

SUMMARY

Hate Crime 2011

Statistics on police reported offences with
an identified hate crime motive

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identified hate crime motive

A summary of report no. 2012:7

Brå – a centre of knowledge on crime and measures to combat crime

The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brottsförebyggande rådet – Brå) works to reduce crime and improve levels of safety in society by producing data and disseminating knowledge on crime and crime prevention work and the justice system's responses to crime.

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Foreword

A boy is called “nigger” by his school friend, a woman wearing hijab is spit at by her neighbour and another woman is called “disgusting homo” on the bus. These are examples of incidents from the hate crime statistics for 2011.

Hate crime statistics can among other things be used to study scope and development of *reported* hate crimes in Sweden. This in turn may be of assistance when making decisions about measures regarding investigating, combatting and preventing this type of criminality.

In recent years, Brå has made extensive changes in the hate crime statistics, particularly in the report for 2008, where there was a change in how hate crime is defined. Some smaller changes have also been introduced for this year’s hate crime report. In order to increase production efficiency, statistics on victims and suspects have been excluded, as has the geographical analysis of reports marked as suspected hate crimes by the police (the RAR study). In addition, in this year’s report comparisons are made a few years back to illustrate the development over time. Also, for the first time the Christianophobic motive is presented as a separate category.

The authors of the report are Fredrik Aspling and Carina Djärv, both researchers at Brå. Klara Klingspor and Anna Frenzel have also contributed. Many thanks to contact persons and investigators at all county police authorities; they have been of great assistance in the work with this report.

Stockholm, August 2012

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Director-General

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Introduction

In the mid-1980s, a marked increase was found in the number of crimes with xenophobic and racist motives in Sweden.¹ This contributed to the government, in the mid-1990s, declaring that the judicial system should prioritise xenophobic crime. In prioritising xenophobic crime, the judicial system regards such acts as particularly serious if

*a motive for the crime has been to hurt a person, a people or any other group of persons due to race, skin colour, national or ethnic origin, faith, sexual orientation or other similar circumstance.*²

What is hate crime?

Hate crime is not a new phenomenon but rather a new concept.³ Within the research community it has been pointed out that there is no established definition of hate crime and that the definition varies greatly between different countries.⁴ A definition of hate crime can for instance include crimes directed at people because of their ethnicity, functional impairment, homelessness, sex, transgender identity or expression, religious affiliation, political affiliation, sexual orientation or age.⁵ Some countries do not keep statistics on hate crime, while other countries report statistics on only one or some hate crime

¹ Säkerhetspolisen (the Swedish Security Service) (1997, p. 1).

² Rule of increase in severity of punishment, BrB, 29, Ch. 2, Cl. 7. Sexual orientation was not initially included in the wording of the law, but was added during an amendment in 2002.

³ Hall (2005, p. 4). See also Tiby (1999).

⁴ Petrosino (2003, p. 10).

⁵ Gerstenfeld (2003, p. 2).

motives.⁶ The Swedish statistics include hate crimes motivated by xenophobia/racism, anti-religious motives (Islamophobia, anti-Semitism, Christianophobia or other anti-religious motives), homophobia, biphobia and heterophobia and also transphobia. Although there is some disagreement on what the term hate crime should encompass, there is international agreement that the incident occur as a result of lack of respect for human rights and people's equal value. A single hate crime has the power to cause two-folded damage; it creates insecurity and fear in the victim, as well as in the group to which the person belongs.⁷ For the individual, the crime imposes an attack on his or her identity and dignity.⁸

Aim of and the information included in the report

This report summarizes the results from the hate crime statistics for 2011. The main aim of the statistics is to provide information about level, development and structure of police reports with identified hate crime motives. Another aim is to contribute knowledge to the general research being carried out in the area and to assist the judicial system with background material for when making decisions about measures regarding investigating, combatting and preventing this type of criminality. Hate crime statistics constitute background material that, together with studies and research, can provide a better picture of what the situation looks like regarding hate crime in Sweden. The report is intended for everyone who wishes to know more about hate crime; the government, parliament and the judicial system, as well as the general public, interest organisations, media and researchers.

The report may for example provide answers to the following questions about police reports with an identified hate crime motive:

- What is the most common motive?
- What can be said about the level and development of reported hate crimes?
- By what means are hate crimes committed?
- Where do hate crimes occur?
- What is the relationship between the offender and the victim?

⁶ For further information, see ODIHR (2011), for instance.

⁷ Gerstenfeld (2003, p. 18).

⁸ Ombudsmannen mot diskriminering på grund av sexuell läggning, HomO (Ombudsman against discrimination based on sexual orientation) (2008, p. 9).

The report is primarily a statistical summary of the crimes reported to the police and which have been identified as hate crimes by Brå. As in previous years, and in order to illustrate further how hate crimes can manifest themselves, examples based on narratives found in the police reports are given.⁹ Some examples are more typical than others, and the purpose is to illustrate the variations of hate crime.

⁹ In the examples, all names and locations are fictional.

Method

Hate crime is not a type of crime that is expressly regulated in the Penal Code. Nor are there specific crime codes for hate crime in the police's computer system for when registering reported crimes. However, in 2008 a field was introduced into RAR¹⁰ to mark whether the crime is a suspected hate crime or not.¹¹ The hate crime statistics consists primarily of police reports with identified hate crime motives, but also of self-reported exposure to hate crimes based on data from the Swedish Crime Survey (SCS). Below follows a description of how hate crime is defined in the hate crime statistics and how the assessment of whether or not a police report contains a hate crime motive is done.¹²

Definitions and assessment criteria

The consideration of whether or not an incident amounts to hate crime is based on the victim's perception of the offender's motive for his/her action. The statistics on reports with identified hate crime motives is based on the offender's motive regarding:

¹⁰ Rationell anmälningsrutin, RAR (Rational Reporting Routine), is the police computer system for registering reports.

¹¹ The marking, which was introduced at police authorities nationwide, is mandatory. The person registering a report must answer a question of whether the crime in question could be a suspected hate crime or not.

¹² See the English summary of the Swedish Crime Survey (SCS) for a discussion on the methodological aspects of the survey. (Brå, 2011a)

- *ethnic background, skin colour or nationality* – foreign as well as Swedish background
- *religious faith* – Islamic, Jewish, Christian or other faiths
- *sexual orientation* – homosexuality, bisexuality or heterosexuality
- *transgender identity or expression* – the sex or gender a person feels that he or she belongs to, and how a person choose to express their biological sex, social gender and/or the gender they identify themselves as belonging to.

Statistics on self-reported exposure to hate crimes by use of data from the SCS is based on the population's experience and exposure of both reported and unreported hate crimes for the crime types unlawful threat, harassment, mugging and assault. Such exposure includes crimes where the offender's motive was:

- xenophobic
- homophobic

The definition of hate crime in the statistics changed in 2008

The view of what constitutes a typical hate crime is affected by how hate crime is defined and construed as a concept. The definition is solely based on the motive for the crime, such as skin colour, nationality or ethnic background, religious faith, sexual orientation or transgender identity or expression, irrespective of whom is subjected to the crime. In 2008, the definition of who can be subject to and be the offender of hate crime broadened. Since then also persons representing groups or issues surrounding hate crime, such as journalists or politicians, can be subjected to hate crime. This agrees with how legislation in the area, the rule of increased severity of punishment¹³ in the Penal Code, is worded.

Assessment of whether a report includes a hate crime motive

When a police report is assessed, several criteria are used by Brå to determine the hate crime motive. The assessment is based on *all information* available in the report, predominantly in the narrative. Basing the assessment on the narrative text means that it is primarily

¹³ Rule of increased severity of punishment, Penal code, Ch. 29, par. 2, pt. 7.

based on the victim's experience of the incident. The assessment may also be based on:

- *The offender's expressions, whether oral or written.* For instance if the offender shouts "disgusting lesbo" or scribbles racist insults.
- *Information via related police reports.* Sometimes a victim or offender is mentioned in several reports, which may have been noted down in the report in question.
- *Communication with contact persons or investigators.* Some cases may be difficult to assess at first glance, as more information may be needed to determine the motive for the crime. By telephoning one of Brå's 21 contact persons¹⁴ for hate crime, or the investigator in charge at the county police authority, further information can be obtained.
- *Media.* In some cases the media have drawn attention to the hate crime in question. This information may be used in the assessment.
- *The name of a victim or offender* is used to assess the origin of the offender or victim.
- *Personal description.* The offender may be described as Swedish, a skinhead, a foreigner, etc.

Several motives – the most prominent is selected

The motive is not always easy to assess since a police report can include several possible hate crime motives. In these cases, the guideline has been to choose the most *prominent* motive. For instance when a person is subjected to verbal abuse aimed at both sexual orientation and transgender identity, by use of expressions such as "fag, fucking whore, bitch, damn tranny". The example above could be characterised as transphobic, as the use of the word "tranny" in combination with "fucking whore" and "bitch" strengthens the transphobic motive. If several motives are equally prominent, the motive is determined at random.

Collection and processing

The method for identifying hate crimes is based on computerized searches and manual examination of the narrative text in the reports.

¹⁴ The police authorities have themselves appointed the contact persons.

In 2008 the method changed to further include an examination of those reports marked as hate crimes in RAR by the police. When interpreting the statistics, the following should be taken into consideration:

- The method means that the identification of reported hate crimes is mainly conducted based on information in the narrative text. Several factors affect whether a reported hate crime can be identified, such as how the crime is described. Particularly for fatal violence there are many problems with using this method.¹⁵
- The method is based on searching a sample of reports relating to crime types that have been assessed as being particularly relevant for hate crime statistics. The effect of this delimitation is difficult to assess, but means that some hate crimes are excluded from the statistics.¹⁶

Three data collection steps for generating hate crime statistics

In order to capture police reports with possible hate crime motives, three data collection steps are used.

- The first step consists of a generic search for hate crime related search words in reports of the following crime categories: violent crime, unlawful threat, non-sexual molestation, defamation, hate speech, criminal damage, graffiti, unlawful discrimination and various other crimes. Thus, only a sample of all types of crime is searched. The search is not carried out for reports relating to, for instance, theft, mugging and sexual crime. In total, the search word list was applied to around 388,500 reports in 2011. The searchable word list consists of 381 words and once the search was complete around 33,500 reports were registered as hits. These reports were then examined and coded manually.
- The second step consists of an examination of all reports relating to unlawful discrimination and hate speech, registered

¹⁵ The main reason being that there is no victim who can describe how the crime was committed or give the police a possible motive for the crime.

¹⁶ One type of crime that is excluded from the sample is mugging. However, sometimes an examined report refers to another report, which may include a hate crime, and in this way some types of crime that are not otherwise included may be included in the hate crime statistics. Also, the examination of reports marked as hate crimes in the police system (RAR) may lead to more crime types being included in the statistics.

during the calendar year and received by Brå. Reports of these crime types not captured via the first method are thereby also examined. In 2011 this resulted in a sample of around 720 reports of hate speech and around 240 reports of unlawful discrimination, which were examined and coded.¹⁷

- The third step consists of an examination of all reports marked as suspected hate crimes by the police authorities during the calendar year. All types of crime can be marked as suspected hate crimes. From the approximately 1.4 million crimes reported during 2011, the marking resulted in a sample size of 6,910 reports. The reports found via this method were then matched against the identified reports from the first two methods, in order to weed out the reports already captured. After matching these against Brå's hate crime statistics, just below 4,280 reports were identified and then examined and coded manually.

Searchable word list

In 2006, Brå developed their own application software for searching, coding and examining hate crime reports. For searching reports in the first step, a searchable word list is used. The generic search for words and phrases included in the searchable word list leads to police reports that include words from the list being tagged. Next these reports are examined manually and assessed. The searchable word list is updated annually by adding, deleting or correcting words. For 2011 the list contained 381 words and phrases, which is seven more compared to 2010. The list, which contains common insulting and derogatory words, are primarily based on experience from the work with the statistics in previous years. Suggestions for new search words come, among other things, from reading police reports, monitoring the world as reported by media and from contacts with target groups.

Manual examination and coding of police reports with possible hate crime motives

The reports captured by the three data collection steps are examined manually by at least two different researchers. An assessment of the information in the report and its narrative text is made to determine

¹⁷ The sample size for these crime types (the second step) also includes reports already identified via the searchable word list in the first step.

whether the report includes a hate crime or not. When the assessment of the identified hate crime reports is complete, manual coding of a number of variables, as described below, is carried out. Finally, all variables in reports coded as hate crime are examined and controlled.

Presenting the results

Statistical accounting units and variables

In the results section in this summary, each hate crime motive will be presented in separate sections. The hate crime statistics is based on police reports and self-reported exposure to hate crimes from the Swedish Crime Survey (SCS). The *accounting units* presented are:

- registered reports
- cleared up reports
- persons subjected to hate crime (information from the SCS)

Information on the presented groups is based on a number of variables describing the reported criminal offence. In the annual report the *variables* are:

- principal offence
- motive
- subordinate motive
- whether the crime is motivated by white power ideology or linked to an organisation
- mode of operation
- location
- relationship between offender and victim
- clear-up decisions
- regional distribution.

When reading the report it is important to keep in mind that it contains many low figures. The percentage change can therefore be very large from year to year. Differences of 30 per cent or more are not unusual. For reasons of statistical confidentiality, it is not always possible to show all units or variables separately in the presenta-

tion.¹⁸ According to legislation there must be no risk of individual persons being identified in the statistics. If this is the case, categories with low figures (figures below *four*) must be added together, or alternatively hidden behind a cross. However, some low figures can be shown if, for example, it can be satisfied that no single individual can be identified. An example of this is the category “other crimes”, since it could contain just any criminal incident.

Registered police reports

The number of registered reports is the number of reports that the police, but also other hate crime investigating authorities, have registered in their case systems during a calendar year. The crimes may however have been committed in previous years. In the annual report the majority of the statistics is presented under the unit *reports*. In previous reports (before 2002) statistics were recorded on *reported crimes*, with the effect of higher levels because a report can include several crimes. Only crimes committed in Sweden are presented in the statistics.

Cleared up police reports

The number of cleared up reports is a measure of the handling of the cases by the police, prosecutors and other crime investigating authorities. The concept “cleared up” is one used by the police and means that a reported crime has been cleared up, either by a person being linked to the crime or by a technical decision to close the case. The clear-up statistics is based on decisions made in relation to the principal offence in the report and which has been assessed as being a hate crime. Hate crime reports registered in 2010 have been followed to the point of final investigation decision from police and prosecutors by 30 March 2012.¹⁹ Cleared up crimes are divided into two categories:

- *Personally cleared up* hate crimes mean that a person has been linked to the crime.
- *Technically cleared up* hate crimes mean, for example, that:
 - it cannot be *proven that a crime has been committed*

¹⁸ In accordance with the Personal Information Act (1998:204) and the Public and Secrecy Act (2009:400) Ch. 24 par. 8.

¹⁹ Because crimes are not always cleared up in the same year that they are reported, hate crime reports from 2010 have been followed up for this report. Only 3 per cent of all reported hate crimes from 2010 were still under investigation by 30 March 2012.

- *the deed reported is not considered to be a crime*
- *the suspect is under 15 years old and therefore under the age of criminal responsibility*
- *accusation is lacking or has been retracted, prosecution is not publically called for or the criminal offence has expired.* These phenomena are categorized as *otherwise technically cleared up*. For this category the two first-mentioned decisions are most common in relation to identified hate crimes.

This section also shows the proportion of reports that have not been cleared up at the time the samples were extracted. A crime is not cleared up when it is:

- *under investigation*
- *otherwise unresolved*, meaning that, for instance, there is no suspect or that there are no leads to follow. Another example is when a suspect, after investigation, no longer is suspected for the crime.

Persons exposed to hate crime (information from the SCS)

In the sections with xenophobic/racist and homophobic, biphobic and heterophobic hate crimes, the results from the Swedish Crime Survey 2011 are presented. In 2005 Brå was commissioned by the government to carry out an annual survey of people's exposure to crime and levels of public safety.²⁰ Of the 20,000 persons aged 16–79 years who were randomly selected to participate in the 2011 study, around 70 per cent responded.²¹ Exposure to 10 different crime types and the category “other crimes” were studied. For four of these crime categories – mugging, assault, unlawful threat and harassment,²² follow-up questions were asked, including whether the

²⁰ Brå (2012a).

²¹ Ibid. The survey was carried out in the form of a telephone survey (91 per cent of responses), complemented with postal surveys (9 per cent of responses) and was aimed at a large, random sample of the population. Those who responded to the postal survey were not asked any follow-up questions about crimes and could therefore not answer questions relating to exposure to hate crime.

²² Ibid., p. 43. Harassment refers to a series of incidents. Each series is counted as one incident of harassment. The Penal Code does not however classify harassment as a crime type of its own, but, for instance, unlawful threats, non-sexual molestation and unlawful entry to a person's premises can be classified according to the respective crime classification.

victim experienced the motive to include elements of xenophobia or homophobia.²³

Motives

A report may include several hate crime motives. If this is the case, the guideline is to choose the most *prominent* motive and thus to choose *one*. The motives behind the crimes have been divided into the following exclusive categories:

- xenophobic/racist, against minorities
- xenophobic/racist, between minorities
- xenophobic/racist, against the majority
- Islamophobic
- anti-Semitic
- Christianophobic
- other anti-religious
- homophobic
- biphobic
- heterophobic
- transphobic.

Subordinate motives

For xenophobic/racist hate crime, hate crimes against Afro-Swedes and Romas are presented separately. They have been coded into the following categories:

- Afrophobic hate crime
- anti-Roma hate crime.

Hate crime motivated by white power ideology/linked to an organisation

Hate crime reports are divided into the following two categories:

- Reports where there is no expressed/visible white power ideology motive.
- Reports where there is an expressed white power ideology motive and where there is a link to National Socialism organisations or right-wing extremist groups. These might be

²³ Brå (2012b, p. 45, 59, 68 and 73).

Svenska Motståndsrörelsen/Nationell Ungdom, Svenskarnas parti or other groups or organisations.

Mode of operation employed by the offender

Mode of operation describes by what means the crime was committed. In the presentation similar categories are shown under three more general headings. The means are divided up as follows:

Physical contact

1. *Directly against a person, physical contact*

Close vicinity

2. *Directly against a person, no physical contact*

Distance

3. *General graffiti*
4. *Internet*
5. *Media*
6. *Postal letter*
7. *SMS*
8. *Telephonelfax*
9. *Other.*

Location

Location describes where the crime took place. Location is divided up into twelve categories, as follows:

1. *Workplace*
2. *Home*
3. *Internet*
4. *Public transport*
5. *Place of entertainment*
6. *Religious location*
7. *School*
8. *Media*
9. *SMS*
10. *Public location*
11. *Other locations*
12. *Information unavailable.*

Relationship between offender and victim

The category “relationship” describes the relationship between the offender and the victim. In the presentation similar categories are

shown under three more general headings. Relationship is divided up as follows:

Close persons

1. *Spouse/partner/cohabitee*
2. *Former partner*
3. *Close family and relatives*
4. *Friend/acquaintance*

Distant acquaintance

5. *Colleague*
6. *School friend*
7. *Neighbour*
8. *Known person/group*

Unknown

9. *Customer/client*
10. *Service sector employees*
11. *Unknown person*

Information unavailable

12. *Information unavailable.*

Regional distribution

In this year's report, identified hate crimes are presented at the level of the county where the police report was registered and also at the level of the municipality where the crime was committed for those municipalities where at least four hate crime reports were identified.

The scope for interpretation

A first precondition for a hate crime to be included in the statistics is that the incident has become known to the police. The propensity to report a crime varies depending on type of crime and over time. Based on previous studies, it has been found that the discrepancy between actual and reported criminality, the so-called unknown quantity, is large for hate crime.²⁴ The propensity to report may also vary between different groups exposed to hate crime. The trust in the judicial system may for instance vary depending on previous experience, in Sweden or another country, and influence whether the victims report crimes to the police.²⁵ For a report to be assessed and a

²⁴ See, for instance, Forum för levande historia (The Living History Forum) (2006). For a more detailed description of these concepts, see Brå (2006, p. 66f).

²⁵ Brå (2012a, p. 23).

hate crime to be identified for the purpose of the hate crime statistics, the following is required:

- the crime is labelled in accordance with Brå's crime code selection
- the police officer types relevant information in the narrative text of the report
- the narrative text includes words found in the searchable word list, or the incident is marked as a suspected hate crime in RAR
- the coder interprets and assesses the incident as a hate crime.

The hate crime statistics are thus a result of a selection process where different criteria must be met in order for a reported incident to be identified as a hate crime. Some of the criteria are described in more detail below. When using hate crime statistics, it is important to bear in mind that the statistics account for a minimum assessment of reported hate crime.

Crime is labelled in accordance with Brå's sample categories

As previously mentioned, the statistics on reports with identified hate crime motives are based on a number of data collection steps. Only reports of certain types of crime are included in the study. For this purpose, it is important that the offence is correctly labelled in the police computer system. It is also important that the narrative text clearly shows why the report is marked as a hate crime, in order for it to be identified as a hate crime.

The importance of the wordings in the police report

Different wordings and how the narrative text is written can be an important factor for a report being included in the hate crime statistics. If a criminal incident is described in detail, and the hate crime motive is explained, it is more probable that the report is included than if the description is too general.

The narrative text includes words on the searchable word list

A searchable word list is used to read the narrative text generically, but it cannot be excluded that there are narratives describing a hate crime that do not include any of the words found in the searchable

word list. Regarding the crime categories unlawful discrimination and hate speech, *all* reports received by Brå are studied. All reports marked by the police as suspected hate crimes in RAR are examined in addition to the search word sample.

The coder makes the assessment

The assessment of the reports by the coder is of central importance for the outcome. Most reports are assessed as not involving hate crimes. In order to achieve higher reliability the reports are examined several times by different coders, and according to clear guidelines.

Comparability

When studying the development of the statistics on police reports with identified hate crime motives, or comparing it with other statistics, it is important to consider the following information in order to understand what conclusions can be drawn, for instance about increases or decreases in the statistics.

Development over time

- In 2008, Brå carried out a large-scale change of the definitions of who can be subjected to hate crime and thus be included in the hate crime statistics. The definition was broadened to also include xenophobic/racist hate crimes between minorities and against the majority population, other antireligious hate crimes (besides Islamophobic and anti-Semitic), biphobic hate crimes, heterophobic hate crimes and transphobic hate crimes. Further, since 2008 also those who could be viewed as representing various groups, such as politicians and journalists, is included in the definition. It is Brå's view that because of the definition change it is not possible to directly compare the levels for all hate crimes and xenophobic/racist hate crimes with previous years. Regarding white power ideology hate crimes, the change in definition has been of less significance and comparisons with previous years are therefore possible. For Islamophobic, anti-Semitic and homophobic hate crimes, the change in definition is of no significance and comparisons with previous years are therefore possible.
- In addition to the change in definition, the method for capturing hate crime reports was changed in 2008. The RAR marking used by the police for tagging reports as suspected

hate crimes has since then been used as a method of data collection. The increased sample size has had a lesser effect on the number of identified hate crimes and is therefore of less significance for the ability to make comparisons between years. For 2008–2010 a regional analysis of these reports was included in the hate crime report.

- In 2011 the name of the category *other anti-religious hate crimes* changed to Christianophobic hate crimes, as Christianophobic hate crimes constitute the vast majority of the cases within this category. Other anti-religious hate crimes are still included in this category however. Data on the distribution between the two motives is presented in the report for 2011, with data from 2008–2011.
- For 2012 part of Brå's directive changed, from developing the production of the hate crime statistics to making the production more efficient. In line with the new directive there has been a reduction of what is presented in the yearbook for hate crime statistics 2011. Data on victims and suspects as well as the regional analysis of police reports marked as hate crimes in RAR are excluded. These parts has been resource consuming to produce and at the same time evaluated as least in demand.

Comparisons between the SCS and the hate crime statistics

The number of hate crime incidents disclosed in the Swedish Crime Survey as to have been reported to the police is greater than the number shown in the hate crime statistics. This is possibly due to SCS being more apt at capturing occurrences of hate crime, but may also be because some respondents to the SCS 2011 think that the crime has been reported because they have been in contact with the police, although it has not. There is a risk of over- as well as under-reporting of the number of criminal incidents.²⁶ Incidents may be remembered with incorrect dates or be suppressed, meaning that those asked unintentionally give a wrong answer because they cannot remember. When questions are asked about hate crime there is a risk that the victim does not want to talk about the incidents. It may also be the case that the respondent thinks it is socially desirable to state that a hate crime has been reported to the police although it has not. It could further be the case that the victim feels that the act was

²⁶ Brå (2012b, p. 20).

a hate crime, but that it is not defined as such according to Brå's definition.²⁷

Comparisons with other crime statistics

Hate crime statistics are not comparable with other official crime statistics in terms of crimes reported. As described earlier, the accounting unit for hate crime is the crime report, and not crimes reported. A report can include one or several crimes, and for hate crime the principal offence is selected. Official crime statistics in Sweden account for all crimes in the report.

Since 2007, information about cleared up hate crime reports is also included. This information cannot either be compared with official clear-up statistics. In the official statistics all clear-up decisions made during 2011, for example, are accounted for whether the crime was reported the same year or during a previous year. Hate crime statistics for 2011 only account for decisions relating to hate crimes reported during 2010.

An overriding reason for not defining or counting the different units of hate crime statistics in the same way as official statistics, for instance for crimes reported, is to retain a time sequence for hate crime reports. Sometimes it is not technically possible to account for these crimes in any other way.

Special study of police reports marked as hate crimes in the police computer system

In 2008 the Swedish police authorities introduced a field in their computer system (Rational reporting routine, RAR) whereby reported incidents could be marked as suspected or not suspected hate crimes. For the past four years (2008–2011) Brå has carried out annual special studies of these marked reports. A brief description of the method of the study and the results follows.

Method used in the study

All 6,910 reports marked as suspected hate crimes by the police authorities in 2011 were requested from the National Swedish Police Board (RPS). Preliminary hate crime statistics, containing around 5,490 reported hate crimes, were then matched against data from the

²⁷ See also Brå (Ibid., p. 20). One example is if a person is subjected to a hate crime because of functional impairment.

police authorities, in order to see where the assessment matched and where it differed.

For reports where only the police made the assessment that the report included a suspected hate crime motive, the information in the narrative text was examined manually. The assessment of whether the report contained a suspected hate crime was made based on *all information in the report*, with special attention paid to the *narrative text*. For reports in which a hate crime motive could be assumed but not confirmed, the investigator responsible for the report was contacted for further information.

Results of the study

The study showed that in 2011 a total of 6,910 police reports were marked by the police authorities as containing suspected hate crimes. Compared to previous year, this represents a two per cent decrease.

- 2,633 of the marked police reports had also been identified by Brå as hate crimes.

A manual review of the narrative text in those reports that the police had marked as suspected hate crimes (4,277 reports) but which had not been identified as hate crimes in the statistics produced by Brå, showed that:

- 3,561 reports (83 per cent) were not hate crimes in accordance with Brå's method and definition.
- 267 reports (6 per cent) were hate crimes.
- 449 reports (10 per cent) were unavailable for review.²⁸

Criminality bordering on hate crime, marked as hate crime

Something that has emerged from the annual special studies is that the police mark reports bordering on hate crime but which does not fall within the scope of Brå's definition of hate crime. These reports may concern honour-related crimes, animal activism and the autonomous movement, crimes within white power environments with no hate crime motive present and politically motivated crimes. In a number of cases reports have also been marked because someone "hates" another, without a hate crime motive being identified.

²⁸ Police reports that Brå did not receive and therefore could not study.

The RAR marking captures a few reports otherwise missed by the hate crime statistics selection process

Besides certain shortcomings in the way the police use the marking and that the hate crime definition differs slightly between the police and Brå, 5 per cent of the reports previously not captured by Brå in the selection process were identified as containing hate crimes. This means that Brå's method does not capture *all* relevant reports with the current sampling method. The RAR marking is used for all reported crimes, whereas the hate crime statistics are based on a sample of crime types.²⁹ Two crime categories of which reports are not captured through Brå's current method are robbery and theft.

A shared definition of hate crime within the police authorities desirable to improve quality

To summarize the study of police reports marked as suspected hate crimes in RAR, it was found that Brå's method for finding reported hate crimes captures a large proportion of reports not identified by the police. However, the RAR marking captures a smaller proportion of reports not identified when using Brå's method. It is therefore important among other things for Brå to continuously update new search words.

Brå's study indicates that the main reason why the assessments differ between Brå and the police, seems to be that many police reports are marked incorrectly; anything from theft of a boat engine to drug offences have been found marked as suspected hate crimes by the police.

What is defined as hate crime also differs between police authorities. It is therefore desirable that the police agree on one definition and further produce written instructions and guidelines in order to assist in identifying hate crime motives. In the long term, an established definition of hate crime would provide for better quality in the incidents marked as hate crime. This in turn could enable the police to compile hate crime statistics by use of the markings and which would allow for comparisons between the police authorities, something that is currently not possible.

²⁹ One explanation of why the majority of the examined reports cannot be identified as hate crime when reading the narrative text, could be that the level of knowledge of hate crime differs between police authorities and between police officers, which affects the questions asked when facing someone asking to report a crime and also affects the level of detail in the narrative.

Hate crime – all motives

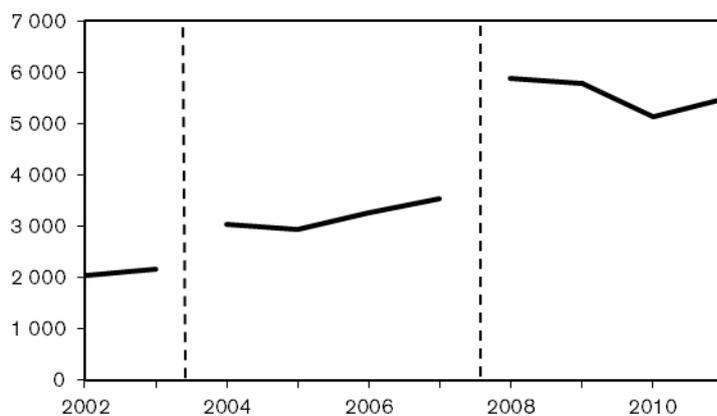
Results in brief

- In 2011 just over 5,490 hate crimes were identified, which is a 7 per cent increase compared to 2010 but a 7 per cent decrease compared to 2008.
- Like previous years was xenophobia/racism the most prominent motive (72 per cent).
- Unlawful threat/non-sexual molestation, violent crime and defamation were the most common crime types.
- Hate crime occurs in everyday locations. Public places, homes, “other indoor places” (e.g. shopping centres, fast food restaurants) and work places were common locations among the identified hate crime reports in 2011.
- 7 per cent of the identified hate crime reports from 2010 were cleared up by the end of March 2012.

Level and development

Figure 1 illustrates the development of total number of police reports with an identified hate crime motive for the years 2002–2011. In 2011, just over 5,490 police reports were considered to contain an identified hate crime. As the definition of hate crime changed in 2008 to include more categories of people, the number of reported hate crimes is comparable back to 2008, but not as easily to the years prior to that.

Figure 1. Number of reports with an identified hate crime motive, 2001–2011.



* Breaks in the timeline mark when method changes occurred.

Between 2008 and 2010 there was a slight decrease in the number of police reports, from just under 5,900 to just under 5,140 reports. Compared to 2010 the number of police reports in 2011 increased to just over 5,490, however the level is still lower than in 2008.

It is inadvisable to compare the number of hate crimes reported in 2001–2007 with the numbers reported in 2008–2011. Since 2001, several changes have been introduced which affect comparisons of the statistics. In 2004, the Swedish Security Service introduced a new method for gathering information from the narratives of the police reports;³⁰ which lead to more reports of statistical relevance being identified. Another thing that may have affected the statistics is the new motive that was introduced in 2006; Islamophobia. The introduction of this motive resulted in a slight increase in the number of reports. In 2008 Brå's definition of xenophobic/racist hate crimes was broadened to not only include crimes committed by a member of the majority population towards someone in a minority group, but also crimes committed between members from two different minority groups and by a member of a minority group towards someone in the majority population. In time for the 2008 production the hate crime statistics further included biphobic, heterophobic and transphobic motives, and hate crimes towards other religions (besides anti-Semitic and Islamophobic hate crimes).

³⁰ Säkerhetspolisen (the Swedish Security Service) (2005, p. 24).

Hate crimes motivated by xenophobia/racism are most common

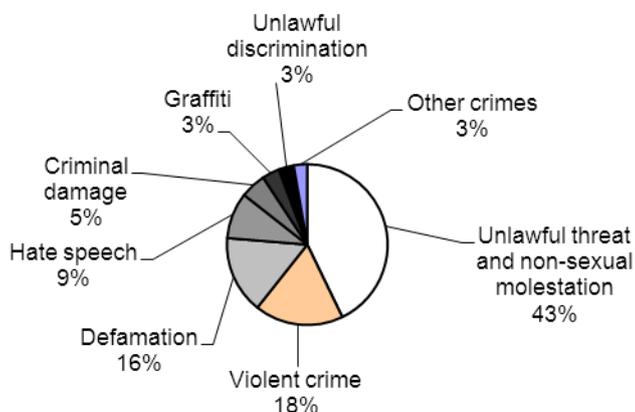
A detailed description of for instance crime types, mode of operation and location among identified hate crimes is affected by certain motives being more prominent than others. Hate crimes motivated by xenophobia/racism is the single largest category (72 per cent), which to a great extent affects the general picture. In 16 per cent of the reports, a homophobic, biphobic or heterophobic motive was identified. Antireligious hate crimes (Islamophobic, anti-Semitic, Christianophobic and other anti-religious hate crimes) were identified in 12 per cent of the reports. The smallest category, transphobia (1 per cent), has no greater effect on the general picture. All of the above should be kept in mind when interpreting this chapter.

Offence types

Unlawful threats and non-sexual molestation is the most common type of offence

The single most common type of offence (principal offence) in reports with an identified hate crime motive in 2011 was unlawful threats and non-sexual molestation (just over 2,320 reports), followed by violent crime (970 reports) and defamation (just over 850 reports). The number of reports relating to hate speech was 510 and the number of reports concerning unlawful discrimination was just under 170.

Figure 2. Proportion of reports with an identified hate crime motive, according to the principal offence rule, 2011 (5,493 reports).



* Violent crime includes: fatal violence, assault, violence against a public servant, muggings, disturbance of peace, violation of a woman's integrity and rape.

Mode of operation

Hate crime is often aimed directly at the victim, but with no physical contact

For hate crimes in general, it is most common for the offender to threaten, harass or insult the victim in their vicinity, but without physical contact occurring (50 per cent). One in five identified hate crimes was a violent crime, where the offender physically attacked the victim. Almost 30 per cent were committed from a *distance*.³¹

³¹ For example via internet, SMS, media or general graffiti.

Table 1. Number and proportion of reports with an identified hate crime motive, by mode of operation, 2011.

Method	Number	%
Direct towards person, physical contact	1,141	21
Direct towards person, no physical contact	2,751	50
Distance	1,601	29
General graffiti	231	4
Internet	437	8
Media	24	0
Postal letter	133	2
SMS	195	4
Telephone/fax	311	6
Other	270	5
Total	5,493	100

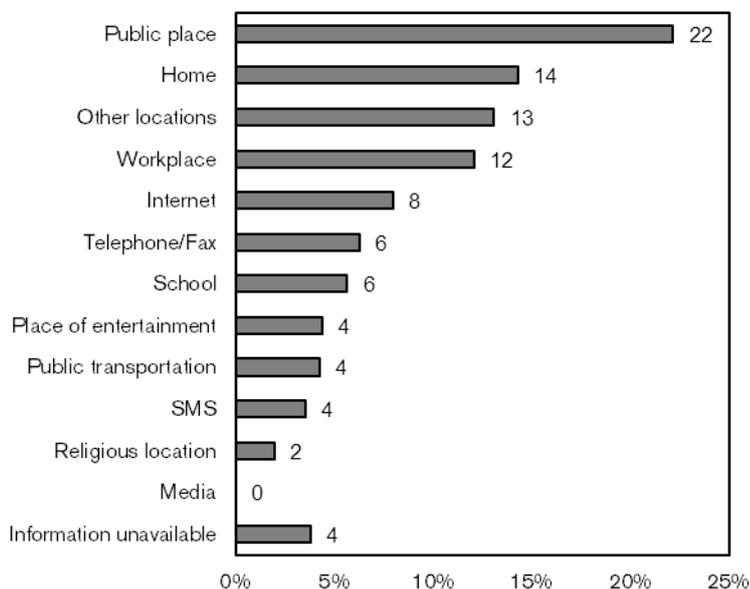
Locations

Hate crimes are committed in everyday locations

There is no characteristic place where hate crimes occur; instead, they occur in all sorts of places used by people in their everyday life. Two common locations are places where the victim works (12 per cent) and lives (14 per cent). It is even more common though to be subject to a hate crime when in a public place, such as streets, squares and parks (22 per cent). The broad distribution of crime scenes can also be viewed in the fact that *other places*³² were the location for 13 per cent of the hate crimes reported and identified in 2011. The distribution of locations remained more or less the same between 2010 and 2011. The proportion of public places did however increase slightly (from 19 to 22 per cent), while hate crimes committed in or near the victim's home decreased (from 18 to 14 per cent).

³² Such as cafés, shopping centers, fast food restaurants and shops.

Figure 3. Proportion of reports with an identified hate crime motive, by location of the crime, 2011.



Relationship

Unknown offender most common

In more than half of all reported and identified hate crimes in 2011, the offender was *unknown* to the victim. In a little more than one fourth of the cases the offender was a *distant acquaintance*, which includes neighbours, school friends, colleagues or a person or group/affiliation known to the victim by name or appearance. In 6 per cent of the cases was the offender someone close, such as a family member, relative, friend or ex-partner.

Table 2. Number and proportion of reports with an identified hate crime motive, by relationship between offender and victim, 2011.

Relationship	Number	%
Close relationship	341	6
Spouse/partner/cohabitee	17	0
Ex-partner	115	2
Close family and relatives	77	1
Friend/acquaintance	132	2
Distant acquaintance	1,521	28
Neighbour	610	11
Colleague	82	1
Known person/group	567	10
School friend	262	5
Unknown	3,090	56
Customer/client	472	9
Service sector employees	514	9
Unknown person	2,104	38
Information unavailable	541	10
Total	5,493	100

Cleared up hate crimes

By “cleared up” is meant that a crime has been resolved either on personal or technical basis. Personal basis means that a suspect has been linked to the crime through a decision to prosecute, accepted a prosecutor fine or granted waiver of prosecution. A reported crime is regarded as cleared up on personal basis even if the accused is later acquitted in trial. Technical basis means that a decision has been made to close the investigation, for example because a crime could not be confirmed, the offender is under 15 years or the crime does not fall under public prosecution and the victim choose not to proceed with the case (defamation cases). The statistics is based on decisions made in relation to the principal offence, which has been considered a hate crime, in the police reports. For the 2011 statistics, cases reported in 2010 have been followed to the point of clear-up up until 30 March 2012.

A majority of hate crimes are cleared up, but few are personally cleared up

In March 2012, 70 per cent of identified hate crimes (principal offence) reported in 2010 had been cleared up. 7 per cent were *person-*

ally cleared up, the majority of which through a decision to prosecute. When comparing different hate crime motives, it emerged that personal clear-up is lowest among Christianophobic and Islamophobic hate crimes (3 and 5 per cent respectively), and slightly above average among homo-, bi- and heterophobic and Afrophobic hate crimes (8 per cent). 63 per cent of the cases were cleared up *technically* and 30 per cent were at the end of March 2012 *unresolved*. Some because they were still under investigation but the majority because of other reasons, for example that the police had no leads to follow.

Table 3. Number and proportion of cleared up hate crime reports, according to principal offence, reported in 2010 and cleared up during the period January 2010–March 2012.

Type of decision	Number	%
Personally cleared up	347	7
Decision to prosecute	326	6
Prosecutor fine	14	0
Waiver of prosecution	7	0
Technically cleared up	3,234	63
Suspect is under 15	167	3
Crime cannot be confirmed	827	16
Deed is not a crime	1,222	24
Other technically cleared up	1,018	20
Unresolved	1,558	30
Under investigation	171	3
Otherwise unresolved	1,387	27
Total	5,139	100

Xenophobic/racist hate crimes

Hate crimes motivated by xenophobia/racism³³ can take many forms. It may be a question of vandalism of refugee camps, damage to cars, insult to and harassment of persons because of their actual, or by the offender perceived, foreign or Swedish origin. Visual identifiability – people’s appearance – is one of the most important criteria for a presumptive offender when categorising people into groups.

Results in brief

- In 2011, slightly less than 3,940 hate crimes motivated by xenophobia/racism were identified.
- Compared to 2010 xenophobic/racist hate crimes has increased by 4 per cent (or 150 reported incidents), while there has been a 7 per cent decrease compared to 2008.
- Unlawful threat/non-sexual molestation is the most common xenophobic/racist hate crime (42 per cent).
- The proportion of offenders that were customers, clients or service personnel was higher for crimes motivated by xenophobia/racism than for other motives.
- The results from SCS 2011 show that 11 per cent of self-reported exposure to harassment in 2010 was motivated by xenophobia.

³³ The concept of xenophobia suggests that immigrants to Sweden are defined as foreigners. Racism, as a concept, describes a belief in the superiority of certain human races. The concept of xenophobic/racist hate crime is used in the report, as it includes everything from negative attitudes to people because of race, skin colour, nationality or ethnic origin, to events of a more absolute racist character. Racism, as a concept, was added from 2008.

Xenophobic/racist hate crimes against minorities, between minorities and against the majority

The absolute majority (97 per cent) of reported and identified xenophobic/racist hate crimes in 2011 were committed against minority groups. 83 per cent were committed by an offender from the majority group and 14 per cent by an offender from another minority group. Only 3 per cent of reported xenophobic/racist hate crimes were committed against the majority population. An example to illustrate assault with a xenophobic/racist hate crime motive:

As Adnan was on his way to meet up with a friend, a group of three men and a woman asked him what he was doing there and shouted “go home, fucking wog” to him several times. One of the men punched Adnan in his face and pushed him to the ground. Another man jumped on him as he lay on the ground and punched him in the face before they all ran away.

Self-reported exposure to xenophobic hate crimes (the Swedish Crime Survey)

In order to get a comprehensive picture of the level of exposure to hate crime, surveys of self-reported exposure can be used as a complement to statistics on reported hate crimes. Viewed together, several sources provide a more nuanced image of the scope and character of hate criminality. In the SCS, a sample of the population was asked about their experience of exposure to around ten types of crime. The survey also describes the scope of crimes that citizens are less inclined to report to the police. For the crime categories mugging, assault, unlawful threat and harassment, the SCS poses a follow-up question of whether there might have been a xenophobic motive behind the offence.

In total, the results from the SCS 2011 showed that 1.1 per cent of the population (16–79 years) of Sweden, which represents approximately 81,000 persons, stated that they had been subjected to hate crime with xenophobic motives during 2010. This is a reduction compared to the previous year when 1.5 per cent of the population (16–79 years) stated that they had been exposed to hate crimes with this motive. When the results from the SCS are interpreted, it is important to remember that the number of observations is low, which creates greater uncertainty in the estimations and can contribute to great variations between years. The differences between the results

for hate crimes in the SCS 2011 and the SCS 2010 is, against this background, to be regarded as relatively small.

Table 4. Exposure among the population (16–79 years) to hate crimes motivated by xenophobia according to the crime category and estimated number of incidents and proportion of incidents reported to the police in 2010 according to the Swedish Crime Survey (SCS) 2011.

n=114	Proportion exposed in %	Estimated No exposed in population	Estimated No of incidents in population	Proportion of reported incidents in %
Total number of hate crimes motivated by				
Xenophobia	1.1	81,000	127,000	27
<i>Muggings</i>	0.1	8,000	10,000	49
<i>Assaults</i>	0.1	11,000	18,000	36
<i>Unlawful threats</i>	0.5	34,000	69,000	27
<i>Harassments</i>	0.4	29,000	29,000	14

Exposure to unlawful threats and harassment most common for hate crimes motivated by xenophobia

According to the Swedish Crime Survey, 1.1 per cent of the population stated that they had been exposed to a xenophobic hate crime in 2010. A xenophobic motive was quoted to the greatest extent by those subjected to unlawful threats (0.5 per cent) or harassment (0.4 per cent). Being subjected to assault and mugging with xenophobic motives was quoted the least, 0.1 per cent respectively stated that they had been subjected to each type of crime in 2010.

Exposure to crime with xenophobic motives in relation to the population as a whole

The number of xenophobic offences in the form of muggings, assaults, threats and harassment is estimated to 127,000 during 2010. Harassment is the crime category where the greatest proportion (11 per cent) of all victims states that the motive was xenophobic.

Of all offences motivated by xenophobia, the type mentioned least was assault (5 per cent). In-between can be found exposure to muggings and unlawful threats, where a xenophobic motive for the crime was stated in 10 respectively 9 per cent of cases.

Muggings and assaults are reported more often than unlawful threats and harassment

In the SCS 2011, slightly more than one fourth (27 per cent) of the self-reported hate crimes motivated by xenophobia were stated to have been reported to the police, which is slightly lower than the propensity to report among the total population, which in the same year was around 32 per cent for the four types of crime. The offence said to be reported to the greatest extent, in 49 per cent of the cases, was muggings. Slightly more than one third (36 per cent) of the assaults were reported to the police. Threats and harassment were reported to the least extent (27 and 14 per cent respectively).

Men and women are exposed to xenophobic hate crime in almost equal degree

In about half (51 per cent) of the xenophobic hate crimes reported in the SCS 2011, the victim was male. Thus the corresponding proportion of females was 49 per cent. When focus is directed at the age of those SCS respondents who reported having been exposed to xenophobic hate crimes for the years 2009–2011, we find that persons in the age groups 16–24, 25–44 and 45–64 were victimised in almost equal degree (33, 32 and 29 per cent respectively). Only in 7 per cent of the cases was the victim aged between 65 and 79.

Afrophobic hate crime

Afro-Swedes encounter xenophobia/racism in Swedish society because of their ethnic background, skin colour and nationality.³⁴ It can be expressed as graffiti on front doors saying “ape”, defamation by being called “nigger” or being subjected to assault because of skin colour. It is important to consider these hate crimes separately because this group is viewed as especially vulnerable in society. Knowledge about exposure to hate crime and discrimination among Afro-Swedes is relatively limited. Anyone can become exposed to an Afrophobic hate crime if the offender considers that the victim belongs to or represents this group.³⁵ However, it is only cases where

³⁴ The report *Experiences of discrimination and racism among young people with African background in Sweden* described different types of racism and discrimination experienced by young people in Sweden (Ombudsmannen mot etnisk diskriminering, DO [Ombudsman against ethnic discrimination], 2007, p. 55).

³⁵ Describing hate crime aimed at Afro-Swedes is not entirely without problems from a sampling point of view. In Sweden the statistics on demographic constitution of the population is produced on the basis of country of birth and the parents' country of birth, whereas nationality is the focus of statistical information. Racism/xenophobia however, is aimed at persons on the basis of

the insults against Afro-Swedes can be separated from other xenophobic/racist motives that are considered Afrophobic hate crimes. If the victim him/herself describes that he/she has been subjected because of being an Afro-Swede or has a dark skin colour, the report is identified as an Afrophobic hate crime for the purpose of the statistics.

Level and offence structure

In 2011, 803 reports were identified to contain a principal offence with an Afrophobic motive, which represents a 2 per cent decrease (15 incidents) since 2010. Afrophobic hate crimes constitute 20 per cent of all xenophobic/racist hate crimes in 2011. Unlawful threats and non-sexual molestation represent 35 per cent of all Afrophobic hate crimes reported, which makes this the most common crime category. Violent crime (23 per cent) and defamation (20 per cent) are the next most common types of crime. The smallest crime category for this motive is unlawful discrimination (2 per cent).

Unlawful threat and non-sexual molestation are common offence types

Unlawful threat and non-sexual molestation are common offence types among crimes with Afrophobic motives. These types of crime can for example take place near the victim's home, and can express itself as follows:

The victim and his family had lived in the house for almost a year. Quite soon after they moved in the offender, which also is the victims neighbour, started to harass the victim and his family. When they meet he usually shout things like "damn nigger" and "go back to your own country, bloody apes" to the victim and his family. The victim also reports that the offender on a few occasions have thrown things at them when they have meet in the staircase.

them being part of a certain group, not because of the individual's own identification with a nation. Thus, exposed persons can have parents from, for instance, Africa, Europe, the West Indian region as well as South America. The common factor is that the skin colour is used as a marker of origin. For a longer discussion, see Ombudsmannen mot etnisk diskriminering, DO (Ombudsman against ethnic discrimination) (2007).

Anti-Roma hate crime

Romas encounter xenophobia/racism in Swedish society because of their origin. It can be expressed as defamation by being called “gypsy” or as unlawful discrimination by being refused entry into a shop because of their origin. It is important to consider these hate crimes separately because this group is viewed as especially vulnerable in society. Knowledge about the exposure to hate crime and discrimination among Romas is relatively limited.³⁶ Anyone can become exposed to an anti-Roma hate crime if the offender considers that the victim belongs to or represents this group. However, it is only cases where the insults against Romas can be separated from other xenophobic/racist motives that are considered anti-Roma hate crimes. If a victim him/herself describes that he/she has been subjected because of his/her Roma origin, the report is also considered anti-Roma for the purpose of the statistics.

Level and offence structure

In 2011, 184 reports were identified as having a principal offence with an anti-Roma motive, which represents an increase by 27 per cent (39 incidents) since 2010. Anti-Roma hate crimes constitute 5 per cent of all xenophobic/racist hate crimes in 2011. Unlawful threats and non-sexual molestation represented 40 per cent of all reported anti-Roma hate crimes, which makes this the most common crime category. Defamation (20 per cent) and unlawful discrimination (15 per cent) were the next most common types of crime. Hate speech was less common (9 per cent).

Unlawful discrimination is a common offence type

Unlawful discrimination is a common type of offence among identified anti-Roma hate crimes. It is also more common in comparison to other hate crime motives. The offence can be expressed as follows:

Sonja and her mother were in the grocery store. They were both dressed traditionally. When she went into the store, the store owner came up to them and told them that they weren't welcome. The store owner told them that he didn't want shoplifters in the store and argued that "all gypsies are thieves".

³⁶ An example of Swedish research is the report about discrimination of Romas in Sweden, published in 2004 by the Ombudsman against ethnic discrimination (Ombudsmannen mot etnisk diskriminering, DO, 2004, p. 1–42).

Anti-religious hate crime

Anti-religious hate crimes can take on many forms. For instance, the offender may express hostility or hatred against Islam, Judaism, Christianity or any other religion. It may be a case of vandalism of religious locations, such as mosques, synagogues, churches or cemeteries, but also harassment because of someone's religious faith. Central focus for anti-religious hate crime is disrespect for the victim's religious belief.

In order for a hate crime to be regarded as anti-religious, the victim must belong to or represent (or the offender must think that they belong to or represent) a religion or denomination (Islam, Judaism, Christianity or another religion), and the offender must not belong to the same religion or denomination. Besides Islam and Judaism, which are captured by the Islamophobic and anti-Semitic motives, the motive also includes Christianity (all denominations) and other religious faiths.

Results in brief

- In 2011, just over 650 police reports contained an identified anti-religious hate crime motive, which is 18 per cent more compared to 2010 and 8 per cent more compared to 2008.
- 43 per cent of which were considered Islamophobic, 30 per cent anti-Semitic, 25 per cent Christianophobic and 3 per cent targeting other religions.
- A comparison between motives show that hate speech were more common in anti-Semitic hate crimes, defamation more common in Islamophobic and criminal damage/graffiti more common in Christianophobic hate crimes.
- 62 per cent of anti-religious hate crimes were cleared up. 5 per cent were personally cleared up while 57 per cent were cleared up technically.

The proportion of criminal damage and graffiti was significantly higher in the anti-religious motive than in the xenophobic/racist and homo-, bi- and heterophobic hate crime motives (18 per cent compared to 8 per cent). The object was typically a place of worship, cemetery or other location with religious connection. Sometimes the anti-religious motive could be considered as clear:

An unknown offender has sprayed crossed over stars of David and written "gas the Jew" on the door to the synagogue.

At other times the motive may be perceived through repeated targeting:

Someone has turned over gravestones, pulled flowers and smashed windows on the church. This is the fourth time in a short period of time that the church has been vandalised thus.

Homophobic, biphobic and heterophobic hate crime

Homophobic, biphobic and heterophobic hate crimes may express themselves in many ways; from derogatory remarks about a person's sexual orientation to serious cases of assault. The most common scenario is for the victim to be targeted based on a sexual orientation *assumed* by the offender. For example vandalism of RFSL's³⁷ premises, public hate speeches, defamation or violence. Research has shown that LGBT persons³⁸ who are open about their sexual orientation may be more at risk to fall victim of a crime than those who do not.³⁹ According to a survey, approximately one in four victims of homophobic hate crimes report the incident to the police.⁴⁰ Studies also show that homosexual men exposed to hate crimes report the crime twice as often as lesbian women.⁴¹

³⁷ RFSL stands for Swedish Federation of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Rights.

³⁸ The abbreviation "LGBT" refers collectively to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender people.

³⁹ Tiby and Lander (1996), Tiby (1999, p.171 or 2000), Norrhem, Rydström and Winkvist (2008, p.157).

⁴⁰ Tiby (1999, p. 207).

⁴¹ Tiby (1999, p. 206).

Results in brief

- In 2011, just over 850 hate crimes because of sexual orientation were identified. Almost 840 of these had a homophobic motive.
- Compared to 2010 hate crimes because of sexual orientation had increased by 11 per cent, while they had gone down by 19 per cent when compared to 2008.
- Unlawful threat and non-sexual molestation was the most common offence (47 per cent), while 22 per cent was a violent crime.
- The results from SCS 2011 described the level of self-reported exposure to crime motivated by homophobia as stable since 2009, but that the crimes are now more often reported to the police.

The most common homo-/bi-/heterophobic hate crime in 2011 was unlawful threat and non-sexual molestation, followed by violent crime and defamation. The least common were unlawful discrimination and hate speech. This distribution of homophobic hate crime has been stable for the past years. One change in 2011 however, was that although the proportions remained more or less the same, the number of unlawful discrimination almost doubled compared to 2010, while the number of hate speech were halved compared to 2010. It should be noted though, that since the numbers are low, large annual variations are not uncommon.

Compared to other hate crime motives there is a larger proportion of violent crimes for the homophobic motive (22 per cent compared to 12–18 per cent). Compared to 2010 the number of reports containing a violent crime with an identified homophobic motive had increased by 7 per cent in 2011, but compared to 2008 they had decreased by 32 per cent. In 2011 homophobic violent crimes were often committed in public places, pubs, clubs or restaurants, and the offender was usually unknown to the victim. An example of such incident:

Martin reports that he was at the pub in the evening. Afterwards, when he walked down the street, 3–4 men came up to him and started to hit and kick him. The offenders called him “fag” and “fucking queer” while they hit him. He fell to the ground and the offenders continued to kick Martin as he lay down.

Self-reported exposure to homophobic hate crimes in 2010 (Swedish Crime Survey 2011)

For the crime categories mugging, assault, unlawful threat and harassment, the SCS poses questions about whether the victim feels there was something homophobic about the motive. When interpreting the material, it is important to be aware that the number of observations of hate crime, in particular hate crimes with a homophobic motive, is small in the survey material why great annual variations are expected. From this survey, it is not possible to describe the distribution of crimes in the homophobic hate crimes category.

Exposure to homophobic hate crimes in 2010

In total, 0.3 per cent of the population (16–79 years), which represents approximately 19,000 persons, stated that they were exposed to a hate crime with homophobic motives during 2010. This is slightly higher than in 2007–2008, when 0.2 per cent (17,000) of the population stated that they had been exposed to a homophobic hate crime, but the level is the same as in 2009. According to Table 5, below, based on the survey, the number of incidents with a homophobic motive can be estimated to 31,000 during 2010. In total, according to the SCS, it is more common to be exposed to crimes motivated by xenophobia than crimes motivated by homophobia.

Table 5. Exposure among the population (16–79 years) to hate crimes motivated by homophobia, by crime category and estimated number of incidents and proportion of incidents reported to the police in 2010 according to the Swedish Crime Survey (SCS) 2011.

n=26	Proportion exposed in %	Estimated No exposed in population	Estimated No of incidents in population	Proportion of reported incidents in %
Homophobic hate crime	0.3	19,000	31,000	40

Homophobic hate crimes are reported to a greater extent

It emerged that 40 per cent of the homophobic hate crimes reported to the SCS 2011 were also reported to the police. Previous years the proportion of incidents reported to the police has been 17–35 per cent. A number of studies have shown that the propensity to report a

crime among the group subjected to homophobic hate crimes is low, and that around 25–30 per cent of crimes are reported.⁴² In the 2011 SCS survey, the proportion of homophobic hate crimes reported to the police was larger than that of the general population, which was 32 per cent for the four crime categories in question. It's important to keep in mind though, that the number of respondents for homophobic hate crimes was very low, why the statistics ought to be interpreted with caution.

Men and women equally exposed, more common for young people to be subjected to homophobic hate crimes

Men and women report that they've been exposed to homophobic hate crimes more or less to the same extent (51 compared to 49 per cent). The level distribution between men and women was the same for all four crime categories, and also for the population exposed to crimes regardless of motive.

SCS data for the years 2009–2011 combined show that the victim was between 16 and 24 years of age in 41 per cent of the homophobic hate crimes reported in the years 2008–2010. 33 per cent of the crimes had been committed against individuals aged between 25 and 44 years, while 22 per cent had been committed against persons aged 45–64.

⁴² Tiby (1999, p. 207).

Transphobic hate crime

Transgender persons is an umbrella concept for persons with transgender identity (the gender a person feels that they belong to) or gender expression (the gender a person dresses themselves according to).⁴³ Hate crimes against transgender persons are not included under hate crimes motivated by sexual orientation, as a transgender person can be homosexual, bisexual or heterosexual.

Level and offence structure

In 2011, 52 reports were identified as having a principal offence with a transphobic motive, which is 21 more incidents compared to 2010. Since the number of reports with a transphobic motive is low, it is important to consider this when interpreting the results. It creates greater uncertainty in the breakdown of different categories and can contribute to large variations between years.

In several police reports, the transphobic hate crime was aimed against persons who had had a sex change done. The victim had been subjected to violence, harassment or criminal damage to their home and property. An example of assault with a transphobic motive is:

As the victim was walking in town, two unidentified offenders started to question why the victim dresses like a woman. "You shouldn't go around dressed like that, disgusting tranny" said one

⁴³ Darj and Nathorst-Böös (2008, p. 6).

of them while he spat at the victim and snorted. The victim experienced the incident as very uncomfortable and feels offended.

The most common transphobic hate crimes were unlawful threat and non-sexual molestation (30 reports) followed by assault (10 reports) and defamation (7 reports). In the majority of the reports, the offender was *unknown* to the victim. Some common locations for being subjected to transphobic hate crimes were *public places*, on the *internet* and in the victim's *home*.

Hate crimes motivated by white power ideology

This section accounts for reports where the crime is considered to be motivated by white power ideology, meaning hate crimes motivated by the offender's extreme right-wing values or national socialist ideology.⁴⁴

Hate crimes for which the motive includes white power ideology show a few typical signs. The offender could be shouting “sieg heil” or give so-called Hitler salutes in the streets. There could be flyers in schools and in public places with white power messages linked to extreme right organisations. It is also common for swastikas and ideological messages⁴⁵ such as “ZOG”⁴⁶ or “88”⁴⁷ to be scribbled onto victims' cars, on letterboxes or doors of victims' houses or of other premises.

⁴⁴ Up until 2004 the Swedish Security Service had in their annual report, *Criminality linked to the internal safety of the nation*, great focus on crimes linked to the white power environment. See also Säkerhetspolisen (the Swedish Security Service), for instance 2001 and 2005.

⁴⁵ See Gestrin (2007, p. 85–122) for a description of right-wing extremist movements and their symbols, number symbols, anniversaries and abbreviations.

⁴⁶ ZOG is an abbreviation sometimes seen in white power ideologically motivated hate crimes and represents an idea of the world being run by a Jewish conspiracy, called the Zionist Occupation Government.

⁴⁷ The eighth letter in the alphabet is H. HH = Heil Hitler.

Level and development

Of all identified hate crimes in 2011 (slightly more than 5,490 reports), just below 520 incidents (9 per cent) were motivated by white power ideology. Compared to 2010 there has been an increase by 16 per cent (slightly more than 70 incidents), while compared to 2008 there has been a decrease by 26 per cent (just below 180 incidents). The most common types of crime (principal offence)⁴⁸ in the hate crime reports motivated by white power ideology in 2011 were hate speech (44 per cent) and criminal damage/graffiti (31 per cent), followed by unlawful threat and non-sexual molestation (15 per cent).

Links to extreme right organisations

In slightly more than one fourth (26 per cent, or 132 reports) of hate crime reports motivated by white power ideology, a link to an extreme right organisation was identified. In order to determine organisational affiliation in hate crimes motivated by white power ideology, the information contained in the narrative text of the reports was used. A total of 2 per cent of all hate crimes in 2011 could be linked to a national socialist organisation or right-wing extremist group. This is an increase by 77 reports compared to last year, when 55 reports could be linked to a national socialist organisation or right-wing extremist group. 93 per cent of the 132 reports from 2011 had a xenophobic/racist motive. Here is an example of a hate crime where there is a link to an organisation:

Staff at the reception center reported that someone spray-painted the name of a nationalist organization on the wall of the building together with “go home” and “stop immigration”. Several windows were also smashed.

⁴⁸ When comparing crime types over time, large changes in percentage may occur from one year to another because of low absolute figures.

Regional distribution

This section describes the regional distribution of reported hate crimes by county where the crime was *reported*. It further describes regional distribution of reported hate crimes by metropolitan city (Stockholm, Göteborg, Malmö) where the crime was *committed*. Where in the country the most hate crimes are identified is partly affected by the work against hate crime done by the local police and prosecution authorities.

Counties

Most police reports with identified hate crime motives in Stockholm County

Just under one third (almost 1,730) of all reported and identified hate crimes in 2011 were reported in Stockholm County. Even when taking population into account, Stockholm County had the most reports with identified hate crime motives (83 per 100,000 of average population). One explanation could be that the Stockholm County Police also in 2011 continued its extensive work against hate crime. A hate crime unit, where six investigators work full-time, is now well-established and has continued its work. They are specialists on receiving and investigating hate crime.

Hate crime is not a big city phenomenon

Although Stockholm County had the largest number of reported hate crimes in 2011, it is not possible, based on the results of this report, to say that hate crime is a type of criminality that exists mainly in large cities. When taking average population into account, the largest number of identified hate crime reports was identified in Stockholm, Södermanland, Västmanland, Skåne and Gotland's counties (between 59 and 83 reports per 100,000 of population).

Among others, Västernorrland, Östergötland and Kronoberg's counties can be found in the middle category (45 to 54 reports per 100,000 population). The lowest number of identified hate crime reports in relation to population was found in Kalmar County (35 reports per 100,000 population). Halland, Norrbotten and Gävleborg counties also showed relatively few reports (39–40 reports per 100,000 population).

Of the metropolitan counties, Stockholm and Skåne differentiate themselves compared to Västra Götaland, where the number of identified hate crime reports was 44 per 100,000 of the population. In Stockholm County, where a number of initiatives have been taken by the county police in the work against hate crime, the number of identified hate crime reports is also the highest. Skåne county police has also done much work in order to identify more hate crimes. In Västra Götaland, who has relatively few identified hate crimes in relation to population, the police reveal that they have training courses planned for 2012 and that they further work to increase the public's trust in the legal system and to increase propensity to report crime.

Wide distribution of the proportion of cleared up hate crimes between the counties

Reports (principal offence) filed in 2010 by the police, prosecution service and other crime investigating authorities were followed up until March 2012. By this time 70 per cent of all cases reported in 2010 with an identified hate crime motive had been cleared up. In total, 63 per cent of the reports were cleared up *technically*, which for example means that a crime could not be confirmed or that the suspect is under 15 years of age, the age for criminal responsibility. 7 per cent of the reports were *personally cleared up*, of which the majority were cleared up through a decision to prosecute. The proportion of cleared up hate crimes varies greatly depending on in which county the crime was reported. Figures for personally cleared up crimes vary from 0 per cent in Gotland and 2 per cent in Jönköping's county, to 17 per cent in Norrbotten and Gävleborg's county. Tech-

nically cleared up reports, where for instance a crime could not be confirmed or where the incident may have been found not to be a crime, vary from 53 per cent in Västerbotten's county to 74 per cent in Halland's county. The number of unresolved reports, for example because the investigation is still ongoing, was highest in Uppsala County (39 per cent) and lowest in Halland's county (19 per cent).

Metropolitan cities

In 2011, one in four reported and identified hate crimes was committed in one of the metropolitan cities of Sweden – Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö (just under 1,400 reports out of just over 5,490). In about 60 per cent of these reports was the crime committed in Stockholm. In relation to population, the largest number of hate crimes was committed in Stockholm, followed by Malmö and then Gothenburg (101, 87 and 54 per 100,000 respectively).

Out of the three metropolitan cities, Stockholm had the most reports with an identified racist/xenophobic motive (76 per 100,000 population compared to 52 in Malmö and 38 in Gothenburg). Anti-Religious motives were most common in Malmö (22 per 100,000 population compared to 10 in Stockholm and 8 in Gothenburg). Hate crime because of a person's sexual orientation were most common in Stockholm (15 per 100,000 population compared to 13 in Malmö and 7 in Gothenburg).

Concluding comments

This report has described hate crimes reported to the police in 2011 and self-reported exposure to xenophobic and homophobic hate crimes in 2010 based on the SCS 2011.

Making hate crime visible by quantifying criminality

Statistics on hate crime is important, as it shows the scope and character of this type of criminality in Sweden. In order to get a comprehensive picture of exposure to hate crime, the SCS is used as a supplement to the statistics on police reported hate crime. One of the intentions with the statistics is to provide the judicial system with background material for preventing this type of crime, another to contribute knowledge to the general research being carried out in this area. By highlighting attacks on an individual's equal value, strategies can be identified in order to work actively to promote human rights. Several sources and methods provide a fuller picture, why they can be used as complements to one another.

Who is included in the statistics?

All reports in which the motive includes ethnic background, skin colour or nationality, religious faith, sexual orientation or transgender identity or expression are examined and included in the statistics. This means that *anyone* exposed to hate crime because of their ethnic origin, for example Romas, Afro-Swedes, Sami or persons with Swedish, Finnish or Turkish ethnic backgrounds are included in the statistics. Religious faith includes for example Muslims,

Jews, Christians (all denominations), Buddhists and others. Regarding sexual orientation, homosexuals, lesbians, bisexuals and heterosexuals are included in the statistics. Transgender identity or expression is included in the statistics for transgender persons. Also persons who could be viewed as representing the above are included, such as journalists or decision makers.

Main findings in the statistics

In 2011, just over 5,490 identified hate crimes were reported in Sweden, which means that the number of reported offences increased by approximately 350 (7 per cent) since 2010, while compared to 2008 the numbers decreased by 7 per cent. According to the official criminal statistics, in 2011 the number of reported crimes increased by 3 per cent compared to 2010.⁴⁹ All hate crime motives showed an increase compared to previous year. The only exception was Afrophobic hate crimes, which went down by 2 per cent.

New data from the SCS for the years 2008–2010 show that men and women report that they have been exposed to hate crime to just about the same extent (51 compared to 49 per cent).⁵⁰ Respondents also state that they have been almost equally exposed to hate crime regardless of age. The exception being homophobic crimes where 41 per cent of those exposed were 16–24 years of age.

Few hate crimes are cleared up on personal basis

An area in which relatively little research has been done, is what happens to reported hate crimes further along the judicial chain.⁵¹ In this report, identified hate crimes reported to the police (principal offence) in 2010 were followed up half-way through the chain, to the police and prosecutors' decision after completed investigation, until the end of March 2012. It emerged that a suspect could only rarely be linked to the crime. In 7 per cent of the cases was a decision reached to prosecute, the suspect accepting a prosecutor fine or the suspect granted waiver of prosecution (personal clear-up). In total, 70 per cent of hate crimes reported in 2010 were cleared up by the

⁴⁹ It should be noted though, that the official criminal statistics count all offences reported to the police whereas the hate crime statistics count the principal offence in each identified police report. Brå (2012c)

⁵⁰ Please note though, that SCS asks about xenophobic/racist and homophobic crimes only. Other hate crime motives are not covered.

⁵¹ Researcher Eva Tiby has followed homophobic hate crimes from report to court judgment on behalf of the The Living History Forum (2006). In a previous report by Brå (2002), all reported crimes from 2000 were followed up to district court judgment.

end of March 2012, which is about the same level as in previous year's report (69 per cent).

The results do not show how many of the prosecuted hate crimes subsequently led to a more severe punishment, but previous studies have shown that the rule of increased severity of punishment is rarely used and rarely result in more severe punishments.⁵²

Delimitation – a sample of offence types

From an international perspective, the Swedish hate crime statistics are detailed and include a substantial amount of information. The Swedish statistics for example present information on less common hate crime motives, such as transphobia and Christianophobia.

The method employed to identify hate crimes is resource demanding. One methodological limitation is therefore that the search for hate crimes is conducted among a *sample* of all crime types reported to the police. The sample does not for example include sex offences or theft. At the same time, theoretically speaking, any type of crime can be a hate crime. The central factor is the motive underlying the incident.

This discrepancy has existed since Sweden began to produce hate crime statistics in the mid-1990s. When the police authorities began to mark police reports containing possible hate crimes in RAR in 2008, an analysis conducted by Brå found that around one hundred of the marked police reports were linked to offence types outside of Brå's original sample of crime types. One such category was muggings, and figures show that 10 per cent of the total number of muggings reported in the SCS in 2011 had an underlying xenophobic motive. Brå have initiated a review of the way the hate crime statistics are produced, the result of which will be seen over the next few years. Initially the focus will be on improving production efficiency, but in future other issues, such as crime categories, may be taken into consideration.

The judicial system's work against hate crime

Also in 2011 Brå sent out a survey to the authorities within the judicial system, enquiring about their work against hate crime. Some police authorities, such as Stockholm County with its now permanent hate crime unit and Skåne County with its active hate crime group, have continued working actively against hate crime in 2011. During the year one in five police authorities have also trained their

⁵² Forum för levande historia (The Living History Forum) (2006) and Brå (2002).

staff in detecting, spreading information about and preventing hate crimes. One third of the responding police authorities are planning for hate crime courses in 2012.

The survey responses show that a majority of the authorities within the judicial system lack somebody working specifically with hate crime issues. Five police authorities however, have individuals either working full time with these questions or have been especially assigned these issues as part of their job description.

The hate crime mark in RAR was not introduced in order to collate statistics but rather to highlight the hate crime issue. Eight out of 21 police authorities however, are using the information provided by the mark in order to map out local hate crimes, generate statistics, analyse crime trends et cetera.

In 2011 Brå presented to the government a follow up study of the judicial system's work against hate crime 2003–2010. The study showed among other things that during this period the basic hate crime training for police officers has developed in a positive direction, that a few hate crime elements have been added to the training for new judges, while the hate crime training for prosecutors is somewhat limited. Further it was noted that the RAR marking is a promising start for a more systematic approach to identify hate crime, but that uniform instructions and guidelines are needed in order to optimize the use of the system.⁵³

Development work that will affect the hate crime area is currently in progress within the judicial system. New computer systems are gradually being introduced among the authorities involved, structuring information on crime. Later there will be room for so-called focus areas, of which hate crime could be one. In this way, detailed information about hate crime would be registered already at the time of reporting. In future it's also possible to imagine the ability to follow hate crime cases from police report to court judgement.

Work against hate crime in Sweden

In Sweden there is great all round commitment against hate crime, and many activities and projects are being carried out in order to spread knowledge and face attitudes. Vulnerable groups are also working actively to counter this type of criminality. To mention just a few, projects have for the past few years been carried out, both nationally and locally, within the Crime Victim Compensation and Support Authority, the Swedish Federation of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual

⁵³ Brå (2011b)

and Transgender Rights (RFSL), Forum for living history, the Red Cross, the Anti-Discrimination Bureau in Uppsala and the Roma International Association. These organisations have worked to encourage vulnerable groups to report hate crimes and cases of discrimination. They have also spread information, for instance through theme days, and have actively worked to influence decision makers and those in power.

International work against hate crime

An understanding of hate crime is important to enable work against fear, hostility and hatred. Hate crime as a concept exists in large parts of the world.⁵⁴ An arena that is sometimes overlooked in the work against hate crime is the international one. Internationally, ongoing work is carried out to make hate crime more visible and to create crime prevention strategies. Within the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)⁵⁵ works with, for example, collating statistics about hate crimes and information on legislation, and also with various projects and initiatives (locally and nationally). The 55 participating countries in OSCE, all the European countries and the US, Canada and the Central Asian countries, have appointed national points of contact for assisting ODIHR in their work.⁵⁶ The information received by ODIHR is presented in an annual report about hate crime and on their website.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ In Sweden, Brå's definition change of hate crime has led to more motives being included in the statistics. From an international perspective, Sweden is at the forefront including more motives and more details. But even having the same motive categories as other countries, such as the US, Canada and Finland, does not mean that the statistics can be easily compared. There are still a number of significant differences, such as counting method and different procedures for identifying hate crime. On the other hand, having more motive categories in Sweden creates opportunities for carrying out a more thorough national analysis of the material.

⁵⁵ <http://www.osce.org/odihr/44066>

⁵⁶ National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå) has been appointed the role as Sweden's national point of contact for hate crimes. Information about the work against hate crime is gathered annually from a large variety of actors, such as the judicial system, other relevant public authorities and non-profit organizations.

⁵⁷ To find out more about legislation concerning hate crimes in different countries, visit the following web site: <http://www.legislationline.org/topics/topic/4>. To read more about the work against hate crimes in different countries visit TANDIS (the Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Information System): <http://tandis.odihr.pl/index.php?p=home>.

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Appendix

Table 1.1. Number and proportion of police reports with an identified hate crime motive, years 2006–2011.

Motive	Year												Change compared to 2010, %	Change compared to 2008, %
	2006		2007		2008		2009		2010		2011			
	No	%												
Xenophobia/Racism	2 189	67	2 489	70	4 224	72	4 116	71	3 786	74	3 936	72	4	-7
Afrophobia*	..	..	..	..	761	13	780	13	818	16	803	15	-2	6
Anti-Roma**	..	..	..	..	178	3	163	3	145	3	184	3	27	3
<i>Between minority groups</i>	..	..	..	..	692	12	808	14	476	9	551	10	16	-20
<i>Against majority population</i>	..	..	..	..	142	2	144	2	130	3	128	2	-2	-10
Anti-Religious	386	12	324	9	602	10	591	10	552	11	651	12	18	8
Islamophobia	134	4	118	3	272	5	194	3	272	5	278	5	2	2
Anti-Semitism	252	8	206	6	159	3	250	4	161	3	194	4	20	22
Christianophobia	..	..	..	..	161	3	134	2	97	2	162	3	67	1
Other religions	..	..	..	..	10	0	13	0	22	0	17	0	-23	70
Homophobia, biphobia, heterophobia	684	21	723	20	1 055	18	1 060	18	770	15	854	16	11	-19
Homophobia	684	21	723	20	1 046	18	1 039	18	749	15	839	15	12	-20
Transphobia	..	..	..	..	14	0	30	1	31	1	52	1	68	271
In total	3 259	100	3 536	100	5 895	100	5 797	100	5 139	100	5 493	100	7	-7

.. = Information unavailable.

* Includes both majority against Afro-Swede and minority against Afro-Swede.

**Includes both majority against Roma and minority against Roma.