

<b>Institution:</b> University of Surrey		
<b>Unit of Assessment:</b> UoA21 Sociology		
<b>Title of case study:</b> Hate Crimes Against Alternative Subcultures: Improving Criminal Justice Support for Victims		
<b>Period when the underpinning research was undertaken:</b> 2013-2016		
<b>Details of staff conducting the underpinning research from the submitting unit:</b>		
<b>Name(s):</b>	<b>Role(s) (e.g. job title):</b>	<b>Period(s) employed by submitting HEI:</b>
Professor Jon Garland Dr Paul Hodkinson	Head of Department Reader in Sociology	Jan 2013 onwards Aug 2003 onwards
<b>Period when the claimed impact occurred:</b> 2014-2020		
<b>Is this case study continued from a case study submitted in 2014?</b> No		
<p><b>1. Summary of the impact</b> (indicative maximum 100 words)</p> <p>Professor Garland and Dr Hodkinson's research into the targeted victimisation of alternative subcultures has led to 18 UK police forces recognising attacks upon these groups as hate crimes.</p> <p>The impact consists of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) providing the evidence base for organisations who are campaigning for the inclusion of alternative subcultures in hate crime legislation;</li> <li>b) changing police recognition of the hate element of the victimisation of alternative subcultures;</li> <li>c) improving the police response to victims of this type of hate crime;</li> <li>d) informing the Law Commission's 2020 review of hate crime legislation, with specific reference to adding alternative subcultures to hate crime law.</li> </ul>		
<p><b>2. Underpinning research</b> (indicative maximum 500 words)</p> <p>Professor Garland collaborated with Professor Chakraborti (September 2012 to October 2014 – ESRC Grant (ESRC/ES/J008109/1)) on the Leicester Hate Crime Project, the largest study of hate crime victimisation thus far undertaken. The two-year mixed-methods project commissioned a large-scale victimisation survey and conducted semi-structured interviews and focus groups with victims. It adopted a broad approach to the definition of a hate crime group by investigating the experiences of the officially recognised hate crime victim communities (those based around race/ethnicity, religion/faith, disability, sexual orientation, and transgender status) that are covered by specific hate crime legislation (1986 Public Order Act; 1998 Crime &amp; Disorder Act; 2003 Criminal Justice Act) and those from other communities (such as those from alternative subcultures) whose victimisation appears to resemble that of the aforementioned hate crime victim groups but is not legally recognised as such. Over 1,100 questionnaires were returned and interviews and focus groups conducted with 374 participants.</p> <p>Professor Garland led the 'alternative subculture' strand of the project, which uncovered the experiences of 62 participants culled from the interviews and focus groups. The key finding was that the types of targeted victimisation suffered by members of alternative subcultures were similar in nature and impact to those experienced by the recognised hate crime victim groups. For example, alternative subcultural victims were frequently subject to verbal abuse from strangers in</p>		

the street, on public transport or in venues such as pubs and bars, as well as less frequent but nevertheless very frightening physical abuse, such as having objects thrown at them, being jostled and harassed or being violently assaulted. These incidents often left them feeling intimidated, frightened to leave the house and saw them changing their patterns of behaviour if they did go out [R1].

Subsequently, Professor Garland and Dr Paul Hodkinson gained a University of Surrey Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences pump-priming funding (2014, £1,200) to assess whether hate crime can or should be extended beyond the then legally recognised minority groups by focusing on a case study, the targeting of alternative subcultures. Drawing on qualitative interviews with 21 respondents mostly affiliated to the Goth scene, this research identified significant and repeat experiences of targeted victimisation. The type and frequency of the harassment and violence victims experienced were similar in nature to that suffered by the officially recognised 'five strands' of hate crime groups, in a similar fashion to participants in the Leicester Hate Crime Project. Furthermore, participants spoke of the psychological harm that being victimised caused them, with effects including sleeplessness and increased anxiety. Significantly, and in a similar way to the recognised hate crime groups, participants felt this harm was increased as it was a core part of their identity that had been the subject of the assailant's hostility. They also felt worry and concern if a member of their alternative subcultural community had been targeted, thus feeling the 'ripple effect' of hate crimes that the recognised hate crime victim groups also feel in their communities when a member of those communities is targeted [R2; R3; R4].

### 3. References to the research (indicative maximum of six references)

[R1] Garland, J., Chakraborti, N. and Hardy, S. (2015) "It Felt Like a Little War": Reflections on Violence Against Alternative Subcultures', *Sociology*, 49 (6): 1065-1080. DOI: [10.1177/0038038515578992](https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038515578992)

[R2] Garland, J. and Hodkinson, P. (2014) "F\*\*king Freak! What the Hell Do You Think You Look like?" Experiences of Targeted Victimisation Among Goths and Developing Notions of Hate Crime', *British Journal of Criminology*, 54 (4): 613-631. DOI: [10.1093/bjc/azu018](https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azu018)

[R3] Hodkinson, P. and Garland, J. (2016) 'Targeted Harassment, Subcultural Identity and the Embrace of Difference', *British Journal of Sociology*, 67 (3): 541-561. DOI: [10.1111/1468-4446.12214](https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12214)

[R4] Garland J. and Hodkinson P. (2014) 'Alternative Subcultures and Hate Crime', In: Hall, N., Corb, A., Giannasi, P. and Grieve, J. (eds) *The International Handbook of Hate Crime*, London: Routledge, pp. 226-236.

### 4. Details of the impact (indicative maximum 750 words)

4.1 Providing the evidence base for the work of organisations who are campaigning for the inclusion of alternative subcultures in hate crime legislation

The work of Garland and Hodkinson established, for the first time, a research-generated evidence-base regarding the targeted victimisation of alternative subcultures. Their studies drew attention to: the nature and forms of such victimisation; its impact, both upon the individual victim and members of alternative subcultural communities; and victims' views of the motivations of perpetrators. The findings provided the Sophie Lancaster Foundation with the evidence it needed to back the claims it was making about the nature, harms and impact of the targeting of alternative subcultures [S1]. The Foundation uses this evidence in its efforts to persuade the criminal justice system, including the police and the Law Commission, of the need to record the victimisation of alternative subcultural groups as hate crimes, and to provide victims of hate crime with the specific support that they need [S2; S3].

## 4.2 Changing police recognition of the nature of the targeted victimisation of alternative subcultures

Garland and Hodkinson developed an operationalisable definition of 'alternative subcultures', which was adopted by the Sophie Lancaster Foundation for its campaigning work and has been used since 2013 to the present day [S1; S3]. According to the Foundation, Garland and Hodkinson's research gave them the 'proof' and 'academic backing' to be able to argue that hate crime experiences are the same "whether it's alternatives, whether it's because you're gay, or because you're black or whatever it's exactly the same", and has been "an integral part of all work of the Foundation" [S3; S1].

Since the start of 2014, 17 police forces have changed their practice and now record and investigate attacks against alternative subcultures as hate crimes, following the lead set by Greater Manchester Police in 2013. These include Lancashire Police, West Mercia Police and Warwickshire (all of whom changed their policies in 2014), Durham Police (2015), Leicestershire Police and Derbyshire Police (both 2016), Surrey Police, Nottinghamshire Police and Cheshire Police (all 2017) and Merseyside Police (2018), with North Yorkshire and Devon & Cornwall due to announce their new policies in 2021. This reclassification required some forces (such as Nottinghamshire, 2016) to redesign their recording systems to include alternative subcultures, drawing directly on Garland and Hodkinson's definition in their policies [S3; S4; S5].

## 4.3 Improving the police response to victims of this type of hate crime

There is growing evidence that the recognition of the targeted victimisation of alternative subcultures as hate crimes has begun to have an effect upon victims and their confidence in the reporting process, with incidents being reported in (for example) Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire during 2017/18 [S6; S7] and Greater Manchester in the six months up to the end of June 2019 [S8]. Thus, more victims from alternative subcultures are receiving the support offered to recognised hate crime victims, gaining access to services which reflect the unique impact of hate victimisation. In the case of Derbyshire Constabulary, which uses the Garland/Hodkinson definition of alternative subcultures in its hate crime policy [S9] this includes: ensuring incidents are correctly tagged and given priority status; ensuring that a hate crime response team meets the victim, and that incidents are given 'golden hour status' and are monitored by a local policing unit Inspector, with all relevant support services offered to victims. In addition, Surrey Police, which recognised the targeting of alternative subcultures as hate crimes in 2017 and which acknowledges the influence of the Sophie Lancaster Foundation on its policy [S10], offers similar support for hate crime victims.

## 4.4 Informing the Law Commission's 2020 review of the effectiveness of hate crime legislation, with specific reference to adding victimisation of alternative subcultures to the formal list of recognised hate crime victim categories.

In March 2019 Garland was invited to present the findings of his research at a Law Commission-sponsored 'Hate Crime Research' conference that formed the initial stage of the Commission's investigation into whether groups other than the officially recognised 'five strands' should be included under hate crime legislation. Garland was then invited to give expert evidence in person in June 2019 at the Law Commission and then again as part of a panel of experts in November 2019. The Commission subsequently published its consultation findings *Hate Crime Laws: A Consultation Report* in September 2020 [S11], which includes a range of questions and proposals for widening the scope of hate crime in England and Wales. In the report, Garland was referenced 200 times (see pp.320-328 in particular). His research on widening the definition of hate crime to encompass alternative subcultures forms the basis of a key consultative question (p.327) and his influence on the Commission's work was acknowledged in a 2020 piece in the *Daily Telegraph* [S12]. In November 2020 Garland was invited back by the Law Commission to comment on the alternative subcultural aspects of the report as part of the public consultation process, to which he has also submitted written evidence. The Commission will publish its final report in 2021, in which

it is expected to recommend a change in the hate crime law that will incorporate recognition of alternative subcultures as a hate crime victim group.

#### 5. Sources to corroborate the impact (indicative maximum of 10 references)

[S1] Letter of endorsement, Sophie Lancaster Foundation, 11/02/21 (PDF)

[S2] Garland, J. (2014) 'Reshaping Hate Crime Policy and Practice: Lessons from a Grassroots Campaign' in N. Chakraborti and J. Garland (eds) *Responding to Hate Crime: the Case for Connecting Policy and Research*, Bristol: The Policy Press, pp. 39-53. (PDF)

[S3] Interview conducted by Garland with Sylvia Lancaster, Chief Executive, Sophie Lancaster Foundation, 11/04/18 (PDF)

[S4] Nottinghamshire Police (2016) 'Request Under the Freedom of Information Act 2000 (FOIA) Ref 009062/15' at

<https://www.nottinghamshire.police.uk/sites/default/files/documents/files/FOI%20009062%2015.pdf>:

[S5] Surrey Police (2016) *Hate Crime Policy* at <https://www.surrey.police.uk/SysSiteAssets/foi-media/surrey/policies/hate-crime-policy.pdf>

[S6] Stop Hate UK (2018) *Statistics End of Year Report 2017-18*, Leeds: Stop Hate UK. <https://www.stophateuk.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Stop-Hate-UK-Stats-Report-2017-18-FINAL.pdf>

[S7] Nottinghamshire Police (2018) *Equality and Diversity Report 2018*, Nottingham: Nottinghamshire Police.

<https://www.nottinghamshire.police.uk/sites/default/files/documents/files/Nottinghamshire%20Police%20Equality%20and%20Diversity%20Information%202018.pdf>

[S8] Greater Manchester Police (2019) *Hate Crime and Hate Incident Data 01/04/19 to 30/06/19*, Manchester: Greater Manchester Police.

<https://www.gmp.police.uk/SysSiteAssets/media/downloads/greater-manchester/stats-and-data/hate-crime/hate-crime-and-incident-data-for-april-2019-to-june-2019.pdf>

[S9] Derbyshire Constabulary (2017) *Hate Crime Policy Reference 05/027*, Derby: Derbyshire Constabulary. <http://archive.derbyshire.police.uk/Documents/About-Us/Freedom-of-Information/Policies/HateCrimePolicy.pdf>

[S10] Surrey Police (2020) [What is hate crime? | Surrey Police](#)

[S11] Law Commission (2020) *Hate Crime Laws: A Consultation Report*, London: Law Commission. <https://s3-eu-west-2.amazonaws.com/lawcom-prod-storage-11jsxou24uy7q/uploads/2020/10/Hate-crime-final-report.pdf>

[S12] Lyons, I. and Hymas, C. (2020) [Attacks on goths and punks may be classed as hate crimes \(telegraph.co.uk\)](#), *Daily Telegraph*, 23 December 2020. (PDF)