.e. disabled or homosexual persons) then this will become a political topic, help with emancipation work for a minority group and make a problem visible. They argued it is necessary to nominate specific groups since abstract definitions and criteria might not lead automatically to the inclusion of certain groups under Hate Crime laws (i.e. a politician that reads an abstract definition might not automatically conclude that people with disability should be protected by Hate Crime laws). It might be too difficult to decide for politicians on the basis of a categorial philosophical system to decide whether a crime is a Hate Crime or not and instead they must have information about relevant groups that are known victims of Hate Crimes. Advocates of lists of groups also remarked that listing groups that are known contemporary victims of Hate Crimes is sensible but that those lists should be kept open in order to include other groups that might become victims of Hate Crime in the future but are not targeted in the present.

On the other hand there were also some experts who remarked that using fixed lists of groups might be problematic. First of all, it was argued that the social reality and social problems is subject to change therefore different groups can be Hate Crime victims during different times. They might not be targets now, but they might become targets in the future and if they are potential victims, they have to be included in the laws. Thus it would be more useful to use abstract criteria and not fixed lists. Another problem of having a lists of groups of Hate Crime victims is that the nomination of specific groups while keeping others out of the definition will lead to opposition and groups like the conservatives in the US might argue that this itself is discrimination and stigmatization. Furthermore another expert pointed out that the creation of list of groups of Hate Crime victims is often derived from the social reality in the USA and just copying and pasting their list is problematic since the social reality is different in other countries and this has to be considered. He also argued for abstract criteria since he has the opinion that just nominating everyone for a list so nobody gets angry will be

useless for Hate Crime laws that at their core aim to protect persecuted minority groups.

Advocates for using a definition of Hate Crimes based on abstract criteria mentioned that abstract criteria need to be delivered for the inclusion of groups in Hate Crime laws, i.e. by philosophers and researchers. A list of specific groups (i.e. homosexual people, etc.) would not be needed because targeted groups clearly fulfill the abstract definition and criteria. As already stated, those participants emphasized that social reality is subject to change, which means that groups can fulfill criteria for Hate Crimes during different times and hence abstract criteria and not fixed lists should be used.

The central question here is what kind of attributes should be used to formulate these abstract criteria, and for a functional Hate Crime policy an idea is needed about how to select categories that are relevant. One such criterion could be persecution in that being a member of a certain group is sufficient to be persecuted which would prove a social problem of a group. A suggestion for abstract criteria was to use three specific criteria, that an attribute is identity constructing for the victim and that there is historical and statistical proof for persecution and violence against a group. Research found out that the difference of Hate Crimes from regular crime is that Hate Crimes go against attributes that are identity constructing and as such are features that cannot easily be altered (i.e. skin color) and as such target a whole group the individual is part of. As such it hurts more because your identity was targeted. Besides an identity constructing attribute, there needs to be proof of a historical and statistical problem, as in that a group has to prove that they are systematically targeted and victims of Hate Crime. Thus the expert recommended not to include groups in Hate Crime laws just because of a random attribute that is not identity constructing and that are not systematically victimized (i.e. crimes against "bankers" or "capitalists"). If a group has proof on all three levels then it should be included in Hate Crime laws, as such a social movement that can prove that they have a social problem that is social reality should be protected by those laws and not be included just because of a random attribute. As such a group has to organize and prove that it is social reality that they are systematic targets of Hate Crimes. Another expert expressed his satisfaction with such clear criteria and tests that have to be met since inclusion of groups based on such categories would not be arbitrary.

Naturally, some of the participants also pointed out difficulties connected to the proposed abstract criteria used for the definition of Hate Crimes. First of all, as already mentioned, abstract definitions would not automatically lead to the consideration of specific groups like disabled persons under this law, since politicians will not necessarily conclude from an abstract definition and criteria that a law should protect a specific group. Some of the experts also criticized the proposed criterion of an attribute being "identity constructing" for a victim. One such example is about Hate Crimes against people from alternative subcultures, because those normally freely choose to

become part of these subcultures (i.e. dressing up as a goth, punk, skinhead, etc.) but would surely consider this a part of their identity. So a valid question is who would decide whether an attribute is identity constructing or not, where the line is drawn and if that is a fair decision, because those people are already victims of Hate Crimes.

Another problem arises when considering the perception of a Hate Crime offender, since it's not necessarily the case that people only become victims of Hate Crimes because of attributes that are important to themselves. It could also be possible that someone is targeted because of an attribute that is not important to the victim but the offender and his identity (i.e. a religious zealot that attacks an atheist, for whom the category "atheist" is not central to his/her identity). Therefore the offender's perception could just be as relevant for the categorization of Hate Crimes. Additionally, other experts noted that the self- and external perception of a person's identity is often not identical, for example many deaf people do not identify themselves as being disabled and a mentally disabled person might not have much of an idea about how others perceive him/her, but still belongs to the group of mentally disabled persons from the point of view of others.

Likewise, the criterion of statistical proof was regarded critically be some experts. First of all, in order to be able to deliver statistical proof of discrimination, potential target groups have to be classified and registered beforehand, otherwise it becomes impossible to collect relevant data. The lack of classifying students according to their background (i.e. black students) in schools in the USA takes away the possibility of showing discrimination because their exact number is unknown. Officially this is done under the guise of saying that classification of different groups would be discrimination, but in reality it can be a trick to hide discrimination. Thus, this criterion can only be fulfilled by some groups and therefore political pressure by minorities (in the sense of a social movement of a group) to be included in Hate Crime laws is needed instead. The historical dimension of persecution also wasn't regarded as very important by some discussants, since society and social reality is subject to change, so who is the target of a Hate Crime can change very drastically in the future in that additional groups that are not victimized today might become targets.

Some experts expressed the opinion that the criterion "access to power or lack of power" should be included too, because otherwise the wealthiest people could possibly be potential Hate Crime victims which was regarded as absurd since it is cynical to include wealthy people in concepts and laws that should be used for the protection of minorities and powerless people. Regardless of which tangible criteria will be decided to use for defining potential victims of Hate Crimes, specific criteria will have to be formulated and their implementation and usefulness in reality will have to be evaluated in order to evolve such a categorial system.

The experts thus offered different suggestions when faced with the different advantages and disadvantages of using abstract criteria or fixed lists of groups. Several suggestions proposed a degree of openness and flexibility. First of all,

"rubberband categories" like in Swedish law could be used in which only some exemplary groups or criteria are named and other things that are relatively similar to those defined attributes can be included in these flexible categories. Another proposal was to recommend using a list with present known victim groups but keeping it open for additional groups who might become targets of Hate Crime in the future. In summary, most experts could agree that it is sensible to recommend using both a fixed list of groups as well as criteria and that the list of groups should be derived from these criteria.

4.3   Summary

The expert discussion about the concept of Hate Crime was a very animated one. Regarding the needs of victims of Hate Crimes, they discussed general problems and supporting measures that are required as well as specific needs of certain groups that are common targets of Hate Crimes (LGBTQ and disabled persons).

Besides the immediate needs of the victims, the experts also emphasized that work needs to be done with potential Hate Crime offenders as well as educating and training the administration, policy people and government officials in order to improve the support for Hate Crime victims. Regarding the concept and definition of Hate Crime as well as Hate Crime laws, most of the discussion centered around the use of a fixed list of victims compared to using abstract criteria for the inclusion of groups. Both have advantages and disadvantages which leads to the conclusion that using both might be a sensible option while also taking social reality into account.

Besides that, the offenders' perceptions also need to be considered for the categorization of Hate Crimes and a systematic monitoring system needs to be installed in order to collect data that can prove social problems and persecution of specific groups. This is also connected to the proposed acknowledgement of a social problem and Hate Crimes against certain groups becoming part of the public record which could help in the recovery of victims.

5 Hate Crime Survey and NGO Survey

In the following the results of the NGO online survey (NGO Survey), consisting of data from representatives of NGOs who work with victims and at risk groups, and the results of the Hate crime online Survey (HC Survey), consisting of data from people who have experienced a Hate Crime or belong to a risk-group, are presented. The results of both surveys will be compared in the third part, regarding different aspects of opinion on a Hate Crime law.

5.1 Methodology

The surveys were planned as a large scale online data collection within Germany. We chose Germany for several reasons. In German law, there is no concept of Hate Crime law as broad as we would find it in the UK or in the US, only a law on political motivated crime. Thus, we found it promising to explore experiences and opinions on this topic especially within Germany. Secondly, studies with this broad perspective – taking in opinions and experiences with Hate Crime from victims, at-risk groups and NGOs – are still missing in the German context. The third reason is based on methodological considerations. Either way, multi-lingual or solely in English, an international survey across several countries would have brought multiple methodological problems and challenges with it for which we did not have the resources and the manpower capacities within this project.

In the surveys we looked specifically at the following characteristics: disability, religion, sexual orientation, subgroups (e.g. Gothics) and ethnical background. We are aware that the construct of "group", which we used as a category for analyzing our data, does reflect the heterogeneity of groups only to a certain point and can be criticized for the reproduction of discrimination. However, the construct of group was needed for several methodological reasons:

- As the category of group or "group characteristics" and their use within a Hate Crime law is still a profoundly discussed issue, we wanted to have a representative sample of the people that are described by these characteristics and to know what they think about a Hate Crime law.
- For a profound analysis it was necessary to have the category "group" to be able to differentiate between the groups where different needs and views on a Hate Crime policy could be assumed from our previous data collections and from experts associated to the project.

- As a result, some of the scales we used were based on a group concept, such as group-identity or group-efficiency.

The final choice of group characteristics we used in the surveys was also chosen due to the prerequisite to be able to get in contact with these groups.

The Hate Crime Survey and the NGO Survey were designed with the online survey software SurveyMonkey. Through this tool an elaborative methodological design with high security standards and guaranteed accessibility, e.g. for people with visual impairments, was ensured.

The surveys were distributed by contacting persons who work in victim-support NGOs or in organisations that have access to the social network of the aimed-for groups and by asking them to distribute the link and the information sheet to potential participants.

Within our survey we defined Hate Crime as every act of violence against a person or property based on the perceived group affiliation of the victim. The motivation for this act of violence is the prejudice of the offender against the group. The act of violence is therefore not only directed at the victims but also directed at the group, whose perceived representative the person is. But the term Hate Crime includes for us not only classical felonies but also minor offences such as insult and harassment connected to a bias motive. The OSCE (2009, p. 13) states in this context that these "hate-motivated incidents" may not be criminal acts but that "hate-motivated incidents may precede, accompany, or provide the context for hate crimes." Thus, we tried to cover a wide range of possible bias motivated incidents within our survey.

Survey Design	
Hate Crime Survey	**NGO Survey**
- Experience with Hate Crime - Coping Strategies, Trauma Recovery Scale - Wishes for victim and at-risk group support - Personal Resources: - Self-esteem, self-efficacy, life-satisfaction - Group specific resources: - Group identity, group self-efficacy	- Experience with Hate Crime - Needed and already existing resources - Needs for support of victims and at-risk groups - Prevention possibilities - Improvement of community settings and desired actions by public authorities
Opinions on a Hate Crime law	

Figure 2: Survey Design of the Hate Crime Survey and the NGO Survey

Both surveys consisted of newly developed questions, empirically proven research scales and open questions (figure 2). Within the NGO Survey, the questions we asked referred to two areas. The first area included questions about the participants' experience with Hate Crimes in their everyday work, about resources that already exist and resources that would be needed to enhance their work. Furthermore, we asked them about the need for support and protection of victims of Hate Crimes, about prevention possibilities, improvement of community settings and desired actions of public authorities. The second part consisted of questions on their opinions on Hate Crime policy and Hate Crime law. The objective was to deepen our understanding of what kind of support NGOs need themselves as well as of what kind of support NGOs think victims and at-risk groups need and to find out what NGOs think about a Hate Crime legislation.

The questions of the Hate Crime Survey started with finding out the perceived group affiliation of the participant. Most people of course would allocate themselves with several groups (e.g. German nationality, Turkish ethnical background and Muslim religious affiliation). Thus, we first provided all participants with a vast list of possible groups and asked them to choose those they could identify themselves with. In a second question we presented all the chosen groups and asked, for which kind of group affiliation they have experienced discrimination or would find it most likely to be discriminated. The group they chose then was the group affiliation that corresponded to all other questions in the survey (e.g. "What kind of support would you wish for your group?").

Within the Hate Crime Survey we asked the participants questions about their experience with Hate Crime, their coping strategies, wishes for victim support and wishes for support for their group in general. Those that had experienced a Hate Crime incident were also asked about the level of their physical hurt, psychological stress and their overall coping. The latter was additionally controlled by the Trauma Recovery Scale (TRS) by Holbrook (1999). Additionally, we assessed possible personal resources such as self-efficacy, self-esteem and life-satisfaction and group related resources such as group-identity and collective self-efficacy. Furthermore, we asked them about their opinion on a Hate Crime law. The research objective was to deepen our understanding of what kind of support victims and at-risk groups need and what they think about a Hate Crime legislation.

Both surveys consisted partly of the same questions to be able to compare the views of victims of Hate Crimes or at-risk groups and those of NGOs. In the following we will present the results of both surveys as well a comparative part of the questions we asked in both surveys.

5.2 NGO Survey Results

Participating Organisations

A total of 58 representatives of NGOs who work against discrimination and/or with victims of Hate Crimes participated in the NGO Survey. We were able to capture a diverse sample of organisations. About 30 % work with a broad spectrum of different groups and about 70 % were specialised on special target groups, such as sexual orientation, ethnical background, religion, disability, subcultures and others (table 1).

Table 1: NGO Target Groups

NGO Target Groups		
	n	%
Broad spectrum of groups	17	29,3
Specialized on particular target groups	41	70,7

Experience with Hate Crime

When asked about their experience with the term Hate Crime over 70 % were familiar with the term itself[3] and over 90 % had already experienced cases of Hate Crime[4] in their everyday work (table 2). Most of these Hate Crime incidents were related to insult, harassment and acts of violence. But there were also reported cases of sexual assault, robbery, manslaughter and other types of Hate Crime.

Table 2: NGOs - Experience with Hate Crime

Experience with Hate Crime		
	n	%
Familiar with the term Hate Crime	41	70,7
Experience Hate Crimes in everyday work	53	90,1

Resources

We asked the NGO representatives what kind of resources they would need to improve their support for victims of Hate Crime (figure 4). Most prominent were resources such as long-term financial means to develop, start and most of all maintain projects and enabling information and education of the public. Secondly, there is a great need for more staff resources. They also wished for more time to work with the

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[3] We asked the participants if they had heard about the English term "Hate Crime", which is not a common phrase in Germany

[4] All participants were presented a definition and practical examples of Hate Crimes.

victims which is directly connected to the lack of financial and staff resources. Another resource they wished for was professional support (figure 3), political support in the sense that they wished for concrete political actions, a political signal that Hate Crimes are recognized and taken seriously as well as for improved law regulations to be better able to protect victims.

Examples of suggested professional support
• Counselling service for victims
• Specific therapy services
• (pro bono) legal advice
• Empowerment trainings to learn strategies on how to cope with Hate Crime incidents
• Social workers at schools
• Prevention and specific education at schools
• Special training for teachers
• Special training for police officers
• Help-network between governmental and non-governmental organizations

Figure 3: Examples of suggested professional support

Positively, representatives also reported already existing resources (figure 4) such as their networks with other organizations and practitioners. They also reported provided (but limited) financial resources. Some of these resources were provided by the state, their own budget or by donations or indirect support from other organizations (e.g. by providing rooms). Other described resources were their own professionalism and their professional experience within the field as well as already existing professional support measures for victims of Hate Crime (e.g. counseling services). But some also reported that they had no existing resources at all.

Resources Needed	Already existing resources
• Financial resources	• Networks
• Staff resources	• Limited financial resources
• More time to work with victims	• Own professionalism and professional experience
• Professional support	
• Political support	• Already existing professional measures
• law regulations	

Figure 4: Needed and already existing resources of NGOs

What kind of support and protection do victims of Hate Crime need?

We asked which kind of support and protection victims of Hate Crimes would need (figure 5). The point most emphasized was the need for education of the public, closely connected to more acceptance and tolerance in general. This should be achieved by large-scale educational campaigns – already starting at kindergartens and schools – as well as through small-scale measures such as opportunities for different groups to meet each other. Regarding the education of the public, the media is playing a major role in how they report about events and incidents.

Professionals who work with victims or with at-risk groups, such as teachers, social workers or officers at public authorities should have access to special training. This leads to another important step, a consequent law enforcement by the police and the confidence for victims of Hate Crimes that they can trust in the police work and that they will be taken seriously by the police officers. They also wished for more civil courage within the population and for witnesses of Hate Crimes in general. Furthermore, victims of Hate Crime or at-risk groups should be supported by empowerment trainings and the provision of professional support facilities.

What kind of support and protection do victims of Hate Crime need?
• Education / acceptance and tolerance
• police support
– consequent law enforcement
– being taken seriously
• improved training for professionals
• political support
• law regulations
• civil courage / moral courage
• professional support
• empowerment for the group

Figure 5: Needs for support and protection of victims of Hate Crime

Regarding prevention, the main focus was on primary prevention (figure 6). It was emphasized that primary educational preventive measures should start as early as possible within schools or even pre-schools. These preventive measures should also be standardized and long-term oriented instead of having various short-term projects. But also the so called tertiary preventive work with offenders should be supported and given a long-term financial framework. Additionally, consequent law enforcement and political support were also seen as helpful for preventive purposes.

What kind of preventive measures would be needed to reduce the number of Hate Crimes?

- Education, especially in schools and pre-schools
- Long-term standardized prevention programs
- Measures to work with offenders
- consequent law enforcement
- political support

Figure 6: Preventive measures to reduce Hate Crimes

Community settings could be improved by building up networks and collaborations with other institutions. There should be meeting points provided for people from one group to come together but also for different groups to meet each other. These measures – as most of the measures above – would need sufficient financial resources and staff resources (figure 7).

How to improve community settings

- Building up networks
- Collaborations with other institutions
- Provide meeting points for different groups to meet but also to meet each other
- More financial and staff resources

Figure 7: Improvement of community settings

Public authorities should educate their employees, especially those who most likely will have direct contact with victims of Hate Crimes or at-risk groups, e.g. with anti-bias trainings within their institutions (figure 8). Multilingual programs and/or multilingual employees would be an important asset. Additionally, there should be direct contact persons who are specialized within the area of Hate Crime and discrimination. Furthermore, the representatives wished for more open collaborations of public authorities with other institutions and for more engagement with the public. Last but not least, for all these measures the corresponding political support would be needed, including policies and law regulations.

What should the public authorities do?

- Education of employees
- Anti-bias trainings within their institutions
- Multilingual offers / multilingual employees
- More resources for specialized contact persons
- Be open to collaborations with other institutions
- Engagement with the public

Figure 8: Public authorities needs for action

5.3   Hate Crime Survey Results

Sample

In total, 668 people participated in the Hate Crime Survey (table 3). The represented groups were people with disabilities, with different sexual orientations, different religious affiliations, different ethnical backgrounds as well as people from different so called subcultures (e.g. Gothics, Emos, Punks).

At the beginning of the Hate Crime Survey we provided a list of different social groups that people could identify with. These consisted of the above-mentioned five groups. Additionally we provided various subgroups for each group. For example, for the group sexual orientation we provided the subgroups heterosexual orientation, homosexual/bisexual orientation, transgender/queer, and other. We asked all participants to choose all subgroups they could identify themselves with. In a second step we asked them to choose the group affiliation for which they expected to be most likely discriminated for. Every following question was asked with regard to this chosen group.

Table 3: Hate Crime Survey sample

	N	%
Punk	239	35,8
Disability	167	25,0
Subculture	117	17,5
Sexual Orientation	109	16,3
Religious Affiliation	22	3,3
Ethnical Background	14	2,1
Total	668	100,0

Despite our efforts to reach representatives from all groups we were only able to reach 22 people (3,3 %) who chose their religious affiliation as the group affiliation they would most likely expect discrimination for and only 14 people (2,1 %) who reported this expectation about their ethnical background. This could be for various reasons. Some people who, within the first step, chose religious affiliations which could be associated with discrimination in Germany, such as being Muslim or Jewish may have chosen other group affiliations in the second step and thus did expect it to be more likely to be discriminated for another group affiliation than for their religion. The same

could be the case for people who could identify themselves with different ethnical backgrounds but did not choose them in the second step. Another reason could be that people from different religious and ethnical backgrounds were not motivated enough to participate in our survey or to distribute the survey within their networks. If compared to groups such as people with physical disabilities or people with homosexual orientation who have strong communities and lobbies representing their interests, people from religious and ethnical backgrounds are a much more diverse group and have also more diverse forms of being organized in communities or associations.

Another surprise was the high participation rate of people who assigned themselves to being Punks within the group Subculture. This could be due to a strong network between Punks but also to a high interest in the theme of Hate Crime and in sharing their experiences with violence and discrimination. Analysis showed that Punks rated some questions slightly differently than other subculture subgroups such as Gothics, Emos or others, so that we decided to have Punk as independent group within the statistical analysis.

As Hate Crime is not a common term in Germany we introduced a definition to all participants including three examples (figure 9).

Hate Crime – Project Definition

"A Hate Crime is every act of violence against a person or property based on the perceived group affiliation of the victim. The motivation for this act of violence is the prejudice of the offender against the group. The act of violence is therefore not only directed at the victims but also directed at the group, whose perceived representative the person is."

Example 1:
Two men are walking closely next to each other and are attacked because the offender took them for a homosexual couple.

Example 2:
A women with a headscarf is harassed on the open street, because of her perceived religious affiliation.

Example 3:
An adolescent, who wears black, is bullied by other adolescents, because they think him being a Gothic.

Figure 9: Hate Crime - Project Definition

Experience with Hate Crime

We then asked them if they ever had been a victim of a Hate Crime. Over 60 % of all participants reported of having experienced a Hate Crime as a victim. Especially Punks reported a very high rate with 78 % (table 4). These figures cannot be seen as

representative for the whole population as people having already experienced discrimination and related violence are more likely to participate in the survey.

Table 4: Experience with Hate Crime

Have you ever been a victim of a Hate Crime?

	All Groups	Disabled Persons	Sexual Orientation	Subculture	Punks
Yes	61,5	43,0	48,9	64,3	78,0
no	28,2	42,1	40,0	25,0	15,0
do not know	8,6	11,2	10,0	9,5	5,8
no statement	1,8	3,7	1,1	1,2	1,2

We then asked all groups how much the incident had psychologically stressed them and how much they were physically hurt (table 5). Looking at the answers on how much they were physically hurt, we can see that Punks show the highest rates regarding their experience of being physically hurt, closely followed by Subcultures. Regarding the psychological stress, the highest rates can be found within the group with disabilities and different sexual orientations.

Table 5: Experienced physical hurt and psychological stress

How much were you physically hurt?

	All Groups %	Disabled Persons %	Sexual Orientation %	Subculture %	Punks %
Not at all	35,0	51,2	55,8	35,8	23,0
minor	53,6	44,2	34,9	56,6	61,5
severely	9,5	2,3	9,3	7,5	12,6
Life-threatening	1,8	2,3	0,0	0,0	3,0

How much did the incident psychologically stress you?

	All Groups	Disabled Persons	Sexual Orientation	Subculture	Punks
Not at all	21,4	0,0	14,0	30,2	27,4
minor	38,8	22,2	34,9	45,3	43,0
severely	29,7	51,1	27,9	22,6	25,9
very severely	10,1	26,7	23,3	1,9	3,7

From these figures it can be inferred that people with disabilities experience mostly Hate Crimes with no or only minor physical hurt, but experience a higher level of psychological stress, whereas especially Punks seem to experience physical hurt but

seem not to experience this as much as psychologically stressful. This is also reflected in the answers to our question how well they had coped with the incident (table 6). Punks and subgroups show the highest rates of coping, closely followed by people from different sexual orientation, whereas disabled persons show an overall lower level of coping.

Table 6: Level of coping with the Hate Crime incident

How well did you cope with the incident?

	All Groups	Disabled Persons	Sexual Orientation	Subculture	Punks
very badly	2,2	6,7	4,7	0,0	0,7
rather badly	6,9	15,6	11,6	3,8	3,7
undecided	17,8	31,1	14,0	17,0	14,8
rather good	35,5	22,2	37,2	37,7	38,5
very good	37,7	24,4	32,6	41,5	42,2

When looking at the correlations between the level of physical hurt and psychological stress we found that the level of physical hurt and psychological stress were not correlated at all. When looking at the correlations (figure 10) of the level of physical hurt and psychological stress with the outcomes on the Trauma Recovery Scale (TRS), we found correspondingly only a minor negative correlation between high scores on the TRS and the level of physical hurt (-.21) but a much higher negative correlation between the TRS scores and the level of psychological stress experienced by the Hate Crime incident (-.41). When leaving the Punk group out of the analysis, the correlation between TRS score and psychological stress appeared even stronger (-.49).
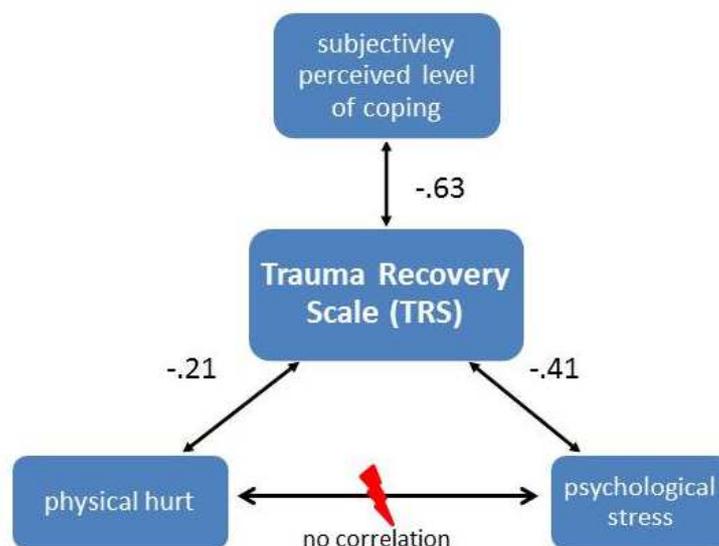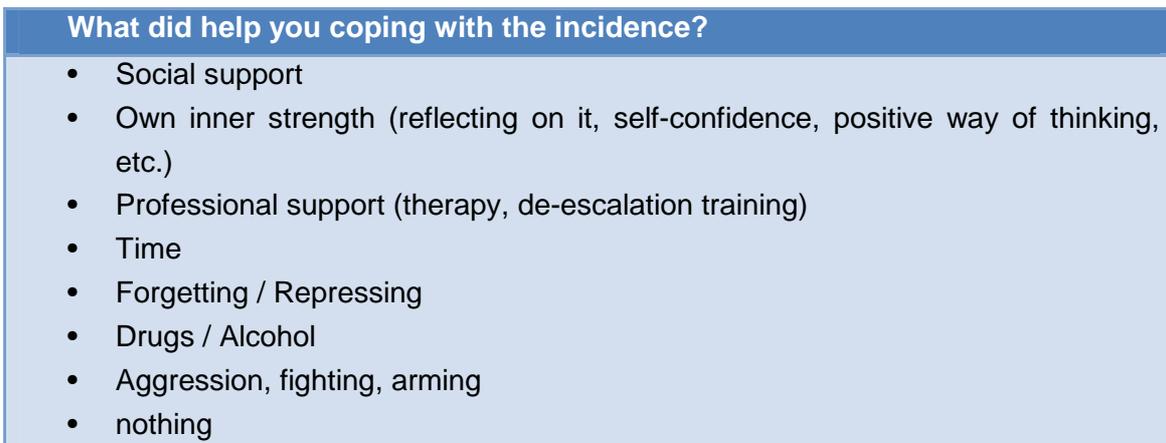
Figure 10: Correlations with Trauma Recovery Scale (TRS)

Hate Crimes are most often associated with acts of violence. These figures imply that a) the level of physical hurt does not determine the level of psychological stress and b) that the level of experienced psychological stress is much more significant for the overall trauma recovery of the victim than the actual physical hurt. This should be reflected in offered supporting measures.

To have a more concrete idea of possible ways of coping we asked all participants who experienced a Hate Crime what had helped them coping with the incidence (figure 11) . The main factor which was mentioned was social support from family, friends and partners. The second factor were items that could be described as the victim's "own inner strength". What helped them was their self-confidence, a positive and constructive way of thinking about and reflecting the incidence so that they were able to reframe the incidence in order to make it more psychologically manageable.

Another important way of coping was to receive professional support, such as therapy or specific trainings, for instance trainings for de-escalation and communication. Many victims also mentioned the passing of time itself as a significant factor in coping or trying to forget or repress the incident. More destructive ways of coping were drugs, alcohol or answering back with aggression, fighting or even arming.

What did help you coping with the incidence?
• Social support
• Own inner strength (reflecting on it, self-confidence, positive way of thinking, etc.)
• Professional support (therapy, de-escalation training)
• Time
• Forgetting / Repressing
• Drugs / Alcohol
• Aggression, fighting, arming
• nothing

Figure 11: Coping with the Hate Crime

To be able to get a better understanding of possible coping mechanisms we looked at possible correlates between a high level of coping (high TRS scores) and different personal and group related resources such as self-esteem, self-efficacy, life-satisfaction, collective self-efficacy and group identity. We found that self-esteem, self-efficacy and life-satisfaction were – unsurprisingly – highly and significantly correlated with high TRS scores. But we also found that group-related resources such as collective self-efficacy and group identity were significantly correlated with high TRS scores (table 7). Collective self-efficacy and group-identity are furthermore inter-correlated (.58) which could mean that by strengthening one it is highly likely to strengthen the other.

Supportive measures for victims and at-risk groups in the specific context of Hate Crimes should therefore not only concentrate on the individual and their personal resources but also include the group perspective and foster the perceived collective self-efficacy and the feeling of group identity.

Table 7: Correlations between TRS and personal and group specific resources

	Self-esteem	Self-efficacy	Life-satisfaction	Collective self-efficacy	Group identity
Trauma Recovery Scale (TRS)	.47***	.49***	.54***	.23***	.35***

***p-value < .001

Which type of support for victims or for yourself would you wish for?

We asked all participants which type of support they would wish for victims of Hate Crimes or for themselves (figure 12). The biggest factor they wished for was the education of the public, closely connected to more tolerance in society in general. The second factor was the wish for more professional support, such as low-threshold interventions (de-escalation trainings, educational events with practical guidelines, education on Hate Crimes), (short time) therapy free of charge, anonymous contact points and help hotlines. They also wished for improved trainings for professionals and for more support by the police by consequent law enforcement and by being taken seriously when reporting an incidence. In general they wished for the acknowledgement of Hate Crimes in the public and at public authorities.

Another important item was the wish for more civil courage and more solidarity, that people on the street would not look away but intervene or help the victim or at least call other people or the police for help. They also wished for appropriate law regulations (e.g. enhancing sentences, application of equality laws, etc.) and for politics to acknowledge Hate Crimes and to support the above mentioned wishes.

Which type of support for victims or for yourself would you wish for?
• Education of the public / more tolerance
• professional support
• low-threshold interventions (de-escalation trainings, educational events with practical guidelines, education on Hate Crimes)
• (short time) therapy free of charge
• anonymous contact points
• help hotline
• improved training for professionals
• police support

- consequent law enforcement
    - being taken serious
- acknowledgement of the Hate Crime
    - in public
    - at public authorities, etc.
- civil courage
- political support and law regulations

Figure 12: Needs for support

5.4   Hate Crime Law and Policy - Comparative Part

Within both surveys, HC Survey and NGO Survey, we asked questions regarding attitudes and opinions about a Hate Crime law. The following answers to these questions were compared between two groups: victims/at-risk groups (HC Survey) and representatives of NGOs (NGO Survey). Victims and at-risk groups were combined in the analysis as we found no significant differences between the two groups or further subgroups regarding these questions.

We asked both groups if there should be a Hate Crime law in Germany (figure 13). The majority of both groups (NGO Survey 69 % and HC Survey 67 %) would approve of such a law in Germany. Only 21 % (NGO Survey) and 16 % (HC Survey) would rather not have a Hate Crime law in Germany. The majority within both groups also supported the possibility of a Hate Crime law (figure 14) to enhance sentences (68,4 % NGO Survey and 61,8 % HC Survey).

Should there be a Hate Crime law in Germany?

Should a Hate Crime law give the possibility to enhance sentences?
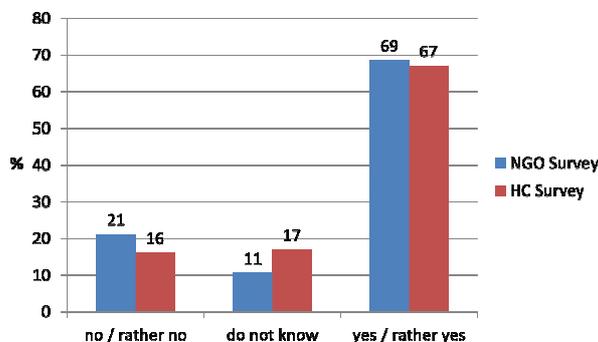
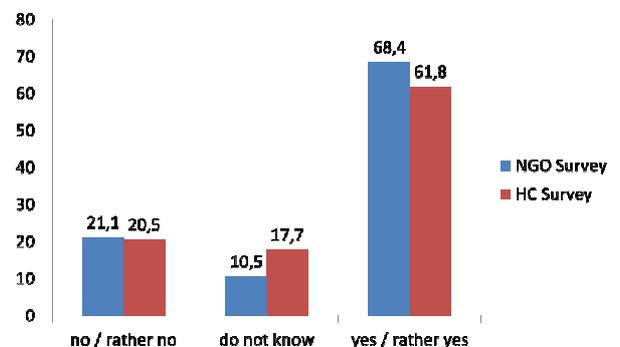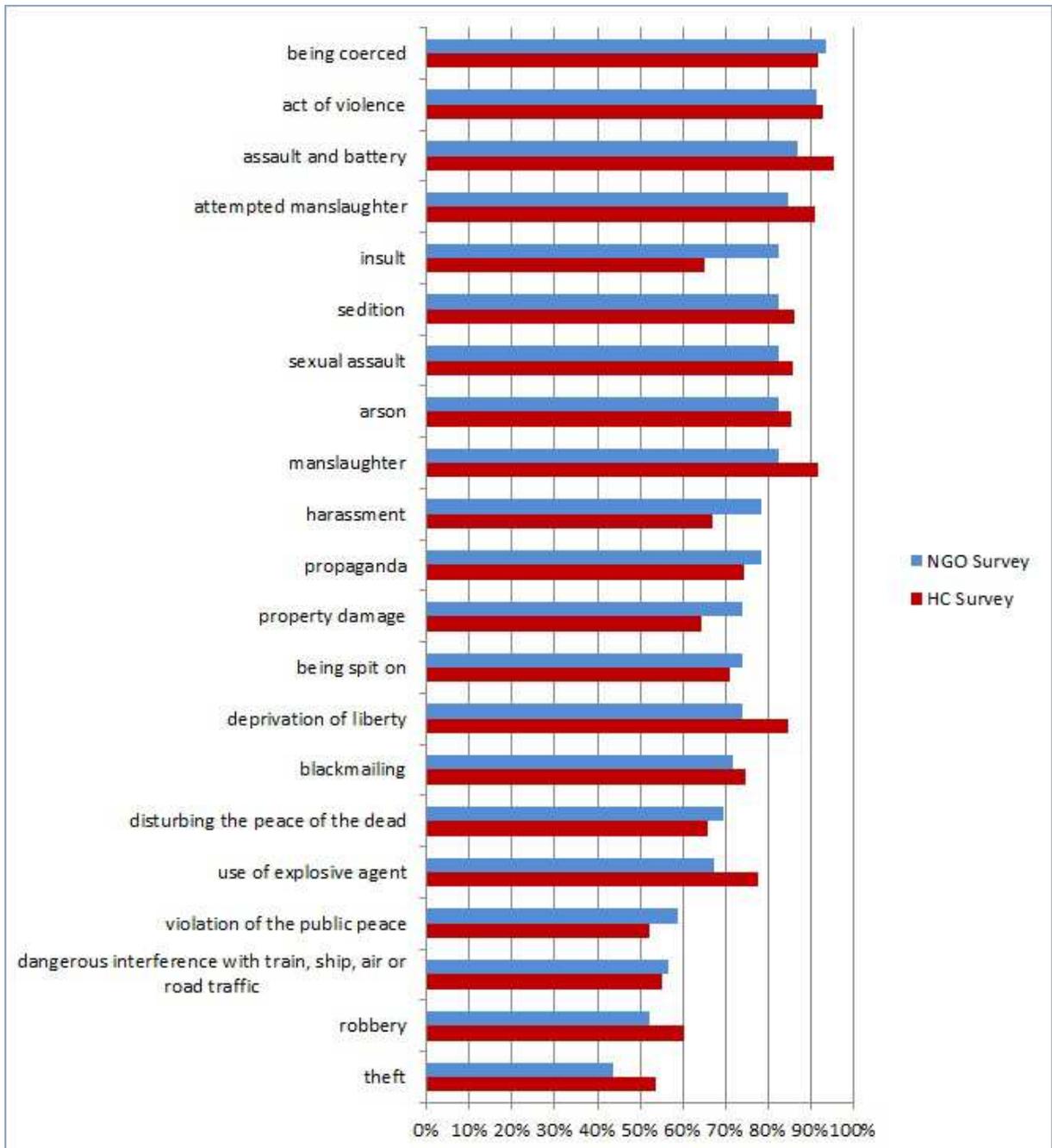**Figure 13: Hate Crime Law in Germany**

Figure 14: Enhancing sentences

What kind of crimes or offences should be included in a Hate Crime law?

We asked all participants which kind of crimes or offences should be included in a Hate Crime law by giving them a list of crimes within the German law and some additional items, such as insult or being spit on, as these were offences that were often reported in victim surveys (e.g. MANEO 2009).

Figure 15: What kind of crimes or offences should be included into a Hate Crime law?

In general we found an overall agreement between the participants of the NGO Survey and the participants of the HC Survey regarding which crimes or offences should be included (figure 15). The biggest differences we found were regarding insult

and harassment. For both items representatives of NGOs agreed more often that these should be included into a Hate Crime law. This may be the result of the NGOs' daily work with victims of Hate Crime and their reports of minor offences like this. On the other hand, victims or at-risk groups may not be aware how often these minor offences occur in day-to-day life or would not judge these minor offences worthy of being regulated by law.

When asked which kind of crimes or offences in addition to this list should be included in a Hate Crime law those that approved of a Hate Crime law often voted for other minor offences, such as discrimination, mobbing / libel and slander, and structural discrimination.

What would be the purpose of a Hate Crime law?

Furthermore, we asked all participants what the purpose of a Hate Crime law would be in their opinion (table 8). For the representatives of NGOs the most important features would be to be a signal for policy interventions (79,2 %) and to be a requirement and possibility for monitoring (54,2 %). However, for victims and at-risk groups the deterrence of potential offenders was the most important purpose followed by the purpose of being a signal for policy interventions. Remarkably, the Hate Crime law as a requirement and possibility for monitoring was the least chosen purpose for victims and at-risk groups. This could originate in a reduced awareness on how important monitoring would be for enforcing a Hate Crime policy.

The purpose of a Hate Crime law would be in my opinion:

NGO Survey	
to be a signal for policy intervention	79,2%
requirement and possibility for monitoring	54,2%
deterrence of potential offenders	47,9%
possibility of enhancing sentences	43,8%
prevention of such crimes	41,7%

HC Survey	
deterrence of potential offenders	67,6%
to be a signal for policy intervention	64,7%
prevention of such crimes	59,4%
possibility of enhancing sentences	52,9%
requirement and possibility for monitoring	37,4%

Table 8: Purpose of a Hate Crime Law

The purpose of enhancing sentences seems to be a less important purpose and could give the impression that some victims and at-risk groups do not distinct between Hate Crimes and other crimes and do therefore not think that Hate Crimes should be treated differently. Only 41,7 % of NGO representatives chose the prevention of Hate

Crimes as a purpose for a Hate Crime law which indicates that a law would not be seen as effective in this sense and that other measures might be evaluated as more effective.

Regarding the purpose of a Hate Crime law there were also critical voices that thought the establishment of a Hate Crime law is useless or feared for negative consequences of such a law such as more discrimination of the protected groups.

6 Discussion and Recommendations

Our data on victims' experiences with Hate Crimes gave important insight into how they perceive their victimization and how they cope with such an incident. Especially interesting were the correlations between psychological stress, physical hurt and the Trauma Recovery Scale (TRS). The much higher correlation between psychological stress and TRS in comparison to the level of physical hurt and TRS underlines the huge psychological impact of the victimization and the importance of providing appropriate victim support at different levels.

In general, local support systems and communities are seen as pivotal for victim support. This is supported by our findings on the correlation between TRS and group specific resources such as group identity and collective self-efficacy. Looking at what helped victims of Hate Crime cope and what victims, at-risk groups and NGOs formulated as important needs regarding victim support, one can summarize the following items to be implemented and fostered:

- Education of the public, acceptance and tolerance and the encouragement of civil courage
- police support (consequent law enforcement, being taken seriously)
- Counselling service for victims
- Specific therapy services
- (pro bono) legal advice
- Empowerment trainings to learn strategies on how to cope with Hate Crime incidents
- Special training for teachers, practitioners and police officers
- Establishment of help-networks between governmental and non-governmental organizations

Another important aspect of the equation is not only the support of the victims and the fostering of their personal resources but also the support of the support-facilities themselves. NGOs listed a great list of needs for support and resources which will have to be acknowledged by a Hate Crime policy to make appropriate victim support and community empowerment possible. These were mainly long-term financial resources, staff resources, more time to work with victims, professional and political support as well as the supporting legal regulations.

Regarding a Hate Crime law in Germany, we asked all participants, victims, at-risk groups and representatives of NGOs alike about their views on such a legislation. The empirical results demonstrate that both NGOs and Hate Crime victims as well as

members of target groups strongly support the idea of a Hate Crime legislation in Germany.

Important was the emphasis on including not only severe crimes like sexual assault or manslaughter but also minor offences such as insult or harassment. For representatives of NGOs, the purpose of a Hate Crime law would be to have a clear signal for policy interventions and to have the requirement and the possibilities for monitoring.

In comparison to the view from the NGOs, for the participants of the HC Survey, the purpose of a law would be rather the deterrence of potential offenders. A Hate Crime law being the requirement for monitoring was considered as less important overall important. We assume that within the population of victims or at-risk groups there is not enough awareness for the importance of monitoring which is thus connected to the need for reporting Hate Crimes to be able to use the data to formulate appropriate policy responses.

Some purposes that were emphasized such as being a signal for policy intervention should rather be reflected and implemented in a Hate Crime policy than in a Hate Crime law. As there still exists no Hate Crime Law in Germany in the same sense as in the UK or in Sweden these results are of importance for advocators of a Hate Crime law both at the national level as on the EU level.

The results also emphasize the importance of prevention, trauma recovery support and rehabilitation for communities, local administrations, victims, and offenders. Moreover, the results indicate that supporting the empowerment of target groups may play an important role for prevention. From our point of view it would not only be necessary to do more research on prevention and recovery but also to include these issues in a EU-wide Hate Crime policy.

However there are still some open questions which have to be answered by research and which may also lead to the development of new, different and more appropriate preventive approaches. One major preventive approach demanded by all survey participants was primary prevention in schools. We strongly support this demand for structured, long-term prevention programs. While appreciating schools as a primary focus for implementing prevention programs, an augmented Hate Crime policy should not leave the responsibility for taking preventive measures to schools alone. Schools are obviously a pivotal learning and developmental environment for children and youths so that school-based prevention programs will have to be taken into account, beside other measures.

However, schools cannot repair every social deficiency, neither in the sense of personal shortcomings nor in the sense of deficits in local support systems. Looking at the existing research Sullaway (2004, p. 278) further states that with all research on primary prevention, e.g. in schools, which aims at minimizing prejudices "we do not know if preventing prejudicial attitudes in the majority of vulnerable youth will decrease

bias-motivated behavior (violence), which is committed by a small minority of people who have prejudicial attitudes." Our reference to resilient ecologies emphasizes instead the responsibility of local communities.

Moreover, hate crimes do not always follow the prototypical offender-victim-scheme. When looking at the correlation between anti-Black and anti-White Hate Crimes in New York City, Green, Glaser, and Rich (1998) suggested that there could be inter-group conflicts with cycles of attack and reprisal. In such cases, bias-motivation may be merged with other sources of rivalry which may not be covered by prevention programs. On the other hand, such cyclical forms of violence may be seen by the victims/offenders as sufficient measures against hate crimes and diminish the influence of school-based or otherwise institutionalized programs. These aspects should be included in preventive concepts and be adapted to the targeted community.

Alongside with the recommendations of the other legs of the project "When Law and Hate collide", the results of the survey and the already existing research underscore two main recommendations:

Firstly, our survey demonstrates that victims, at-risk-groups and NGOs do have an informed opinion about the usefulness of a Hate Crime legislation which should be acknowledged and heard in the process of introducing a Hate Crime legislation. That does not mean that a Hate Crime legislation / policy should be implemented only within the frame of a public referendum. We just want to emphasize that particularly in nations where the broader public is not well aware of the existence of hate crimes and where law procedures are for one reason or another not sufficient to produce evidence for the existence and scope of hate crimes, such surveys may play an important role in the political process.

In our case, the majority of the participants of the survey support the implementation of a Hate Crime Law in Germany which would extend the already existing laws on libel as well as on politically motivated crimes. A Hate Crime policy should also include responses to minor offences such as insult, harassment or discrimination, as these are the types of "Hate Crimes" that people from different social groups have to cope with every day. In addition, they could be incidents that might lead to more severe offences.

Secondly, the wishes expressed by victims, at-risk groups and NGOs, which reflect real needs, should be reflected within a Hate Crime policy. This would mean an extension of the intention of initiatives focusing on the implementation of laws alone. Based on both the survey as on our professional understanding, a Hate Crime policy should not be based on a Hate Crime law alone but also on the implementation of prevention measures and support for both victims and offenders. These measures should go hand in hand with suitable measures to facilitate the empowerment of target groups as a way to enhance their positive social image. So our recommendations are:

- Establishing a monitoring system for Hate Crimes
- Consideration of the opinions and needs of at-risk-groups in the implementation of a Hate Crime legislation
- Enhancement of prevention programs
- Facilitating the empowerment of target-groups and providing resources for victim support measures
- Financial funding of support/rehabilitation programs for victims and offenders

Besides for the political recommendations of our investigations there also open questions for future research. Our results underline the importance of surveys and studies in victimization (e.g. FRA 2013) and trauma recovery which look beyond already existing offender/victim statistics. Some of the open questions have already been mentioned above and are related to the basic problems regarding the measurement of attitudes and the change of attitudes. However, there is also a need for more studies on the role of target-group communities with relation to the coping with hate crimes as well as for epidemiological studies about high-incidence-offenders in the field of hate crimes and to protective factors.

In accordance with the research that focuses on the phenomenon of resilience – which is seen as a person's capacity to master adversaries and to develop positively (e.g. Werner & Smith, 1982; Gamezy, 1983; Rutter, 1987) – such studies will have to be conducted in a mixed design combining both qualitative and longitudinal quantitative data. This is necessary to cover both the procedural nature of resilience as well as the circumstance that resilience seems to be the product of interactions of protective factors and of risk factors (see Ungar, 2011, Fingerle, 2011a, 2011b). Such studies would need a sufficient sample size, which sets a challenge for studies on hate crime offenders without sufficient resources and the necessary administrative support.

Finally, such studies will be highly valuable for the development of better prevention programs. In the moment, the whole area of crime prevention and primary prevention programs which are tailored to support positive development or to change people's attitudes is confronted with the problem that such measures are not always as effective as they should be. This phenomenon could be partly explained by implementation and funding problems but it also reflects a lack of knowledge about some of the underlying psychological processes.

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