PATTERNS OF HATE CRIME

WHO, WHAT, WHEN AND WHERE?

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DEMOS

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In an age where hate and prejudice transfer seamlessly from online conversations to our communities, we have a duty to protect the most vulnerable among us. Part of this process involves the effective reporting and distribution of data on hate crimes in our cities and suburbs. Understanding where these crimes are taking place, who the targets are and how themes like race, religion and sexual orientation play a role is essential to creating awareness of the problems we face, and allows us to take steps towards creating safe, equitable environments.

Demos' partnership with the University of Sussex allowed us to take a look at data collected by the Metropolitan Police Service with the ultimate goal of identifying the existing targets of hate crime, and assisting the Police Service in their efforts to improve the ways in which hate crimes are recorded. Current methods enable officers to flag transgender hate crimes but do not allow them to record the gender identities of either suspects or victims as transgender or non-binary, creating a significant gap within the data. When the most at-risk members of our society are not adequately included in hate crime records, they are effectively silenced. By updating existing systems of classification, there is an opportunity to better identify and protect minority communities within the UK.

Overall, we found that 84% of recorded hate crimes were based on race, 8% on sexual orientation, 7% on religion and less than 1% were disability or transgender related. In line with current criminological research, a majority of accused perpetrators (76%) were men while only 21% were female. From this, we concluded that gender may impact the strands of hate crime that occur. Another strong trend that emerged was the race of both the offenders and the victims; a majority of hate crime offenders (66%) were White, while most victims (86%) are from non-White British ethnic backgrounds.

Location emerged as a strong indicator, with recorded crimes reaching as high as 449 in the City of Westminster and as low as 63 incidents in Sutton. The majority of hate crimes involving an accused perpetrator occurred on a public street (40%) or in a public building (34%), which shows that the most commonly recorded crimes occur in public spaces. The high number of incidents in these areas is most likely due to the number of witnesses available.

The extreme variation between recorded incidents in London boroughs may be due to the different demographic makeup across Boroughs. However, it is also likely to be the result of varying standards in applying MPS investigation and reporting practices across London. The stark differences in recorded hate crimes between some neighbouring boroughs highlights the need for the MPS to review police officer understanding of the College of Policing guidance on hate crime and its own recording practices for this type of offence across London.

It is evident that hate crimes in the UK remain a key issue, presenting an opportunity for updated recording practices across the board. While incidents in public spaces are widely reported, it is important to note that there is a lack of data showing the rates of crimes occurring behind closed doors. Encouraging community participation, updating classification systems to include transgender and non-binary people and working to share investigative strategies to develop a consistent standard will allow for a more efficient reporting system for hate crime. As the quality of recording increases, police can better identify 'hotspots', and other situational factors that are key to effectively policing hate crimes.

INTRODUCTION

Hate crimes have become of increasing concern for police services across England and Wales over the past few years (HMICFRS 2018). The impacts of hate crime have been well documented by studies in England and Wales which have highlighted how incidents frequently leave victims feeling vulnerable, anxious, isolated and fearful of further attacks (see e.g. Chakraborti et al. 2014; Paterson, et al. 2018; Williams and Tregidida 2013). Less information is available on the perpetrators of hate crimes and on the situational variables that are linked to such incidents. While police across England and Wales have collated substantial records on hate crime offending, few have analysed this data to understand patterns and to gain better intelligence (HMICFRS 2018). In order to better understand hate crime and how the criminal justice system can best respond to it, we need to know who is committing such offences, what types of offences are most common, and where and when offences are likely to be committed. This report aims to fill this gap in research knowledge by presenting quantitative data extracted from detailed reports of hate crime offenders who had been arrested and charged by the Metropolitan Police Service (henceforth, MPS).

About this report

This report analyses data taken from the Metropolitan Police Service's Crime Reporting Information System (CRIS) on hate crime, as part of an 18-month study entitled *Policing Hate Crime: Modernising the Craft,* jointly funded by HEFCE and the College of Policing. The project included multiple partners at the University of Sussex, Demos, the Metropolitan Police Service and Palantir.

Data on recorded hate crimes was extracted from CRIS using Palantir software over a two-year period starting from August 2014 – May 2016. Hate crime incidents recorded by the Metropolitan Police Service include:

> Any criminal offence which is perceived, by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by a **hostility** or **prejudice** based on someone's

> (perceived) race, religion, sexual orientation, disability or because they are (perceived to be) transgender. (College of Policing 2014: 4).

This provided the research team with 31,141 recorded hate crime offences. The total number of offences was then filtered by selecting only those reports which contained information about individuals marked as an "accused". Within CRIS, records containing an "accused" refer to cases where a perpetrator has been identified, an investigation has taken place and there has been a "criminal justice outcome" (outcomes include, *inter alia*, accused charge/summoned, caution, community resolution, prosecution not in public interest). This means that records containing an "accused" have extensive information, including victim and witness statements, that is based on an investigation and collation of evidence regarding the reporting of a criminal offence that has been flagged as a "hate crime". This left us with a total of 6070 recorded hate crime cases from which the majority of our analyses are based. In this report we refer to individuals labelled as an "accused" in CRIS as "accused perpetrators" of hate crime.

Below we provide a detailed overview of the types of hate crimes that occur in London along with the common situational features and personal background characteristics of accused perpetrators for each of the five recognised strands of hate crime (e.g. race, religion, sexual orientation, disability and transgender). The data presented below will also show whether there are differences in the dynamics of hate crime between and across types of hate-motivation. The analysis of this data has enabled us to provide a general picture of the circumstances in which different strands of hate crime occur, the types of incidents which are most common, the areas where different types of hate crime occur, the background details of individuals who typically commit different types of hate crime offences, and the types of relationships that are likely to exist between victims and accused perpetrators. In other words, what emerged from this study is a detailed analysis of the who, what, when and where of hate crimes.

Aims and objectives

There were four general aims of the study:

- To aid the identification and correct tagging of hate crimes by police officers using CRIS
- To assist officers tasked with investigating hate crime by helping officers to understand typical situational features and personal characteristics of hate crime offenders across different hate-motivated crimes
- To improve resource deployment in tackling hate crime across police boroughs by highlighting when (times and days and months) and where (borough locations) where different hate crimes occur across London
- To enhance broader knowledge about the nature and dynamics of hate crime as they may occur across England and Wales

METHODOLOGY

The data was extracted from the Metropolitan Police archives on CRIS and presented for analysis in CSV format as three spreadsheets. The spreadsheets, respectively, gave details on: **incidents** (*N* = 6070, **victims** (*N* = 7343, **suspects** (*N* = 6981), and **accused perpetrators** (*N* = 6426). Victims of hate crime are individuals who have been identified by the police as having been the victim of a hate crime. It is MPS policy that a hate crime be recorded where a victim perceives the incident to be motivated by prejudice or hate. Note, however, that the data used in this project involve only those cases where a criminal justice outcome has resulted from an investigation into a reported hate crime. The accused perpetrator file therefore includes details *only* of individuals who have either admitted to committing a hate crime or where there is evidence that they have committed such an offence. Finally, we also use a dataset on suspects (where relevant) which includes data provided by victims about those who are alleged to have committed a hate crime. Note that suspects do not become "accused" perpetrators on CRIS until the police determine a criminal justice outcome. This means that there are more suspects than perpetrators in the dataset.

Collation of these sheets, such that information on each incident included both accused perpetrator and victim details, was essential for some of our correlational analyses. In order to achieve this, some accused perpetrator and victim data was deleted where there was more than one accused or victim per incident, leaving one 'candidate' perpetrator and one 'candidate' victim per incident. This process was carried out randomly and further checks were carried out to ensure that subsequent analyses on a reduced data set would

not be biased by systematic removal of data. The accused perpetrator data was fully anonymised so that no individuals could be identified.

Once the datasets were prepared for analysis we used Excel sheets to code and filter the data. Descriptive statistics were then used and results were presented using either Excel data analytics or the database SPSS. This enabled us to provide an accessible and simplified overview of the nature and dynamics of hate crimes across London. The findings are presented below via a number of tables, pie charts and bar graphs.

FINDINGS

Who?

Who are the accused perpetrators of hate crime? In order to understand the nature of hate crime it is helpful to understand more about the types of people who commit such offences. Age, gender, and ethnic background are all important factors in understanding the types of people who commit hate crimes. We need also to identify whether these variables diverge across strands of hate motivation (i.e. race, religion, sexual orientation, disability and transgender) and across types of criminal offence (e.g. threatening and abusive language, assaults, criminal damage etc). The following tables provide detailed information on the accused perpetrators of hate crime.

Main Hate Crime Type Breakdown

We start with a breakdown of the number of recorded accused perpetrators by hate crime strand.

Figure 1: Hate crime by strand

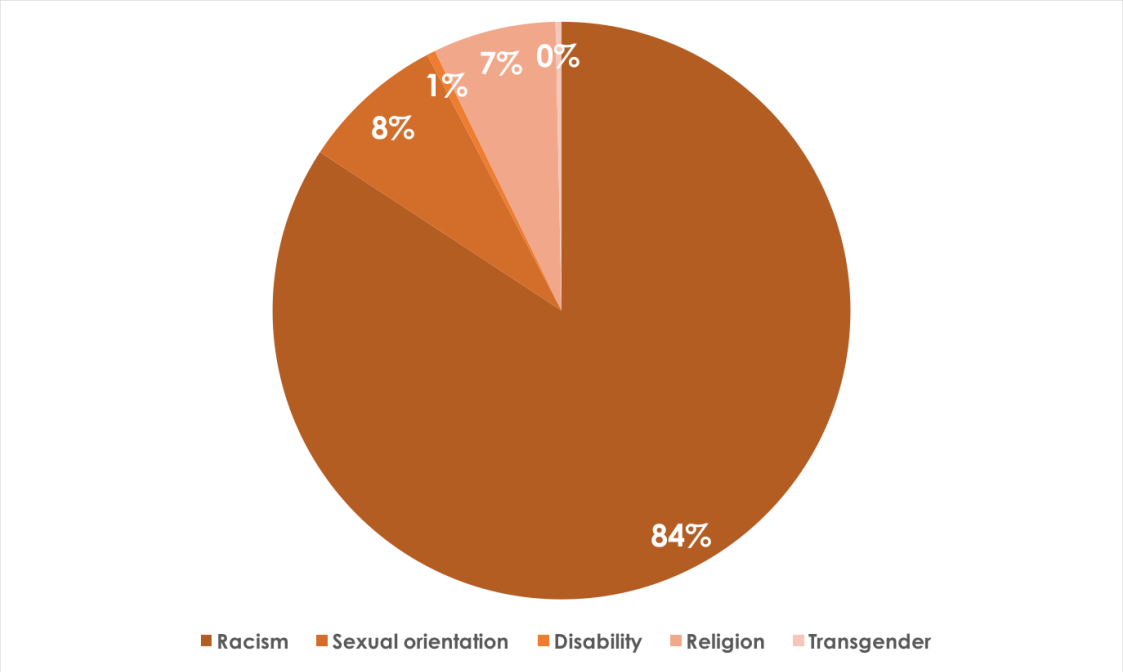


Table 1: Hate crime by strand

Hate crime strand	N	Percentage
Racism	5272	84.2%
Sexual orientation	504	8.1%
Disability	30	0.5%
Religion	431	6.9%
Transgender	21	0.3%
Total	6258	100.0%

There was a total of 6070 recorded hate crimes involving an "accused" perpetrator (i.e. cases involving a criminal justice outcome). These crimes are broken down in the above table by hate crime motivation. Note that the total is 6258 (compared to 6070 total crimes): this is because some hate crimes are reported as being two different types of motivation (i.e. racial *and* sexual orientation). The number of multiple motivations is mostly accounted for by the convergence of racial hate crimes (which are the vast majority of all hate

crimes) with religious and sexual orientation incidents. This is presented in Table 2 below. The table columns refer to whether the crime was racially motivated and are split into two sections – either "Y" (it was a racial hate crime) or "N" (it was not a racial hate crime). The rows refer to whether it was also motivated by one of the four other strands of hate crime.

The findings show that over half (229) of the total 431 religious hate crimes were also race hate crimes. Out of the 431 recorded religious hate crimes, 294 (68%) were recorded as anti-Islamic, 89 (21%) were antisemitic. The rest were spread across Christian (16), Sikh (12), Hindu (8), Jehovah's Witness (2) and Buddhist (1) religions (a further 11 were unknown). 103 (20%) of the total 504 sexual orientation hate crimes were also racially motivated. Four out of 30 disability hate crimes were also flagged as race hate crimes, while 3 of 21 transgender hate crimes were flagged as race hate crimes. Caution should be used regarding these latter two groups' data due to the small numbers involved.

Table 2: Race hate crimes flagged also as other strands of hate crime

Race			
	N	Y	Total
Religious	202	229	431
Sexual orientation	401	103	504
Disability	26	4	30
Transgender	18	3	21

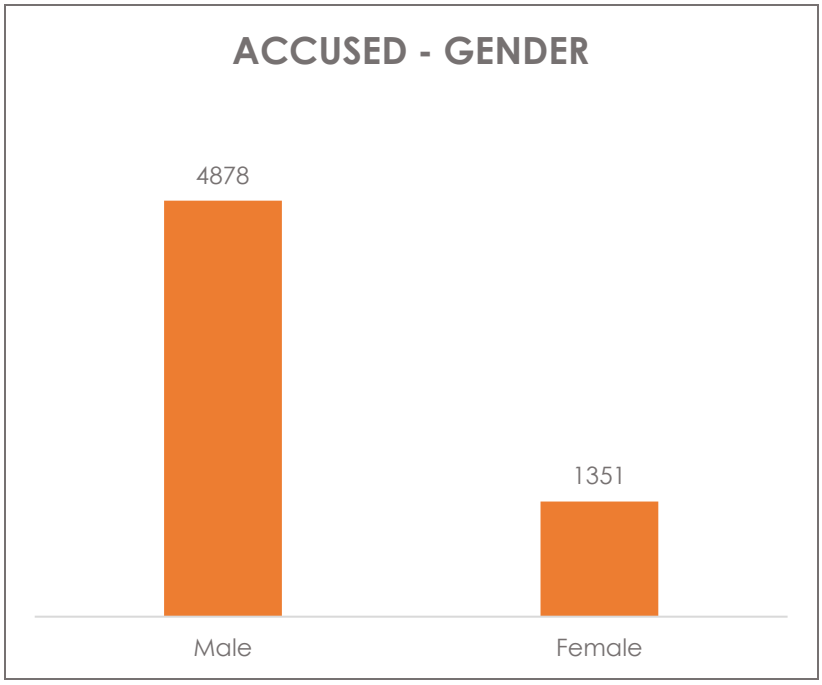
Accused perpetrator characteristics

The total number of accused perpetrators in the study was 6426. This number is greater than the total number of incidents as some incidents had more than one accused perpetrator (see Table 7 below).

Gender

The dataset revealed that 78% of accused perpetrators are male and 22% are female, after removing the 3% of cases where gender was missing. This means that hate crimes in London are 3.5 times more likely to be perpetrated by a man than a woman. Note that there is no option for the police to record transgender or non-binary people.

Figure 2: Accused perpetrators of hate crime by gender



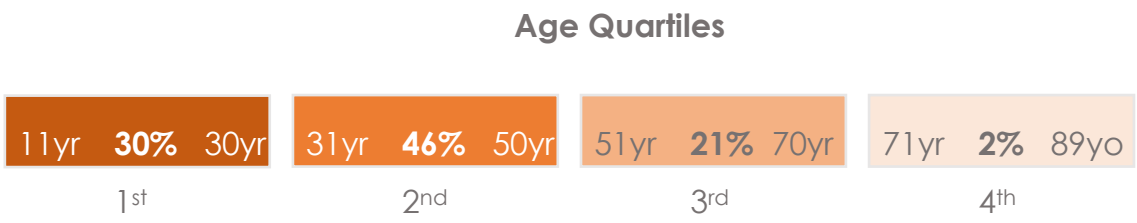
There were no discernible demographic differences between male and female accused perpetrators. For example, male and female accused perpetrators tend to be of a similar average age, and have similar ethnic backgrounds. However, a break-down of gender by hate crime type revealed important differences in the types of hate motivations demonstrated across the two genders. Most stark was that transgender hate crimes were much more likely to be committed by men (86%), while disability hate crimes had a slightly lower percentage of male offenders at 74%.

Table 3: Hate crime by gender

Hate crime strand	Female	Male
Race	20%	80%
Transgender	14%	86%
Religion	16%	84%
Disability	26%	74%
Sexual orientation	15%	85%

Age

The mean age of an accused perpetrator for all hate crime strands was 40 years old (Mean = 39.6; SD 14). We found that 68% of accused perpetrators were between 26 – 54 years old. The most common age (mode) was 36 years old. The youngest accused perpetrator was 11 years old and the oldest was 89 years old. Just 3% of accused perpetrators were under 18 years old (192 out of 6631). The majority of accused perpetrators fell within the age range of 31-50 years old. Breaking the age ranges down by hate crime strand did not reveal any major differences.



Self-Identified Ethnicity

The perceived ethnicity of an accused perpetrator is recorded by the police and where available self-identified ethnicities are also added. Here we use only the data which is are self-identified in order to provide the most accurate reflection of accused perpetrator ethnicities (resulting in a total of 4700 records, leaving 1072 records with missing data due to: "Officer urgently required elsewhere; Situation involving Public Disorder; Person does not understand; Person declines to define ethnicity"). Table 4 below shows the

frequencies and percentages of those records where self-reported ethnicities were logged. Combining the three categories ("White – Any other White background", "White – British", "White – Irish") we found that White accused perpetrators constitute 66.5% of all hate crime. This percentage is higher than the estimated White population in London, as reported after the 2011 census which was calculated at 59.8% – though it should be noted that this data is now seven years old. The second largest ethnic group of accused perpetrators was Black (including Black Caribbean, Black African and Black other) at 17.4%; this is also proportionately higher than the census data which put the Black population at 13.3%. Asian accused perpetrators account for 9% of recorded hate crimes, which is half of the calculated population (18.4%) of Asian people in London.

Table 4: Ethnicity of hate crime accused perpetrators

Ethnicity	N	Percentage
Asian – Indian	109	2.3%
Asian – Pakistani	80	1.7%
Asian – Bangladeshi	72	1.5%
Asian - Any other Asian background	166	3.5%
Black – Caribbean	276	5.9%
Black – African	305	6.5%
Black - Any other Black background	239	5.1%
Mixed - White and Black Caribbean	75	1.6%
Mixed - White and Black African	25	0.5%
Mixed - White & Asian	15	0.3%
Mixed - Any other Mixed background	78	1.7%

Chinese or Other - Chinese	13	0.3%
Any other Ethnic group	119	2.5%
White – British	2188	46.5%
White – Irish	259	5.5%
White - Any other White background	681	14.5%
Total	4700	100%

Table 5 below provides the percentages of self-identified ethnicities by hate crime strand. The percentages of accused perpetrators from the different ethnic groups for each strand of hate crime are broadly the same. However, there were some key differences across the strands worthy of highlighting. For example, accused perpetrators with Asian backgrounds were the least likely to be arrested for a hate crime, except for transgender hate crimes – with 20% of transphobic incidents recorded as involving an Asian accused perpetrator (note the small numbers involved here). Accused perpetrators of disability hate crime were committed by White accused perpetrators (75%) and Black accused perpetrators only (though the numbers here are again very small). Finally, 20% of sexual orientation hate crimes and 29.4% of transgender hate crimes were committed by Black accused perpetrators.

Table 5: Ethnicity of accused perpetrators by strand of hate crime (frequency)

Hate Crime Strand	Any other Ethnic group	Asian - Any other Asian background	Asian - Bangladeshi	Asian - Indian	Asian - Pakistani	Black - African	Black - Any other Black background	Black - Caribbean	Chinese or Other - Chinese	Mixed - Any other Mixed background	Mixed - White & Asian	Mixed - White and Black African	Mixed - White and Black Caribbean	White - Any other White background	White - British	White - Irish	TOTAL
Race	105	134	59	94	66	240	204	233	9	71	10	23	66	590	1927	236	4067
Sexual orientation	10	16	9	7	2	27	21	27	2	6	2	1	10	48	167	21	376
Disability								2						2	15	1	20
Religion	8	13	5	7	6	22	8	17	1	1	2	1	2	73	158	14	338
Transgender	1	2				3	2						1	2	6		17

Table 6: Ethnicity of accused perpetrators by hate crime strand (percentages)

Hate Crime Strand	Any other Ethnic group	Asian - Any other Asian background	Asian - Bangladeshi	Asian - Indian	Asian - Pakistani	Black - African	Black - Any other Black background	Black - Caribbean	Chinese or Other - Chinese	Mixed - Any other Mixed background	Mixed - White & Asian	Mixed - White and Black African	Mixed - White and Black Caribbean	White - Any other White background	White - British	White - Irish
Race	2.6 %	3.3 %	1.5 %	2.3 %	1.6 %	5.9 %	5.0 %	5.7 %	0.2 %	1.7 %	0.2 %	0.6 %	1.6 %	14.5 %	47.4 %	5.8 %

Religion	2.4 %	3.8 %	1.5 %	2.1 %	1.8 %	6.5 %	2.4 %	5.0 %	0.3 %	0.3 %	0.6 %	0.3 %	0.6 %	21.6 %	46.7 %	4.1 %
Sexual orientation	2.7 %	4.3 %	2.4 %	1.9 %	0.5 %	7.2 %	5.6 %	7.2 %	0.5 %	1.6 %	0.5 %	0.3 %	2.7 %	12.8 %	44.4 %	5.6 %
Disability	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	10.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	10.0 %	75.0 %	5.0 %
Transgender	5.9 %	11.8 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	17.6 %	11. 8%	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	5.9 %	11.8 %	35.3 %	0.0 %

Number of suspects and victims per hate crime

For each crime record a total number of suspects (and in turn accused perpetrators) is added to the reporting system. Table 7 below shows the frequencies and percentages of crimes with varying numbers of "suspects" (individuals not yet arrested or charged) in cases where at least one person was apprehended, arrested and charged with an offence. We use data on suspects here which is a more accurate reflection of the number of people involved in the commission of the offence, compared to the number of "perpetrators" which includes only those who are identified and a criminal justice outcome recorded.

The records indicate that the majority of hate crimes involve one suspect. Less than 10% of hate crimes had more than one suspect. Note that in eight cases there were zero suspects. This is because the incident involved property damage crimes or an incident of a similar nature.

Table 7: Number of suspects per recorded hate crime

Number of suspects	N	Percentage
1	5500	90.61%
2	384	6.33%
3	122	2.01%
4	31	0.51%
5	16	0.26%

6	6	0.10%
7	2	0.03%
8	5	0.08%
9	1	0.02%
11	1	0.02%
13	1	0.02%
29	1	0.02%

Table 8: Number of suspects by hate crime strand

Number of Suspects	Race	%	Sexual orientation	%	Religion	%	Disability	%	Transgender	%
1	4809	91.22 %	436	86.51 %	391	90.72 %	25	83.33 %	12	57.14 %
2	328	6.22%	40	7.94%	22	5.10%	1	3.33%	8	38.10 %
3	91	1.73%	18	3.57%	12	2.78%	1	3.33%	1	4.76%
4	22	0.42%	4	0.79%	3	0.70%	2	6.67%	0	0.00%
5	9	0.17%	6	1.19%	1	0.23%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
6	6	0.11%	0	0.00%	1	0.23%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
7	1	0.02%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
8	4	0.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	3.33%	0	0.00%
11	1	0.02%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
13	1	0.02%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
29	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.23%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%

The next table shows the number of victims involved per crime record. 68% of crimes involved just one victim and 26% involved two or more.

Table 9: Number of victims per recorded hate crime

N of Victims	N of cases	%
0	374	6.2
1	4126	68

2	1208	19.9
3	258	4.3
4	74	1.2
5	20	0.3
6	6	0.1
7	2	0
8	1	0
15	1	0
Total	6070	100

Witnesses to hate crimes are pivotal to the investigation process and their evidence is typically relied upon when making decisions to arrest and later charge. The table below shows the number of witnesses for recorded hate crimes resulting in arrest, charge and sanction. The table shows that 42% of cases involved more than one witness.

Table 10: Number of witnesses per recorded hate crime

N of witnesses	N of cases	%
0	1454	24
1	2062	34
2	1434	23.6
3	647	10.7
4	283	4.7
5	93	1.5
6	46	0.8
7	26	0.4
8	11	0.2

9	7	0.1
10	1	0
11	2	0
14	1	0
17	2	0
24	1	0
Total	6070	100

There is a significant positive correlation between the number of accused perpetrators and number of witnesses ($r = .12$, $b(1, 6070)$, $p < .001$). There is also a significant positive correlation between the number of accused perpetrators and number of victims ($r = .1$, $b(1, 6070)$, $p < .001$). The correlation coefficient (r) is positive (which means as one goes up so does the other); though both are small. Most notable is that transphobic crimes were markedly more likely to be perpetrated by fewer people, though caution is needed in interpreting this result due to the small numbers involved.

Suspect known by victim?

Information about whether a suspect was known to the victim was listed in a separate but linked dataset. This dataset contained 6981 records. Out of the total number of suspects, 21% of victims stated that they knew their suspect somehow.

Table 11: Number of suspects known to victim

Suspect Known by Victim	Number of Cases	Percentage
N	5504	78.9

Y	1477	21.2
Total	6981	100

Suspect known how?

The type of relationship between victim and suspect was also listed in the dataset. The table lists the types of relationships, in order of frequency. We can see that neighbours of victims were by far the most likely relationship for a hate crime, followed by being an acquaintance of the victim.

Table 12: Relationship types between victims and known suspects

Relationship type	N	%
Neighbour of victim	629	43%
Acquaintance of victim	279	19%
Suspect known by victim in another way	186	13%
Client of victim	49	3%
Person living in the same premises	41	3%
Care provider of victim	40	3%
Mother of victim	35	2%
Friend of victim	31	2%
Patient of victim	22	1.5%
Victim's residential social worker	21	1.5%
Colleague of victim	18	1%
Father of victim	17	1%
Victim's non-residential social worker	12	1%
Employee of victim	8	0.5%
Uncle of victim	7	0.5%
Boyfriend of victim	6	0.5%
Ex-Boyfriend of victim	6	0.5%
Attends the same school as the victim	6	0.5%

Cousin of victim	5	0.5%
Husband of victim	5	0.5%
Stepfather of victim	5	0.5%
Doctor of victim	4	<0.5%
Brother of victim	4	<0.5%
Student/Pupil of victim	4	<0.5%
Business associate of victim	3	<0.5%
Employer of victim	3	<0.5%
Son of victim	3	<0.5%
Ex-Employee of victim	2	<0.5%
Foster Mother of victim	2	<0.5%
Aunt of victim	2	<0.5%
Niece of victim	2	<0.5%
Father-in-Law of victim	2	<0.5%
School worker at victim's school	2	<0.5%
Criminal Associate of victim	1	<0.5%
Tradesman of victim	1	<0.5%
Guardian of victim	1	<0.5%
Nanny of victim	1	<0.5%
Wife of victim	1	<0.5%
Girlfriend of victim	1	<0.5%
Ex-Girlfriend of victim	1	<0.5%
Step Mother of victim	1	<0.5%
Daughter of victim	1	<0.5%
Common law husband of victim	1	<0.5%
Foster Father of victim	1	<0.5%
Grandfather of victim	1	<0.5%
Nephew of victim	1	<0.5%
Babysitter of victim	1	<0.5%
Au pair of victim	1	<0.5%

Teacher of victim	**1**	**<0.5%**
Total	**1477**	**100%**

Relationship by hate crime strand

Out of the 1477 cases recorded as relationship known, there were 1385 records which contained information pertaining to the hate strand (leaving missing data of 160 records). Out of the 1385 records we are able to see whether the relationship types vary by hate strand by dividing the total number of victims known to the suspect by the total of all cases recorded by each strand. By doing this a different picture emerged for the relationships that exist across different types of hate crime. Most striking was that 45.7% of disability hate crime victims knew the suspect involved in their cases, while only 14.2% of victims of religious hate crime stated that they knew the suspect. Note, however, the small numbers for disability and transgender records.

Table 13: Suspects known to victim by hate crime strand

Hate strand	Known to victim (total cases)	% of total
Race	**1121 (5966)**	**18.8%**
Religion	**74 (522)**	**14.2%**
Sexual orientation	**164 (612)**	**26.8%**
Disability	**21 (46)**	**45.7%**
Transgender	**5 (31)**	**16.1%**

Table 14: Relationship type by hate crime strand

Relationship Type	Race (#)	Race (%)	Sexual orientation	Sexual orientation	Religion (#)	Religion (%)	Disability (#)	Disability (%)	Transgender (#)	Transgender (%)
Cousin of victim	3	0.27%	2	1.23%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Doctor of victim	4	0.36%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Patient of victim	19	1.69%	1	0.61%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Client of victim	44	3.93%	5	3.07%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Neighbour of victim	541	48.26 %	77	47.24 %	34	45.95 %	7	33.33 %	4	80.00 %
Friend of victim	17	1.52%	10	6.13%	2	2.70%	-	-	-	-
Business Associate of victim	1	0.09%	-	-	2	2.70%	-	-	-	-
Criminal Associate of victim	1	0.09%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Employer of victim	3	0.27%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Employee of victim	1	0.09%	-	-	-	-	4	19.05 %	-	-
Ex Employee of victim	2	0.18%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Colleague of victim	12	1.07%	3	1.84%	2	2.70%	-	-	-	-
Acquaintance of victim	217	19.36 %	33	20.25 %	17	22.97 %	8	38.10 %	1	20.00 %
Tradesman of victim	1	0.09%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Person living in same premises (flat/house mate)	31	2.77%	10	6.13%	1	1.35%	1	4.76%	-	-
Victim's Residential Social Worker	21	1.87%	-	-	2	2.70%	-	-	-	-
Victim's Non Residential Social Worker	9	0.80%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Girlfriend of victim	1	0.09%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ex Girlfriend of victim	1	0.09%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mother of victim	1	0.09%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Foster Mother of victim	1	0.09%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Niece of victim	1	0.09%	2	1.23%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Husband of victim	2	0.18%	1	0.61%	1	1.35%	-	-	-	-
Boyfriend of victim	2	0.18%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ex Boyfriend of victim	2	0.18%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Son of victim	3	0.27%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Father in Law of victim	1	0.09%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nephew of victim	1	0.09%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Teacher of Victim	1	0.09%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

School Worker at Victims School	1	0.09%	-	-	1	1.35%	-	-	-	-
Student/Pupil of Victim	4	0.36%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Attends the Same School as The Victim	4	0.36%	1	0.61%	1	1.35%	-	-	-	-
Suspect known by victim in another way	158	14.09 %	18	11.04 %	11	14.86 %	1	4.76%	-	-
Victim's Care Provider	10	0.89%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	1121		163		74		21		5	

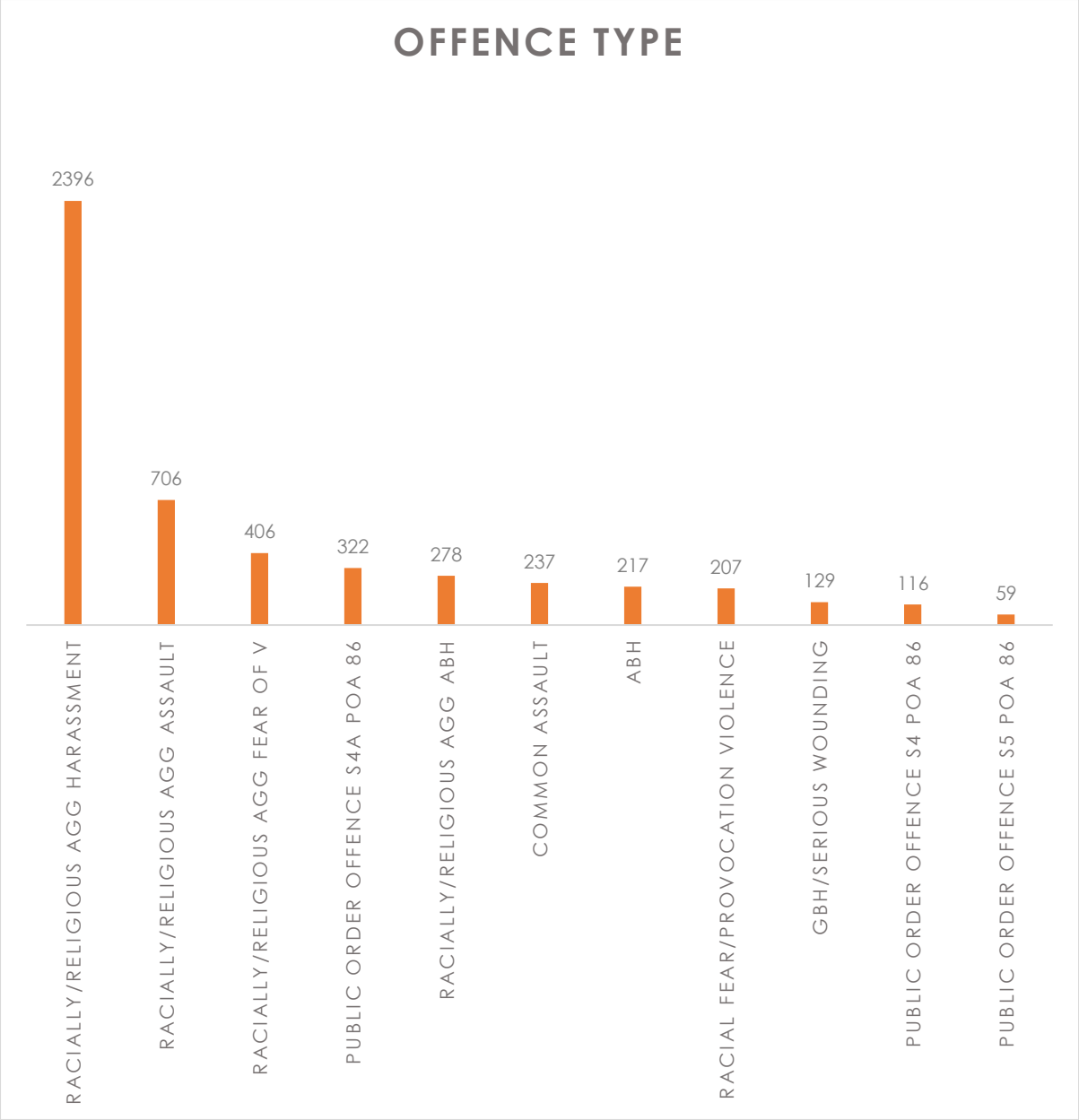
What?

Knowledge of background information on offenders provides part of a picture that helps us to better understand hate crime offences. However, we also need to understand what types of criminal offences are most common. Do these types of offences change across and between different hate-motivations? What can we learn about the nature of hate crime by understanding, in more detail, the types of offences that are most commonly committed?

Offence types

From the 6070 crime records, there were 120 different named offences listed. The frequency with which each one occurs ranges from 1 to 2396. In order to present this data visually we have only included offences that constitute more than 1% of cases. This produced 11 offence types. The graph below shows how frequently each offence type occurs. By far the most common type of offence recorded were racially or religiously aggravated intentional harassment, alarm and distress, making up almost half of all recorded hate crimes.

Figure 3: Offence types



The figures below show the total numbers by offence type for each of the strands of hate crime motivation. Due to the length of the table we include offences with five or more offences recorded for race hate crimes.

Figure 4: Offence type for race hate crimes

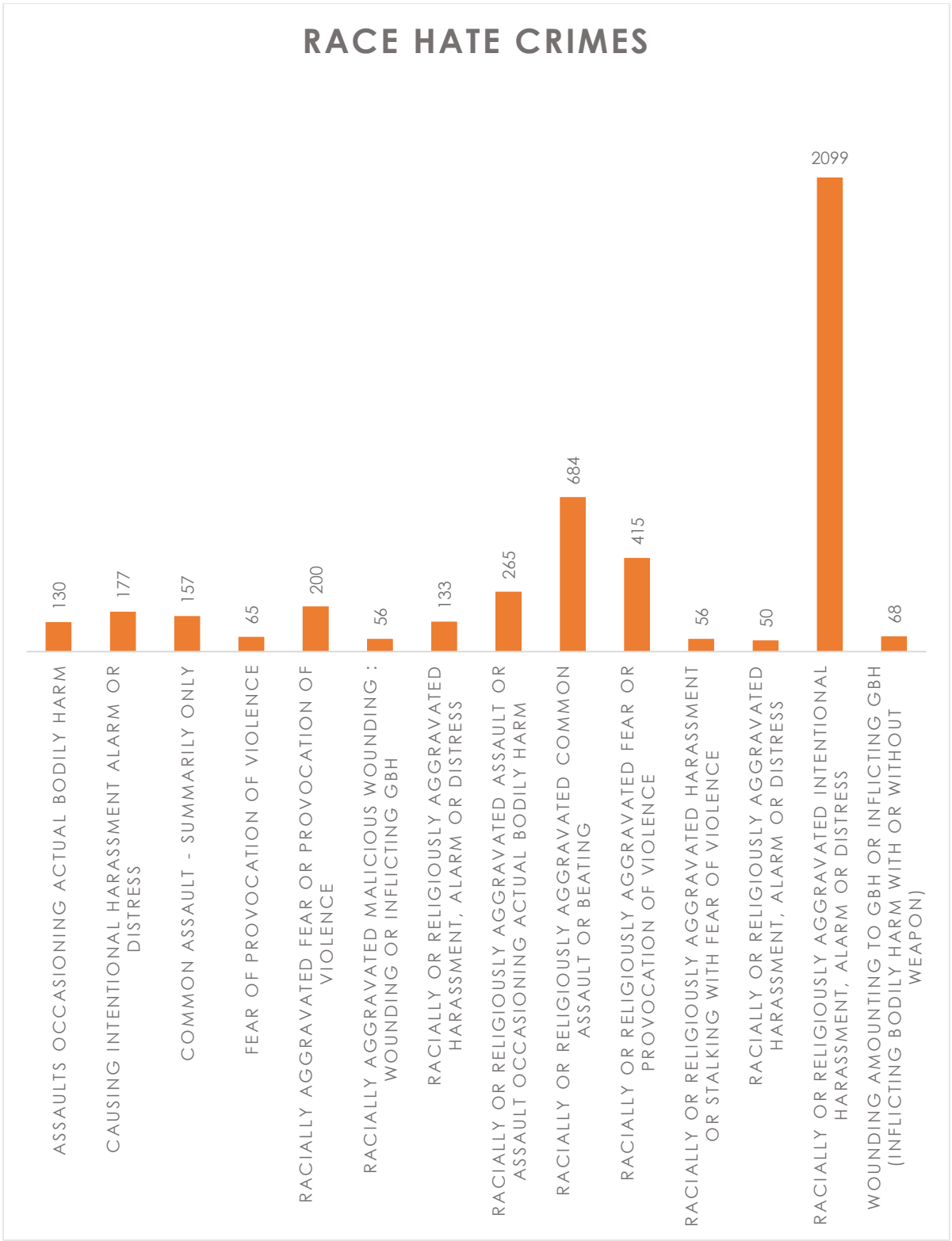

RACE HATE CRIMES
ASSAULTS OCCASIONING ACTUAL BODILY HARM
130
CAUSING INTENTIONAL HARASSMENT ALARM OR DISTRESS
177
COMMON ASSAULT - SUMMARILY ONLY
157
FEAR OF PROVOCATION OF VIOLENCE
65
RACIALLY AGGRAVATED FEAR OR PROVOCATION OF VIOLENCE
200
RACIALLY AGGRAVATED MALICIOUS WOUNDING : WOUNDING OR INFLICTING GBH
56
RACIALLY OR RELIGIOUSLY AGGRAVATED HARASSMENT, ALARM OR DISTRESS
133
RACIALLY OR RELIGIOUSLY AGGRAVATED ASSAULT OR ASSAULT OCCASIONING ACTUAL BODILY HARM
265
RACIALLY OR RELIGIOUSLY AGGRAVATED COMMON ASSAULT OR BEATING
684
RACIALLY OR RELIGIOUSLY AGGRAVATED FEAR OR PROVOCATION OF VIOLENCE
415
RACIALLY OR RELIGIOUSLY AGGRAVATED HARASSMENT OR STALKING WITH FEAR OF VIOLENCE
56
RACIALLY OR RELIGIOUSLY AGGRAVATED HARASSMENT, ALARM OR DISTRESS
50
RACIALLY OR RELIGIOUSLY AGGRAVATED INTENTIONAL HARASSMENT, ALARM OR DISTRESS
2099
WOUNDING AMOUNTING TO GBH OR INFLICTING GBH (INFLICTING BODILY HARM WITH OR WITHOUT WEAPON)
68

Figure 5: Offence type for religious hate crimes

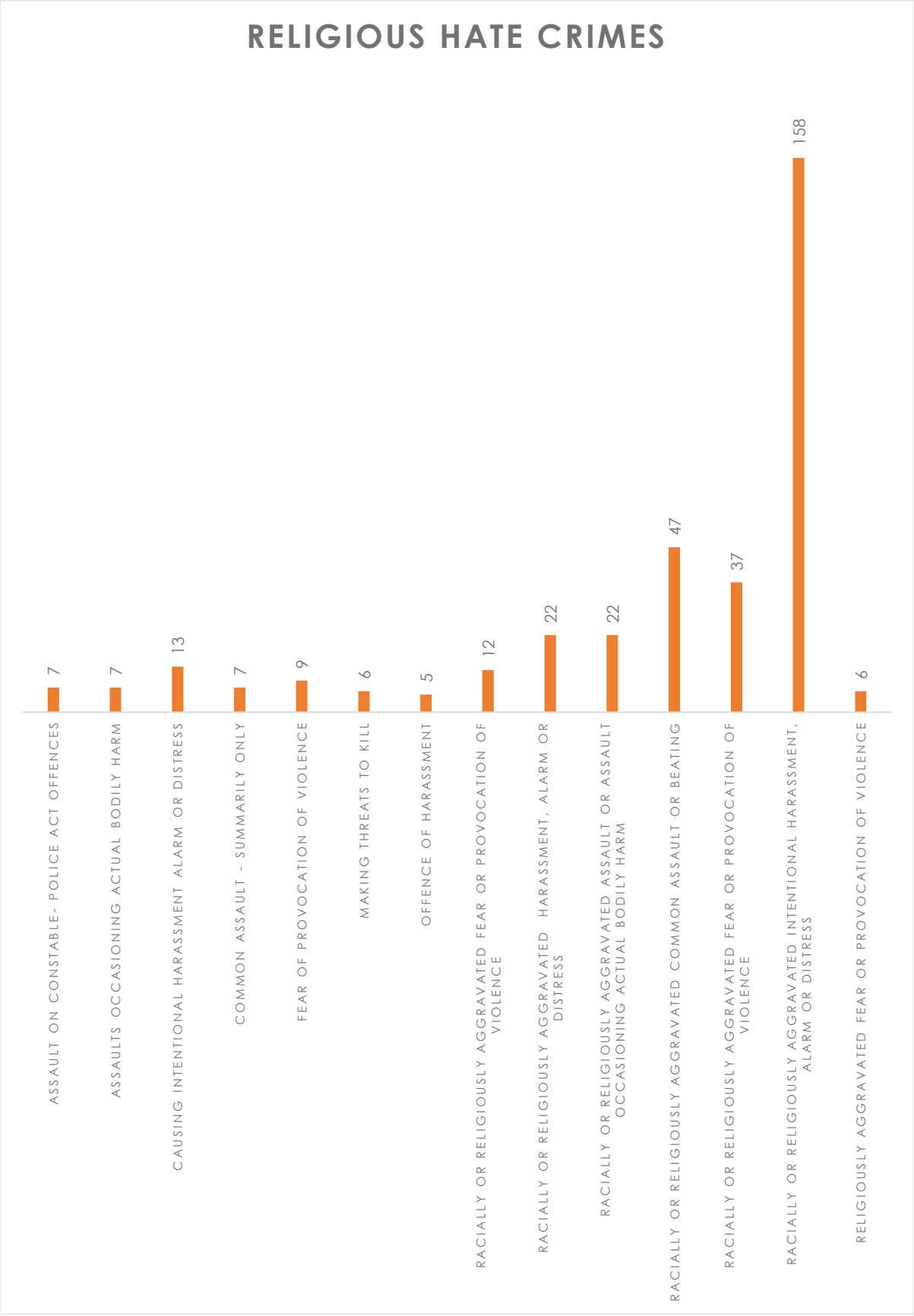


Figure 6: Offence type for sexual orientation hate crimes

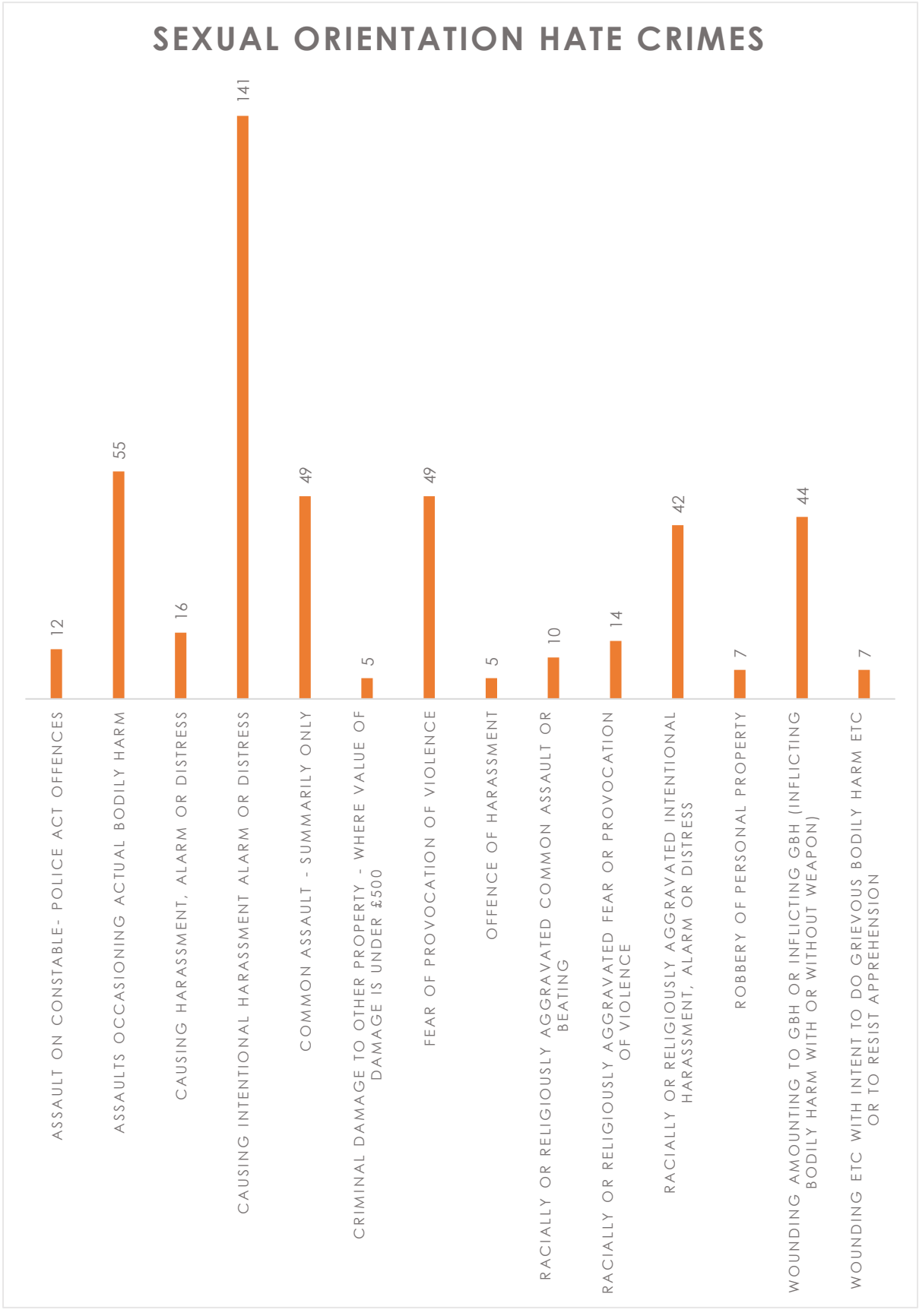


Figure 7: Offence type for disability hate crimes

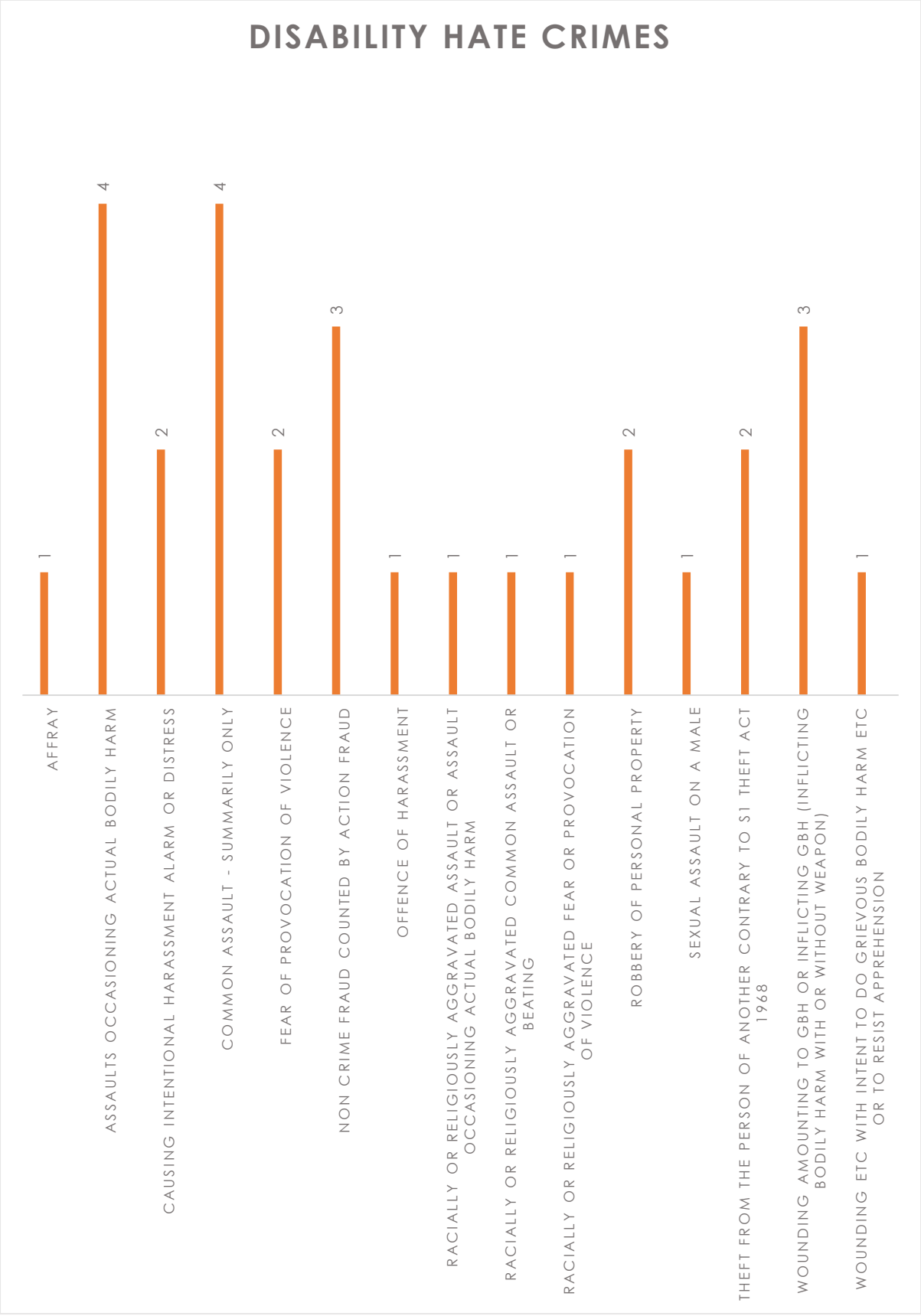


Figure 8: Offence type for transgender hate crimes

Alcohol

Crime is often correlated with alcohol consumption. This is no different for hate crime offending. The data showed that for 22.5% of hate crimes alcohol was a factor. There was a higher percentage of religious hate crime cases involving alcohol (29%), while disability hate crime had the lowest (10%).

Table 15: Alcohol consumption relevant to offence

Alcohol	Race	Sexual Orientation	Religion	Disability	Transgender	All Hate Crimes
No	4071	380	306	27	16	4706
Yes	1201	124	125	3	5	1364
Total	5272	504	431	30	21	6070

When?

At the start of this report we noted that the findings are aimed at helping police services to target resources in order to more effectively police hate crime. One way in which this is aided is by understanding when and where most hate crimes occur. We start by looking at the most common dates and times that hate crime are committed across London.

Table 16: Hate crimes recorded by day of the week

	N	Percentage
SAT	1060	17.5%
FRI	944	15.6%
SUN	931	15.3%
THU	851	14%
TUE	805	13.3%
WED	749	12.3%
MON	730	12%
Total	6070	100%

The table (above) shows a simple breakdown of all the incidents by day of the week. Fridays and Saturdays were when most hate crimes are reported and recorded. However, if we break this down by hate crime motivations (see

below), we can see that it is actually only racist hate crimes that spike on Fridays and Saturdays.

Table 17: Hate crime strands by days of the week

	Race	Sexual orientation	Religion	Disability	Transgender	Total
FRI	**826**	65	69	7	5	**972**
MON	648	61	51	2	0	**762**
SAT	**936**	92	72	2	5	**1107**
SUN	785	94	67	5	3	**954**
THU	738	62	71	5	3	**879**
TUE	676	76	48	2	4	**806**
WED	662	54	53	7	1	**777**
Total	**5271**	**504**	**431**	**30**	**21**	**6257**

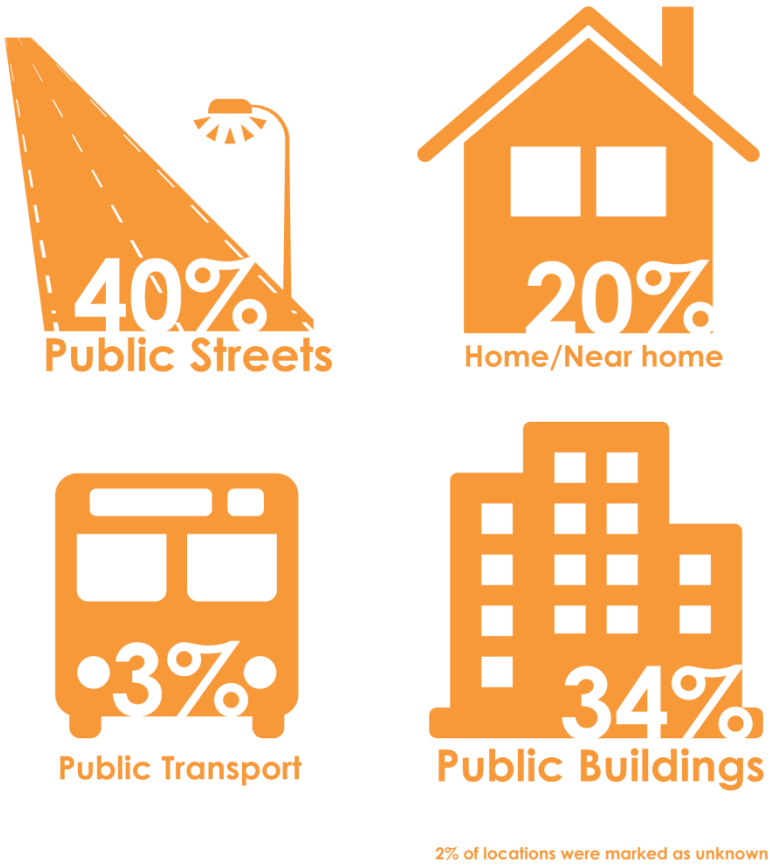
Where?

The locations of where hate crimes are most commonly committed across London is also important to the targeting of resources. Below we explore the general types of location where hate crimes occur and then more specifically where in London hate crimes are likely to be committed; including what boroughs have the highest levels of accused perpetrators for some of the different strands of hate crime.

Location types

The location types were aggregated into four groups: public street, public building, public transport and home/near home. The majority of hate crimes involving an accused perpetrator occur on a public street (40%) or in a public building (34%), while 20% of crimes occur in or near to someone's home.

Figure 9: Location types



When the locations were broken down by hate crime strand, some key differences emerged. We can see from Table 22 that transphobic hate crime is more likely to occur on a public street (65%) compared with disability hate crimes where 42% of crimes occurred here. The data also revealed that fewer religious hate crimes occur in or near the home (14.3%) compared with disability where 50% of such cases occurred.

Table 18: Location types by hate crime strand

Hate Crime Strand	Public Street	Public Building	Public Transport	Home/Near Home	Unknown	Total
Race	39.9	36.2	3.1	18.4	2.3	100
Religion	50.6	29.1	3.4	14.3	2.7	100
Sexual Orientation	47.4	23.5	3.5	22.9	2.7	100

Disability	42.3	3.8	0.0	50.0	3.8	100
Transgender	65.0	15.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	100

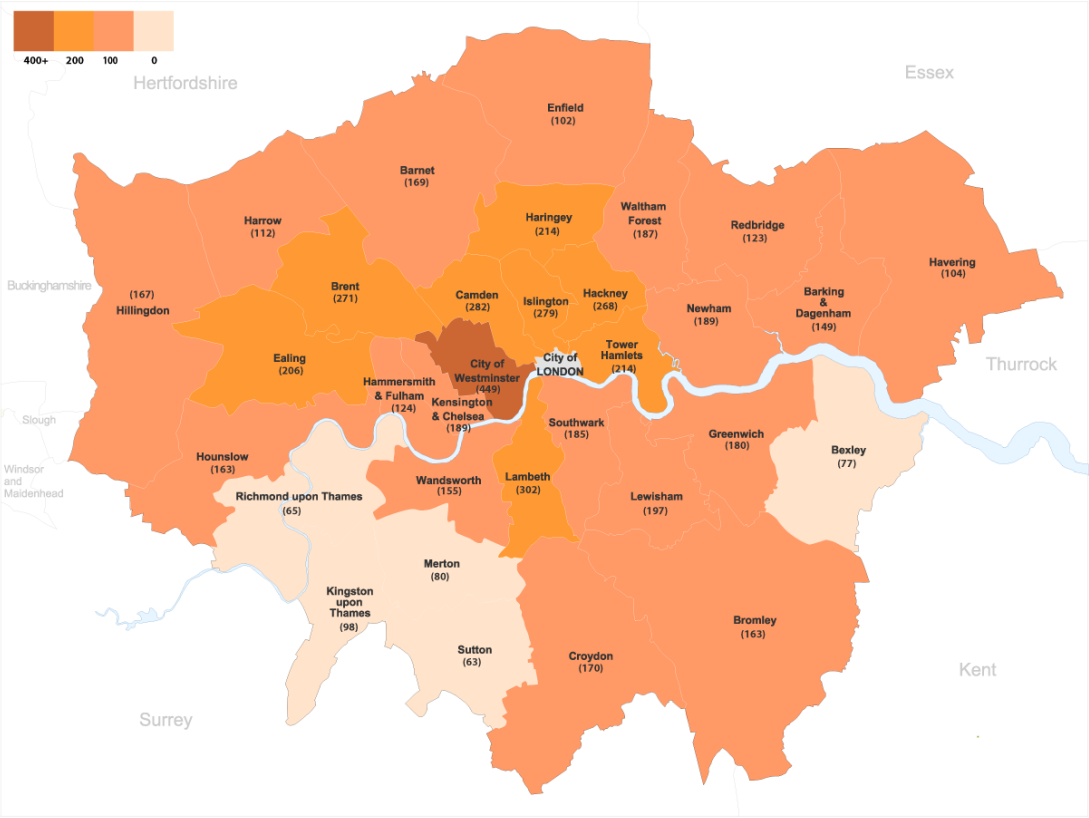
Boroughs

The next graph shows the number of accused perpetrators recorded per borough. The five boroughs with the most recorded hate crimes resulting in a criminal justice outcome were: City of Westminster; Islington; Camden, Lambeth; and Brent. The least number of accused perpetrators were recorded in Kingston upon Thames; Richmond upon Thames; Merton; Bexley; and Sutton. The diverging number of completed hate crime investigations across London may well be a result of the different demographic makeup of boroughs and other criminogenic factors such as levels unemployment and poverty. However, it is also likely that the variation is due to differing standards in the application of both the College of Policing's guidance on investigating hate crimes and the MPS' own recording practices. For instance, annual population data collated by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) (n.d.) shows that the neighbouring boroughs of Bexley and Bromley have similar demographics in terms of ethnic groups. Trust for London (n.d.), which measures poverty levels across London Boroughs, also puts the level of population living in poverty in Bromley at a level of 15% and Bexley at 16%. There will be a myriad of other factors impacting hate crime levels which may be localised to certain boroughs. Still, it is noteworthy that Bromley recorded over twice as many accused perpetrators of hate crime, while only having a 33% larger population than Bexley.

A similar comparison can be made between Lambeth and Merton. These neighbouring boroughs have similar ethnic group demographics, however Lambeth 302 recorded completed hate crime investigations, while Merton recorded 80. This means that Lambeth records almost four times as many accused perpetrators of hate crime, despite Merton's population size being

two thirds that of Lambeth. Poverty levels for these boroughs are measured at 20% (Merton) and 30% (Lambeth) (Trust for London, n.d.).

Figure 10: Number of hate crimes by London borough



When the boroughs were broken down by hate crime strand, few significant patterns or spikes emerged. However, we did see a variation in religious hate crimes. What is notable from the data is that Hackney (GD), Barnet (SX) and Kensington & Chelsea (BS) record the most accused perpetrators of religious hate crimes. If we extract these three boroughs from the analysis, the mean number of religious hate crimes across boroughs is 11.74 (standard deviation = 6.6). In contrast, the three boroughs had three times this level: Hackney (35), Kensington & Chelsea (30) and Barnet (29). What is particularly interesting about this data is that these three boroughs do not all represent the boroughs with the highest populations of minority religious groups. Although ONS (n.d.) figures show that Barnet has a high Jewish and Muslim population, Kensington

and Chelsea has one of the lowest populations of these religious groups in London. It is unclear from the data why this borough records such disproportionately high numbers of anti-religious hate crimes.

The other significant pattern that emerged from the analysis related to sexual orientation hate crime. The average for all the other boroughs is 12.5. The boroughs with the highest rates of sexual orientation hate crimes were: Kensington & Chelsea (50), Lambeth (48) and Hackney (38). This may infer that LGBT visibility is higher in these boroughs, resulting in more victims reporting incidents of anti-LGBT hate crime to the police. However, as the statistics on other types of hate crime do not reflect demographics in terms of race/ethnicity and religious beliefs, it is not clear whether this is actually the case.

Victims

From our original dataset we were able to identify 7343 victims from the total 6070 recorded hate crime cases. 261 of these were hate crimes committed against a company or public body and therefore there is no personal characteristic data for these incidents. These records were removed from the dataset in order to provide analyses of victim characteristics. This left us with 7082 victims. As with the data on accused perpetrators we were able to analyse victim characteristics across the five strands of hate crime. Note that some of the totals in the tables below where we break down the data by hate strand will be greater than 7082, as victims may full into multiple strands of hate.

Gender

More men than women are victims of hate crimes, with 68% of victims being recorded as male and 28% female. Note that the gender option for victims is binary with transgender and non-binary genders not included in the data.

Table 19: Victim gender

Gender	N	Percentage
F	2078	29.3%
M	4983	70.4%
Unclassified	21	0.3%
Total	7082	100%

As with accused perpetrators, when the data is broken down by hate crime strand, a slightly different picture emerges. Two observations can be made here. The first is that a slightly higher percentage of victims of sexual orientation hate crimes are men, compared with race, religion and disability hate crimes. Transgender hate crimes had an almost equal split between the two binary recorded genders. However, as we note above it is not clear whether these genders relate to male or female, "trans male" or "trans female", or whether individuals have been misgendered by the "system".

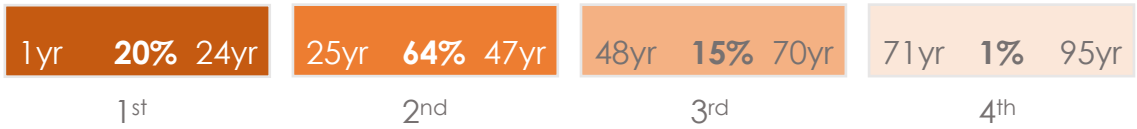
Table 20: Victim gender by hate crime strand

	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total
Race	4356 (70.82)	1795 (29.18)	6151
Religion	346 (69.90)	149 (30.10)	495
Sexual orientation	482 (78.63)	131 (21.37)	613
Disability	24 (72.73)	9 (27.27)	33
Transgender	15 (46.88)	17 (53.13)	32

Age

The mean age of victims is 35.04. The mean age for male victims was 35.36 and 34.35 for female victims. The range of victim ages recorded was from one years old (N = 11) to 95 years old (N = 1). The most common (mode) age of victims by some way was 30 years old. Similar to the age quartiles for accused perpetrators, the majority of victims were in the second quartile.

Age Quartiles



The average victim ages were very similar across hate strands except for disability. The numbers are small here so caution should be given to these data; however it may be inferred that victims of disability hate crime are more likely to be older than other hate crime groups.

Table 21: Mean age by hate crime strand

Hate Crime Strand	Mean age	N
Race	35.26	6151
Religion	33.65	495
Sexual orientation	34	613
Disability	41.15	33
Transgender	33	32

When the age of the accused perpetrator is correlated with that of the victim there was a small positive correlation between these two variables (r = .114; p< .001). The beta value for the relationship between suspect and victim age is .15. b = .15, meaning that for every one standard deviation change in suspect age, there is a .15 change in victim age. B in this case is a positive number so we know that as the age of the accused perpetrator goes up so does victim age; however, the relationship is weak.

Ethnicity

Out of 7082 victims, 3587 (50.6%) self-classified their ethnicity. The table below shows the ethnic backgrounds of those victims who provided this information. A further 63 records were removed from the data because ethnic background data was not reliable for one of the following reasons: "Officer Urgently

required elsewhere; Situation involving Public Disorder; Person does not understand; Person declines to define ethnicity."

Table 22: Ethnicity of victims

Ethnicity	N	%
Asian - Indian	246	3.49%
Asian - Pakistani	226	3.32%
Asian - Bangladeshi	108	1.64%
Asian - Any other Asian background	394	6.09%
Black - Caribbean	295	4.86%
Black - African	560	9.69%
Black - Any other Black background	379	7.26%
Mixed - White and Black Caribbean	56	1.16%
Mixed - White and Black African	29	0.61%
Mixed - White & Asian	12	0.25%
Mixed - Any other Mixed background	57	1.20%
Chinese or Other - Chinese	38	0.81%
Any other Ethnic group	106	2.28%
White - British	625	13.76%
White - Irish	40	1.02%
White - Any other White background	353	9.10%
Total	3524	100%

Just over 86% of victims of hate crime are from a non-White British ethnic background. When breaking down victim self-identifying ethnicity by hate crime strand we found that the overwhelming majority of race hate crimes

were committed against non-White British victims (86%). The majority of race hate crime were committed against Black victims (40%), followed by Asian (28%), White (including both British and non-British) (24%), and mixed race (4%). The majority of religious hate crimes were committed against Asian victims (54%), compared with White (29%) and Black (8%) victims. The ethnic background of victims shifts significantly for sexual orientation hate crimes where the vast majority of victims self-identified as White (82%, 61% identified as White British). Just 4% of sexual orientation hate crimes victims were recorded as Asian and 6% were recorded as Black (both of which are significantly below estimated population figures for these ethnic groups in London). Note that numbers were too few for both disability and transgender hate crime to provide any meaningful percentages. We therefore provide only the frequencies for these latter groups in Table 23.

Table 23: Ethnicity of victim by hate crime strand

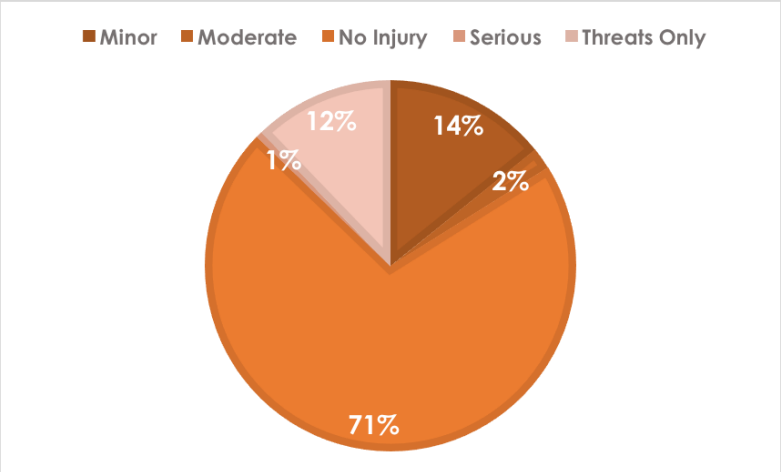
Ethnicities	RACE		RELIGION		SEXUAL ORIENTATION		DISABILITY	TRANSGENDER
Asian - Indian	216	7%	25	12%	2	1%	0	1
Asian - Pakistani	190	6%	25	12%	2	1%	0	0
Asian - Bangladeshi	89	3%	16	8%	0	0%	0	0
Asian - Any other Asian background	342	11%	44	21%	4	2%	0	0
Black - Caribbean	282	9%	1	0%	5	2%	0	0
Black - African	540	18%	10	5%	4	2%	2	0
Black - Any other Black background	362	12%	6	3%	5	2%	0	1
Mixed - White and Black Caribbean	51	2%	1	0%	4	2%	0	0

Mixed - White and Black African	23	1%	1	0%	1	0%	0	0
Mixed - White & Asian	10	0%	0	0%	2	1%	0	0
Mixed - Any other Mixed background	48	2%	5	2%	3	1%	0	0
Chinese or Other - Chinese	37	1%	0	0%	1	0%	0	0
Any other Ethnic group	82	3%	12	6%	8	4%	0	0
White - British	413	14%	33	16%	132	61%	12	2
White - Irish	35	1%	1	0%	3	1%	0	0
White - Any other White background	280	9%	25	12%	42	19%	0	0
Total	3000	100%	205	100%	218	100 %	14	4

Degree of Injury

The majority of victims (83%) reported no physical injury to the police as a result of the hate crime incident. Those experiencing more than a minor injury (moderate or serious) amounted to 2.5% of all cases.

Figure 11: Degree of injury



Across the hate crime strands the degree of injury experienced by victims was similar. However a slight difference emerged when moderate-serious injuries were combined. We found that 1% of religious hate crime victims experienced

moderate-serious injuries, compared to 2% of race hate crime victims, and 6% for sexual orientation hate crime victims. This suggests that homophobic or biphobic hate crimes may result in more serious injuries than other types of hate crime. The data for disability hate crimes showed that 9% of cases resulted in moderate-serious injury, while 3% of transgender victims experienced the same. However, caution is needed when interpreting results for these latter groups based on the small numbers.

Table 24: Degree of injury by hate crime strand

Degree of injury	Race	%	Religion	%	Sexual orientation	%	Disability	%	Transgender	%
Serious	26	0.21%	1	0.10%	6	0.49%	1	1.52%	0	0.00%
Minor	811	6.61%	55	5.56%	115	9.43%	7	10.77%	4	6.25%
No injury	4448	38.80%	364	38.97%	378	34.21%	21	36.21%	24	40.00%
Threats only	767	10.93%	67	11.75%	94	12.93%	2	5.41%	3	8.33%
Moderate	99	1.58%	8	1.59%	20	3.16%	2	5.71%	1	3.03%
Total	6151	100.00%	495	100.00%	613	100.00%	33	100.00%	32	100.00%

CONCLUSIONS

This report has provided a detailed overview of offending patterns for hate crime in London. The data help us to understand the nature and dynamics of hate crime and should help police services across London to better understand the situational contexts and personal variables that are common to the five strands of hate crime.

By far the most common type of hate crime in London, involving an accused perpetrator, were racially motivated – accounting for over 84% of all hate crimes. However, the data revealed that hate crimes can be intersectional in nature and that this is often being captured by police officers who flag more than one identity characteristic when recording information about offences. Multiple hostilities were most commonly recorded for religious hate crimes (over half), while 20% of sexual orientation hate crimes were recorded as additionally racially motivated. This highlights the need for officers to understand hate crime as frequently pertaining to multiple identity-based hostilities. For the purposes of prosecution, this may require officers to collate information that reflects both the multiple and intersecting prejudices that can aggravate an offence in law.

In line with criminological research more generally, the statistics showed that most hate crimes are committed by men. However, a more nuanced picture emerged when the data was broken down by hate crime strand, revealing higher percentages of men committing religious, sexual orientation and transphobic hate crimes, than disability hate crimes. This may mean that, while men are still more likely to be perpetrators of disability hate crime, a slightly higher percentage of women commit such crimes when compared to other types of hate crime. The question arises: why do slightly more women commit disability hate crimes (as a total percentage) compared with other forms of hate? Part of the answer to this question may lie in the statistics on location

and victim-perpetrator relationships. For instance, we found that 50% of disability hate crimes occur in or hear the home, while over 45% of victims said they knew their perpetrator. This lends support to other research that suggests disability hate crimes are often committed by carers or family members acting in a caring role, and these individuals are more likely to be female (Sin et al. 2009). A heightened perception amongst officers of the often-domestic nature of disability hate crime will help to improve recording and investigation practices, which in turn will improve upon the paucity of arrests and prosecutions for this type of hate crime.

The gender of victims broadly matched those of offenders, showing that the majority of victims are male. The percentage of female victims was highest for religious hate crimes (30%) and lowest for sexual orientation hate crimes (21%). The records showed that over 50% of transgender hate crime victims were female; however it is unclear whether this refers to "trans female", or "female" as identified by the victim or "female" as identified by the officer. There is a concern here that the failure to include a third gender option during recording results in system-based misgendering of trans victims of hate crime, many of whom may not wish to identify as one of the two binary genders.

The data revealed a wide range of ages of people committing hate crimes (from 11-89), illustrating that perpetrators of hate can be any age. The mean age for committing a hate crime was 40, with the vast majority of incidents being committed by those between the ages of 26-54. The mean age of victims was slightly lower than for accused perpetrators at 35 years old. The range of victim ages recorded was from one year old (N = 11) to 95 years old (N = 1), showing that even small infants can become the victims of people's prejudice.

Perhaps most surprising was that very few accused perpetrators were under the age of 18 (just 3%). This may be reflective of fewer younger people

perpetrating hate crime, though it is more likely to be linked to a general trend for diversion of young people away from official criminal justice sanctions (Ministry of Justice 2017). Nonetheless, the fact that the majority of accused perpetrators were between 30-50 years old suggests that a large proportion of hate crimes are committed by adults, and as such the often-asserted claim that most hate crimes are perpetrated by young people in search of a "thrill" may not be an accurate reflection of hate crime in London (see an overview of the research on perpetrator motivations at Walters et al. 2016).

Most studies have found that the majority of hate crime offenders are White (see e.g. Roberts et al. 2013). This study was no exception. It revealed that approximately 66.5% of accused perpetrators are White, which may be a disproportionately high number when compared with the estimated White population in London (calculated at 59% in the 2011 census). However, hate crimes are not the domain of White perpetrators only. 17.4% of offences were committed by Black accused perpetrators and, as with White offenders, this was a slightly higher percentage when compared to the projected Black population in London. Asian offenders made up only 9% of recorded cases, despite census data indicating that this ethnic group make up over 18% of London's population. This data indicates that Asian people are less likely to be hate crime offenders than other ethnic groups.

The ethnicity of victims showed, as expected, the reverse pattern with the majority of victims being non-White. Most race hate crimes were committed against Black and Asian victims (68%), with White British victims of race hate crime making up 14% of cases. The patterns of ethnicity for religious hate crimes were again committed mostly against non-White people, though this time the majority of victims were from an Asian background. The clear divergence in ethnicity within the hate crime strands was for sexual orientation hate crime, where the majority of victims self-identified as White (82%). This revealed a clear underrepresentation of non-White victims in this group of hate crime. The

numbers for both disability and transgender hate crime were too few to provide any meaningful percentages or comparisons.

Previous victimisation surveys have indicated that the majority of hate crimes are committed by multiple offenders (Chakraborti et al. 2014). This study did not bear this out to be the case, as the vast majority of cases involved a single suspect. Less than 10% of cases had more than two suspects (note that suspects are not necessarily apprehended but should be recorded nonetheless). The range of accused perpetrators was vast, with the highest number identified at 29. There was a significant correlation between the number of witnesses and the number of accused perpetrators – indicating that when more individuals have witnessed an incident, more perpetrators can be identified and arrested. This can also be linked to data on location of hate crimes, with the vast majority being committed in public where more people are likely to witness an incident.

In relation to whether victims know their offenders, this study found that most victims do not personally know the perpetrator. Amongst the 21% of cases where the victim was known to the accused perpetrator, 43% knew them as a neighbour. This highlights the fact that many hate crimes occur near to where people live and are often the result of neighbourhood conflicts (Walters et al. 2016). Linked to this finding was that the vast majority of hate crimes involving an accused perpetrator occurred in public, either on a public street (40%) or in a public building (34%) or on public transport (3%). This finding is not conclusive evidence that most hate crimes occur randomly in public spaces; rather it shows that these are the type of hate crime cases which are most likely to result in someone being arrested and charged for such offences. Such a finding is likely to be linked to the correlation that was found between arrest rates and number of witnesses. Offenders are most likely to be charged with an offence where there are people and CCTV footage to prove what has

happened. This is less likely to be the case at people's homes where there may be no CCTV or independent witnesses to provide statements to the police.

In line with crime generally, most hate crimes did not result in serious injury. However, this diverges quite significantly across the hate crime strands, with 1% of religious hate crime victims, 2% of race hate crime victims, and 6% of sexual orientation hate crime victims experiencing moderate-serious injuries. In line with some other studies, this data suggests that homophobic or biphobic hate incidents can be particularly brutal and violent (Walters et al. 2016). Unfortunately, the numbers were too low to provide robust figures for disability and transgender hate crime; however readers may wish to note that the small number of cases analysed showed that 9% of disability and 3% of trans victims experienced moderate-serious injury.

London is a diverse and multicultural city with vastly differing populations across its 32 boroughs. We found that the five boroughs with the most accused perpetrators of hate crime were City of Westminster, Lambeth, Camden, Islington, and Brent. The least number of accused perpetrators were recorded in Kingston upon Thames, Richmond upon Thames, Merton, Bexley, and Sutton. Such a finding may suggest that hate crimes are more problematic in certain parts of London. However, when comparing these figures with ONS statistics on demographics in London boroughs, the divergence between some boroughs also suggested that there are likely to be different standards in relation to the way that officers are investigating and recording hate crimes across London. This is consistent with the HMICFRS's recent report on police responses to hate crime in England and Wales where they concluded that there is "an inconsistent picture between forces, and sometimes within the forces themselves" (HMICFRS 2018: 6). There will be a myriad of factors that impact levels of recorded hate crimes that are localised to London Boroughs. Nonetheless, these figures suggest that a further review into MPS recording practices for hate crime across London Boroughs is needed.

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