

SUMMARY

Hate crimes 2010

*Statistics relating to offences reported to the police
with an identified hate crime motive*

Hate crimes 2010

Statistics relating to offences reported to the police
with an identified hate crime motive

A summary of report 2011:8

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.

This is a summary of the Swedish report *Hatbrott 2010. Statistik över polisanmälda brott med identifierade hatbrottsmotiv*, report No. 2011:8 which can be ordered from Fritzes Kundservice, 106 47 Stockholm. Phone +46 (0) 8-690 91 90, fax +46 (0) 8-690 91 91, e-mail order.fritzes@nj.se. This summary can be downloaded from www.bra.se

Production:
The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå)
Information and Publications Division
Box 1386, SE-111 93 Stockholm, Sweden
Phone +46 (0) 8-401 87 00, fax +46 (0) 8-411 90 75
E-mail: info@bra.se
Brå on the Internet www.bra.se
Authors: Klara Klingspor, Anna Frenzel
© 2011 Brottsförebyggande rådet (Brå)

Contents

List of tables and figures	5
Tables.....	5
Figures.....	5
Foreword	7
Introduction	8
Method	11
Definitions and assessment criteria	11
Collection and processing.....	13
Accounting for the results.....	14
Reliability	20
Comparisons	21
Special study of reports which are marked as hate crimes in RAR 2010	23
Hate crime – all motives	26
Level and development	26
Scene of the crime.....	28
Relationship	29
Hate crimes cleared up	30
Xenophobic/racist hate crimes	31
Self-reported exposure to xenophobic hate crimes (the Swedish Crime Survey).....	32
Afrophobic hate crimes.....	34
Anti-Roma hate crimes	34
Islamophobic, anti-Semitic and other antireligious hate crimes	36
Homophobic, biphobic and heterophobic hate crimes	38
Self-reported exposure to homophobic hate crimes (the Swedish Crime Survey).....	39
Transphobic hate crimes	41
Level.....	41
White power ideology motivated hate crimes	43
Level and development	43
Links to organisations	44
Complainants	45
Suspected persons	46
Previous criminal convictions	47

Regional distribution	48
Counties	48
Large cities	49
Regional analysis of reports marked as hate crime in RAR.....	50
Future possibilities	51
References.....	56

List of tables and figures

Tables

Table 1. Number and proportion of reports with hate crime motives according to the nature of contact, 2010.	28
Table 2. Number and proportion of reports with hate crime motives according to the relationship between perpetrator and victim, 2010.....	29
Table 3. Number and proportion of cleared up hate crime reports, according to principal offence, reported in 2009 and cleared up during the period January 2009–March 2011.....	30
Table 4. Exposure among the population (16–79 years) to hate crimes motivated by xenophobia according to the crime category and estimated number of events and proportion of events reported to the police in 2009 according to the Swedish Crime Survey (SCS) 2010.....	32
Table 5. Exposure among the population (16–79 years) to hate crimes motivated by homophobia according to the crime category and estimated number of events and proportion of events reported to the police in 2009 according to the Swedish Crime Survey (SCS) 2010.....	39

Figures

Figure 1. Number of reports with hate crime motives, 2001–2010	26
Figure 2. Proportion of reports with hate crime motives according to the principal offence category, 2010	27
Figure 3. Proportion of reports with hate crime motives according to the scene of the crime, 2010.....	29

Foreword

A boy is called “nigger” by a schoolmate and a woman is subjected to a hate crime by an unknown person calling her a “disgusting dyke” on the bus. These are examples of events from the hate crime statistics for 2010.

Hate crime statistics can be used to study the scope and development of hate crimes *reported* in Sweden, among other things, which, in turn, may be of assistance in decisions about measures to prevent and counteract criminality of this kind.

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 small changes have also been introduced for this year’s hate crime report. One thing that is new for this year’s report is that Brå provides a more extensive presentation of reported hate crimes at a more detailed geographical level, by means of separate presentations for certain municipalities. In addition, age and gender distributions are presented for the first time for persons reporting exposure to xenophobic and homophobic hate crimes in the Swedish Crime Survey (SCS).

The authors of the report are Klara Klingspor and Anna Frenzel, both statisticians/researchers at Brå. Martin Geisler, Rima Melle and Jonas Norin Östin has also contributed. Many thanks to contacts and researchers at all county police authorities, who have been of great assistance with the work.

Stockholm, June 2011

Jan Andersson
Director-General

Erik Grevholm
Head of Division

Introduction

In the middle of the 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 injure 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 a hate crime?

A hate crime is not a new phenomenon but, rather, a new concept.³ Within research as a whole, however, it has been pointed out that there is no accepted definition of hate crime and there is a great variation between different countries.⁴ A definition of hate crime can, for instance, include crimes aimed at people because of their ethnicity, functional impairment, homelessness, sex, cross-gender identity or expression, religious affiliation, political affiliation, sexual orientation, age or similar.⁵ Some countries do not keep statistics for hate crime, while other countries report only statistics for one or several hate crime motives.⁶ In Sweden, hate crimes motivated by xenophobia/racism, antireligion (Islamophobia, anti-Semitism or other antireligious motives), homophobia, biphobia, heterophobia and transphobia are accounted for. Although there is some disagreements on what should be included in the term hate crime, there is international agreement that the event is a result of a lack of respect for human rights and the equal value of people. A single hate crime has the power to injure twice, it creates insecurity and fear in the victim, as well as in the group to

¹ Säkerhetspolisen (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).

⁶ For further information, see ODIHR (2010), for instance.

which the person belongs.⁷ For the individual, the crime may entail an attack against his or her identity and dignity.⁸

Work against hate crime in Sweden

Since the mid 1990s, the government and the judicial system's authorities have worked to promote the work against hate crime. In recent years, more attention has been paid to hate crime, not just by the government and the judicial system. Not only have the police authorities around the country implemented efforts to increase knowledge about hate crime, various organisations and associations have taken initiatives to illustrate the issue of hate crime.⁹ To mention just a few examples in recent years, projects have been undertaken from local to national levels by the Crime Victim Compensation and Support Authority (Brottsofffermyndigheten), the Crime Victims Hotline at the Swedish Federation for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Rights (RFSL – Riksförbundet för homosexuellas, bisexuellas och transpersoners rättigheter), the Swedish Youth Federation for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Rights (RFSL ungdom), the United Nations Association of Sweden (Svenska FN-förbundet), the Anti-Discrimination Bureau in Uppsala (Diskrimineringsbyrån i Uppsala) and the Roma International Association. These organisations have worked to encourage vulnerable groups to report hate crimes and discrimination. They have also spread information by means of theme days and have actively worked to influence decision makers and those in power.

Aim of and information in the report

This report presents a sample of the results from hate crime statistics for 2010. The aim of the statistics is to provide information about the level, development and structure of reports to the police with regard to various hate crime motives. Another aim is to contribute knowledge to the research being carried out in the area and to assist the judicial system with background material for following up the measures taken in accordance with the national action plan. Hate crime statistics also constitute further background material that, together with other studies and research, can provide a better picture of what the situation is in relation to hate crime in Sweden. The report is aimed at all who wish to know more about hate crime, namely the government, parliament and the judicial system, as well as the general public, interest organisations, the media and researchers.

The report can provide answers to questions such as:

- What is the most common motive?
- What can be said about the level and development of hate crimes?
- What are the methods of the crimes?
- Where are the scenes of the crimes located?
- What is the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim?

⁷ Gerstenfeld (2003, p. 18).

⁸ Ombudsmannen mot diskriminering på grund av sexuell läggning, HomO (2008, p. 9).

⁹ The section mentions some examples of actors.

The report is primarily a statistical summary of the crimes reported to the police and which have been identified as hate crimes. As in previous years, and in order to further illustrate how hate crimes can manifest themselves, examples are included from the narratives found in the reports made to the police.¹⁰ Some are more typical than others, and the aim is to spotlight the variation in different types of hate crime. The examples have also been abbreviated, and thus that citations do not present all of the information contained in the police reports.

¹⁰ In all examples, names and locations have been changed in order to disguise authentic cases.

Method

Hate crimes are not a type of crime that is expressly regulated in regulations of their own in the Penal Code. Nor are there any special crime codes for hate crimes in the police's system for registering crimes. However, in 2008, a field was introduced into RAR¹¹ to mark whether the crime is a suspected hate crime or not.¹² Below follows a description of how hate crime is defined and how the assessment of whether a hate crime has been committed is carried out.

Definitions and assessment criteria

The hate crimes described in this report are based on the victim's feelings about the perpetrator's motive for his/her deeds. Such criminality includes crimes based on the perpetrator's motive as:

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

These are the characteristics that form the basis for the identification of hate crimes.

The definition of hate crime in the statistics changed in 2008

Brå has been assigned to further develop hate crime statistics. The view of what a typical hate crime is affected by how hate crime is defined and

¹¹ Rationell anmälningsrutin (Rational Reporting Routine, RAR) is the police's computerised system for recording a report.

¹² The marking, which was introduced at police authorities nationwide, is mandatory and means that the report recorder must answer the question of whether the crime in question is a suspected hate crime or not.

construed as a concept. In 2008, the definition of who can become subject to and be the perpetrator of a hate crime changed. The definition is only 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 the group that is subjected to the crime. Persons representing the group or issues surrounding hate crime, such as journalists or politicians, can also be subjected. This agrees with how the legislation in the area, that is the rule of increased severity of punishment¹³ in the Penal Code, is worded.

Determination of whether a report includes a hate crime motive

When a report to the police is assessed, several different criteria are used by Brå to determine a hate crime motive. The assessment is based on *all the information* available in the narrative of the report to the police. Basing the assessment of the narrative text in the report to the police means that it is primarily based on the victim's experience of the actual event. Apart from *the victim's narrative*, the information on which the assessment is based may be:

- *The perpetrators statements, whether oral or written.* This can, for instance, consist of the perpetrator shouting “disgusting lesbo” to the victim at the crime event.
- *Information via related reports to the police.* Sometimes a victim or perpetrator is mentioned in several reports. This may then be noted in the narrative in question.
- *Contacts with contact persons or investigators.* Some cases may be difficult to assess at the first examination, 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 police authority in the county, further information can be gathered.
- *Media.* In some cases, the media have drawn attention to hate crimes and this information may be used in the assessment.
- *The name of a victim or perpetrator* is used to assess the origin of the perpetrator or victim.
- *Description.* The perpetrator is described as Swedish, as a skinhead, as a foreigner, etc.

Several motives – the most prominent is selected

The motive is not always easy to assess; a report of a crime can include several possible hate crime motives. In these cases, the guideline has been to choose the most *prominent* motive and therefore to choose *one*. For instance, one example is when a person is defamed with invectives relating to both sexual orientation and transgender identity with expressions such as “fucking fag, fucking whore, fucking bitch, fucking tranny”. The example above could be characterised as transphobic, as the use of the word “tranny” in combination with “fucking whore” and “fucking bitch”

¹³ Rule of increased severity of punishment, BrB, 29, Ch. 2, Cl. 7.

¹⁴ The police authorities have themselves appointed the contact persons with Brå.

strengthens the transphobic motive. If several motives are equally prominent, the motive is determined at random.

Collection and processing

The method for identifying hate crime is based on searches and the examination of the narrative text included in the reports to the police. From 2008, the method changed to also include an examination of those reports marked by the police as hate crimes in RAR. When interpreting the statistics, the following should be taken into consideration:

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

Several data collection methods in hate crime statistics

In order to capture hate crime reports, three data collection methods are used.

- The first method consists of a search of reports covering the crimes in the following categories: violent crime, unlawful threats and molestation, insult, agitation against ethnic or national group, 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 in reports relating to, for instance, drugs crime, muggings and sexual crimes. In total, around 400,000 reports were searched in 2010. For these types of crime there is a searchable word list consisting of 374 words, and, once the search is complete, around 33,000 reports were registered as hits. These reports are then examined and coded manually.
- The second method consists of a total investigation of all reports relating to unlawful discrimination and agitation against ethnic or national group made during the calendar year. This means that reports of this type of crime not captured via the first method are examined. This resulted in a sample of around 720 reports of agi-

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

¹⁶ One of the types of crime that is not included in the sample is mugging. However, it may happen that reports searched refer to other reports, which may constitute hate crimes, and in this way some other types of crime that are not included may appear in the hate crime statistics. By expanding the sample of reports marked as hate crimes in RAR, types of crime that were previously excluded may now be included in the statistics.

tation against ethnic or national group and around 230 reports of unlawful discrimination, which were examined and coded.¹⁷

- The third method consists of all reports classified as suspected hate crime by the police authorities during the calendar year. As all crimes can be marked as suspected hate crime, the sample is based on a review of all types of crime marked. From the approximately 1.4 million crimes reported during 2010, the marking resulted in a sample size of around 7,060 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 by these methods. After matching these against Brå's hate crime statistics, around 4,550 reports were identified and then examined and coded manually.

Searchable word list

In 2006, Brå developed its own support system for searching, coding and examining hate crime reports. For searching reports for the first two methods, a searchable word list is used. The automated search for words and terms included in the searchable word list means that those reports that include words from the searchable word list are tagged. The reports identified using the search of their narrative texts are then examined and assessed. The searchable word list for 2010 has been updated and augmented by 6 new terms and now contains 374 terms. The search terms in the list, which are commonly used insulting and derogatory words are primarily based on experience from the work on the statistics in previous years. Suggestions for new search terms come, among other things, from reading crime reports, monitoring the world as reported by the media and contacts with target groups.

Manual examination and coding of the hate crimes reported

The reports identified using the three data collection methods are examined manually. As a first step, an assessment is made of whether the information in the report and its narrative text can be identified as a hate crime, suspected hate crime or not a hate crime. When the assessment of the identified hate crime reports is complete, manual coding of a number of variables, as described below, is carried out.

Accounting for the results

Accounting units and variables

In the results section, each hate crime motive will be presented in separate sections. Hate crime statistics are based on crimes reported, and also shows information about persons subjected to hate crimes and suspected persons. The *accounting units* presented are:

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

- reports received
- reports cleared up
- persons subjected to hate crime (information from the Swedish Crime Survey (SCS))
- complainant
- suspected persons.

Information about the groups accounted for is presented on the basis of a number of variables describing the crime reported. In the yearbook, the *variables* presented are:

- principal offence
- motive
- subordinate motive
- whether the crime is motivated by white power ideology or linked to an organisation
- method
- location
- relationship between perpetrator and victim
- gender and age of the victim and suspected person
- regional distribution.

When reading the report, it is important to remember that many of the accounts include figures that are low. As a result, the percentage change can be very large from year to year. It is, therefore, not unusual to have differences of 30 per cent or more. For reasons of confidentiality, it is not always possible to show all units or variables separately in the account.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 with a cross. However, some low figures can be accounted for – if, for example, the assessment is that no single individual can be identified.

Reports of crimes received

The number of reports received is the number that the police, in particular, but also other hate crime investigating authorities, have registered in their case systems during a calendar year. However, the crimes may have been committed in previous years. The yearbook reports the majority of the statistics under the heading *Reports*, and the reporting is carried out according to principal offence (see below). Only reports of crimes committed in Sweden are reported in the statistics.

Reported crimes cleared up

The number of reports cleared up is a measure of the handling of the reports by the police, prosecutors and other crime investigating authorities. The concept “cleared up” is one used by the police and means that a report of crime has been cleared up, either by a person being linked to the crime or by another method. The account is based on the decisions made

¹⁸ In accordance with the Personal Information Act (1998:204) and Clause 9:4 of the Secrecy Act (1980:100).

in relation to the principal offence in the report and which has been assessed as being a hate crime. This account is based on how the reports registered in 2009 have been cleared up on the basis of final reporting information from police and prosecutors by 31 March 2011.¹⁹ Crimes cleared up are accounted for in two categories:

- *Personally cleared up* hate crime means that a person has been tied to the crime.
- *Technically cleared up* hate crimes mean, for example that:
 - it cannot be *proved that a crime has been committed*
 - the *deed reported is not deemed to be a crime*
 - the *person suspected is a minor* (less than 15 years old) and under the age of criminal responsibility
 - *otherwise technically cleared up*, means, for instance, that an accusation is lacking or has been retracted.

This section also shows the proportion of the 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*
- *other, not cleared up*, meaning that, for instance, there is no person suspected of the hate crime committed.

Persons subjected to hate crime (information from the SCS)

In the sections with xenophobic/racist hate crimes and homophobic, bi-phobic and heterophobic hate crimes, the results from the Swedish Crime Survey in 2010 are presented. In 2005, Brå was commissioned by the government to carry out an annually recurring 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 2010 study, around 71 per cent responded.²¹ Exposure to 10 different types of crime and the category "other crime" were investigated. For four of these crime categories – muggings, assaults, threats and harassment,²² follow-up questions were asked including whether the victim felt that there was anything xenophobic or homophobic about the motive for the event.²³

¹⁹ Because crimes are not always cleared up in the same year that they are reported, hate crime reports from 2009 have been followed up for this report. Only three per cent of all reported hate crimes from 2009 were still under investigation by 31 March 2011.

²⁰ Brå (2011a).

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 directed at a large, random sample of the population. Those who responded to the postal survey were not asked any follow-up question about crimes and could therefore not answer questions relating to exposure to hate crime.

²² Ibid., p. 44). Harassment refers to a series of events. Each series is counted as one harassment event. However, the Penal Code does not classify harassment as a crime type of its own, but, for instance, threats, molestation and unlawful entry to a person's premises can be classified according to the current crime classification.

²³ Brå (2011b, p. 44).

Complainants (gross for the year)²⁴

A report may include one or several complainants. If a person is a complainant on several occasions during one year, the person is accounted for as a complainant on each reporting occasion. In most cases, the complainant is the person subjected to the hate crime. However, in some cases, a person other than the person subjected to the crime may be the complainant, for instance if a parent reports a crime on behalf of his/her child.

Suspected persons (net for the year)²⁵

The number of suspected persons accounted for are all of those individuals who, at *some stage of the investigation*, are considered as reasonably suspected, irrespective of whether or not the suspicion of a crime remains after completion of the investigation. Also included are persons who are legally incompetent and *minors* (under 15 years old).

Previous criminal history of suspected persons (gross for the year)²⁶

Legal proceedings (during 2000–2009) against suspected persons of hate crimes in 2010 are grouped in relation to whether the persons have been prosecuted before and, if so, how many times. When several persons are included in the same legal proceedings, each individual person is counted as one unit in the statistics. One person who has been *suspected of several crimes* during one year is only accounted for as one person in the statistics of suspected persons, as opposed to one person who has been *prosecuted on several occasions* during one year who is accounted for as one person for each occasion prosecuted. The number of crimes a person has been found guilty of is partly dependent on the age of the person.

Principal offence

For each hate crime reported, one principal offence is selected and then accounted for. A principal offence here means the crime in the report that has the most severe scale of punishment and where the motive has been assessed to be relevant for this mapping. Apart from the number of hate crimes naturally becoming slightly lower when only the principal offence is coded, the effect is that less serious crime tends to be underestimated. In addition to the principal offence, subsidiary offences assessed as being hate crimes are also coded. However, subsidiary offences are not accounted for in this report. In 2010, 1,600 subsidiary offences were identified, meaning that just less than 6,740 crimes were identified in total. The most common subsidiary offence was unlawful threats and molestation (45 per cent of all subsidiary offences), followed by insult (24 per cent).

²⁴ The person was counted several times in the statistics, so-called gross reporting. The reason for this was the lack of personal ID numbers for complainants.

²⁵ Suspected persons are only accounted for once per type of crime and year, even if they are suspected of several crimes of the same type during the year.

²⁶ The person is then counted several times in the statistics, so-called gross accounting.

Motive

A report may include several hate crime motives. In these cases, the guideline has been to choose the most *prominent* motive and thus to choose *one*. The motives considered to be behind the crime have been divided up into the following exclusive categories:

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

Subordinate motive

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

- Afrophobic hate crime
- anti-Roma hate crime.

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

Hate crime reports are divided up into the two following categories:

- Reports where an expressed/visible white power ideology motive is lacking.
- 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 the Svenska Motståndsrörelsen/Nationell Ungdom, Svenskarnas parti and other groups.

Method of the crimes

This category describes the method of the crime. The sections showing results also have a more general classification into three categories, in order to link similar groups. Methods are divided up as follows:

Physical contact

1. *Directly against a person, physical contact*

Vicinity

2. *Directly against a person, vicinity*

Distance

3. *General graffiti*
4. *Internet*
5. *Media*
6. *Postal letter*
7. *SMS text message*

8. *Telephonelfax*
9. *Other.*

Location

Location describes the place where the crime took place. Location is divided up into 12 groups, as follows:

1. *Workplace*
2. *Home*
3. *Internet*
4. *Public transport*
5. *Place of entertainment*
6. *Religious location*
7. *School*
8. *Media*
9. *SMS text message*
10. *Public location*
11. *Other locations*
12. *No information.*

Relationship between perpetrator and victim

The category “relationship” describes the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim. The sections showing results also have a more general classification into three categories, in order to link similar groups. Relationship is divided up as follows:

Close persons

1. *Spouse/partner/cohabitee*
2. *Former partner*
3. *Family member*
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*

No information

12. *No information.*

Gender and age

In the sections “*Complainants*” and “*Suspected persons*”, information about gender and age will be presented based on the following age categories:

- <14
- 15–19
- 20–39

- 40–54
- 55>

Regional distribution

In this year's report, reported hate crimes are presented at the level of the county and also at the level of the municipality for those municipalities where at least four offence reports involving hate crimes have been identified.

Reliability

A first precondition for a crime to be included in the statistics for hate crime is that the event has become known to the police. The propensity to report a crime varies depending on the type of crime and over time. On the basis of previous studies, it has been found that the relationship between actual and reported criminality, the so-called unknown quantity, is large for hate crime.²⁷ The propensity to report may also vary between the different groups subjected to the crime, for instance, the trust in the judicial system may vary and influence whether the victims report crimes to the police.²⁸ In order for a crime to be identified and assessed as a hate crime in the statistics, it is necessary that:

- the crime is labelled in accordance with Brå's crime code selection
- the police register relevant information in the narrative text of the report
- the narrative text includes words found on the list of search words or the event is marked as a suspected hate crime in RAR
- the coder interprets and assesses the event as a hate crime.

The results of the hate crime statistics are thus a result of a selection process where different categories must be fulfilled in order for a reported event to be identified (some of the criteria are described in more detail below) as a hate crime. 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 samples

As previously mentioned, the hate crime statistics are based on a number of data collection methods. Only reports of certain types of crime are included in the study. For this reason, the event must be labelled with one of the crimes included in the sample in order for it to be included in the search. It is also important that the narrative text shows why the report is marked as a hate crime, in order for it to be labelled a hate crime.

²⁷ See, for instance, Forum för levande historia (2006). For a more detailed description of these concepts, see Brå (2006, p. 66f).

²⁸ Brå (2011a, p. 23).

The importance of the police registering relevant information in the 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 event is described in detail, by explaining the hate crime motive found, it is more probable that the report is included than if the description is too general.

The narrative text includes words on the searchable list

A searchable word list has been used to read the narrative text by computer, 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. When it comes to the crime categories unlawful discrimination and agitation against ethnic or national group, *all* reports 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 a correct assessment

The assessment of the coder of the report is of central importance for the outcome. Most reports are not assessed as hate crimes. In order to achieve reports that are as reliable as possible, they have to be examined several times by different persons, according to clear guidelines.

Comparisons

The following section accounts for the comparisons between different years and with other relevant statistics.²⁹ When studying the development of hate crime, or comparing with other statistics, it is important to consider the following information in order to know what conclusions can be drawn, for instance about increases or decreases in the hate crime statistics.

Development over time

- In 2008, Brå carried out a large-scale change of the definitions of what constitutes a hate crime in the hate crime statistics. The definition was changed to also cover xenophobic/racist hate crimes between minorities and against the majority, other antireligious hate crimes, biphobic hate crimes, heterophobic hate crimes and transphobic hate crimes. It is Brå's view that, because of the change in definition, it is not possible to directly compare the levels for all hate crimes and xenophobic/racist hate crimes with previous years. When it comes to 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 sig-

²⁹ For year-on-year comparisons with previous years, please see the Brå report (2008) Hate crimes 2007. English summary of Brå report No. 2008:15, p. 18–19.

nificance 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 or not has been used as a method of data collection. The increased sample has had a lesser effect on the number of identified hate crimes and is therefore of less significance for the opportunities for comparisons between years.

Comparisons between the SCS and hate crime statistics

In general, the number of events motivated by hate crime that are said to be reported in the Swedish Crime Survey is greater than the number shown in the hate crime statistics. This may be because subjected respondents to the SCS 2010 think that the crime has been reported to the police (if they have been in contact with the police), although this is not the case. There is a risk of both over and under-reporting of the number of criminal acts.³⁰ Events may be recorded 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, as the study does, there may be a risk that the victim does not want to talk about the events. It may also be the case that the person asked thinks it is socially desirable to state that a hate crime has been reported to the police. It may also be that the victim feels that the act was a hate crime, but that it is not defined as such according to the hate crime statistics.³¹

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 for crimes reported account for all crimes in the report.

Nor are the suspected persons in these reports comparable to suspected persons in official statistics. The definitions differ in that, in official statistics, suspected persons means that the suspicion of a crime remains after the prosecutor has completed the investigation. In this report, all persons who, at some stage, have been regarded as suspected of a hate crime are included. Furthermore, this account includes suspected persons under the age of 15, who are not included in official statistics.

Since 2007, information about hate crime reports cleared up is also included. This information cannot be compared with official statistics for crimes cleared up either. In official statistics, all clearing up decisions made during 2010, for example, are accounted for whether the crime was reported the same year or during a previous year. Hate crime statistics for 2010 only account for decisions relating to hate crimes reported during 2009.

³⁰ Brå (2011b, p. 19).

³¹ See also Brå (ibid., p. 44). One example is if a person is subjected to a hate crime because of functional impairment.

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 reports which are marked as hate crimes in RAR 2010

In order to assess the quality of the hate crime marking, and to assess whether the information should be included in the hate crime statistics, Brå carry out an annual quality study of the RAR marking. A brief description of the method of the study and the results follows.

Method of RAR study

All reports marked as suspected hate crimes by the police authorities in 2010 were ordered from the National Swedish Police Board (RPS). 7,062 reports were marked as hate crimes. Preliminary hate crime statistics, containing around 5,140 reported hate crimes, were then matched against data from the police authorities, in order to see where the assessment had matched and where it has differed.

For the reports where only the police authorities made the assessment that the report has a suspected hate crime motive, the information in the narrative text was examined manually. The assessment of whether the report constitutes a hate crime or not was made on the basis of *all the information in the narrative text*. The reports have been identified as hate crime, suspected hate crime or not hate crime. For the reports with a suspected hate crime motive, the investigator at the police station who was responsible for the report was contacted.

Results of the RAR study

The study shows that in 2010 a total of 7,062 offence reports were marked as suspected hate crimes by the police authorities. By comparison with the preceding year, this represents a decline of seventeen percent. Nine reports had been registered but then subsequently withdrawn.³² One result shows that:

- 2,566 of the offence reports marked by the police have also been identified as hate crimes in the statistics produced by Brå.

A manual review of the offence descriptions in those reports that the police had marked as suspected hate crimes (4,496 offence reports) but which had not identified as hate crimes in the statistics produced by Brå shows that:

- 4,268 reports (95 per cent) were not hate crimes in accordance with Brå's definition.
- 179 reports (4 per cent) were hate crimes.

³² These may involve offence reports that Brå has not received. These have not been included in the categorisation of the material.

- 49 reports (1 per cent) were suspected hate crimes (of which 14 offence reports were assessed to constitute hate crimes, while 35 offence reports were judged not to constitute hate crimes once the investigating officers at the police had been contacted).

This means that Brå has not been able to identify a hate crime motive in the majority (4,303) of the offence reports marked as suspected hate crimes by the police.

Criminality, bordering on hate crime, marked as hate crime

One trend that emerged from the examination was that the police authorities choose to mark reports bordering on hate criminality but which, in accordance with Brå's definition of hate crime, did not fall into this area. These are reports concerning honour-related criminality, animal activism and the autonomous movement, white power environments where there is no hate crime motive and crimes committed towards persons in authority (police officers, for instance). In a number of cases, reports have also been marked because one person "hates" another, without a hate crime motive being identified.

The RAR marking captures reports missed by the hate crime statistics samples

Although there are failings in the way the police use the marking and there are some differences in the definition, aim and area of use, 5 per cent of the reports were identified as suspected or actual hate crimes.³³ This means that Brå's method does not capture *all* relevant hits with the current sampling method for hate crime statistics. One explanation is that the RAR marking is used for all reported crimes, while the hate crime statistics are based on a sample of types of crime.³⁴ Two crime categories where reports are not captured through Brå's current method are robbery and theft.

A common definition of hate crime within the police authorities as a measure for improving quality

To summarise the study of reports marked as 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 using Brå's method. A number of measures have therefore been taken to raise the quality of future statistics over hate crime, among them by including new search words.

³³ For the reports with suspected hate crimes, the investigators at the police authorities were contacted. Through further information, 14 (29 per cent) of the reports have been identified as hate crime, while 35 (71 per cent) were identified as not being hate crimes.

³⁴ One explanation for why the majority of reports examined cannot be identified as hate crime when reading the narrative text in RAR is that the knowledge of hate crime of individual police officers plays a part.

However, Brå's study indicates that the main reason seems to be that many of the police reports are marked incorrectly; anything from theft to drug offences has been marked as hate crime by the police.

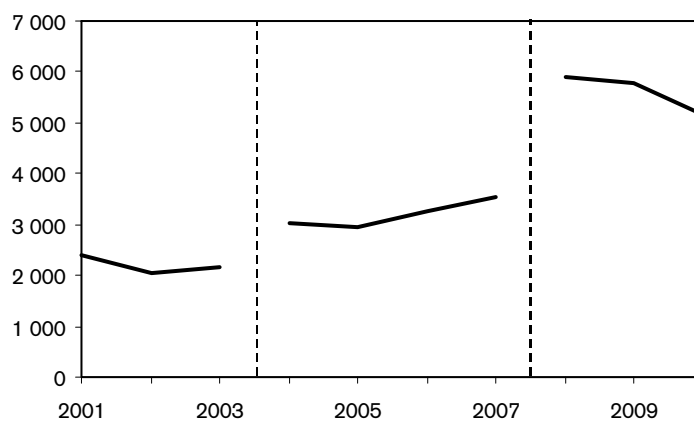
What is defined as hate crime also differs between different police authorities; it would therefore be desirable if the police could agree on a common definition. In the long term, a common definition of hate crime would provide for better quality in the incidents marked as hate crime and could thereby mean that the police would have the possibility of using the marking for compiling hate crime statistics that can be compared with those of other police authorities – something that is impossible today because each police authority has its own way of counting and defining hate crime.

Hate crime – all motives

Level and development

Figure 1 illustrates the development of the number of reports relating to all hate crime motives for the years 2001–2010. In 2010, just less than 5,140 reports to the police were assessed as hate crimes. As the definition of what constitutes a hate crime changed in 2008, the number of hate crimes is comparable to 2008 and 2009, but not the years before that.

Figure 1. Number of reports with hate crime motives, 2001–2010.



* Breaks in the timeline mark when method changes occurred.

Between 2008 and 2009 there were a slight decline in the number of offence reports, from 5,900 reports to slightly less than 5,800 reports. The decline has then continued in 2010 to just under 5,140 offence reports.

It is not possible to compare the number of hate crimes reported in 2001–2007 with the hate crimes reported in 2008–2010. Since 2001, several changes have been introduced which affect the comparisons between the statistics. In 2004, the Security Service introduced a new method for

gathering information from the narratives of reports to the police,³⁵ this meant that more reports of statistical relevance could be identified. Apart from the change in methodology, the definition of hate crime motivated by xenophobia has changed. Another thing that may have affected the statistics is that a new motive was introduced in 2006, Islamophobia. The introduction of this motive resulted in a slight increase in the number of reports. However, the effect of this on hate crime overall is relatively small, as there are relatively few reports of Islamophobia.

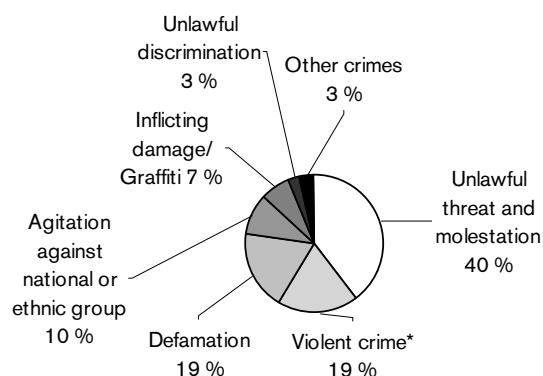
Hate crimes motivated by xenophobia/racism are most common

The description of all hate crime is affected by certain motives being more prominent than others – hate crimes motivated by xenophobia/racism (74 per cent) is the single largest category, which, to a great extent, affects the general picture. In 15 per cent of reports, a homophobic, biphobic or heterophobic motive was identified. Antireligious hate crimes (Islamophobic, anti-Semitic and other antireligious hate crimes) represent slightly more than one tenth of the reports. The smallest category, transphobia (1 per cent) has no great effect on the general picture, which should be kept in mind when interpreting this section.

Unlawful threats and molestation is the most common type of crime

The single most common type of crime (principal offence) in reports of hate crime in 2010 was unlawful threats and molestation (2,020 reports), followed by violent crime (around 960 reports) and defamation (slightly less than 950 reports). The number of reports including agitation against ethnic or national group was just more than 500, and the number of reports including unlawful discrimination was 150.

Figure 2. Proportion of reports with hate crime motives according to the principal offence category, 2010 (5,139 reports).



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

³⁵ Säkerhetspolisen (2005, p. 24).

Table 1. Number and proportion of reports with hate crime motives according to the nature of the contact, 2010.

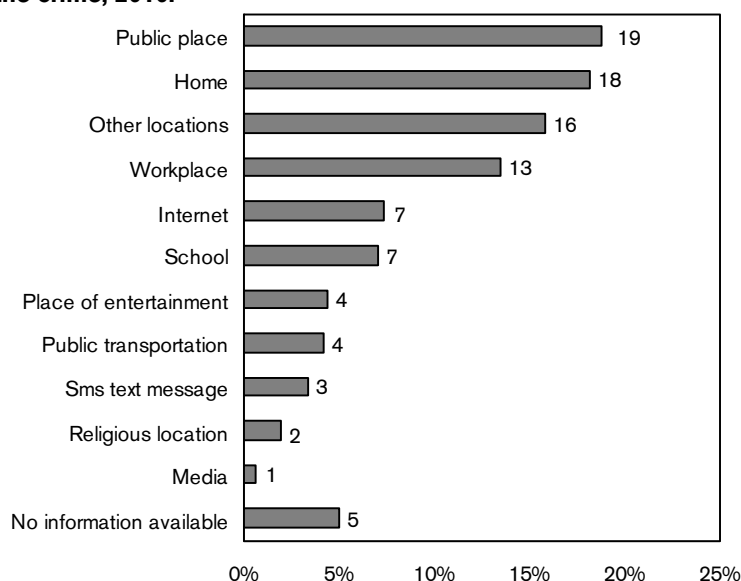
Method	Number	%
Direct against person, physical contact	988	19
Direct against person, vicinity	2,692	52
Distance	1,459	28
General graffiti	193	4
Internet	375	7
Media	34	1
Postal letter	195	4
SMS text message	175	3
Telephone/fax	271	5
Other	216	4
Total	5,139	100

Scene of the crime

Many different everyday locations

There is no characteristic crime scene for hate crime; instead, hate crime occurs in all sorts of places used by people in everyday life. Two common locations are locations where the victim works (13 per cent) and lives (18 per cent). It is even more common to be exposed where the victim moves about outside, such as streets, markets and in parks (19 per cent). This distribution can also be seen from the fact that *other places* is the location for just over one sixth of hate crimes reported. These are places where the victim might be shopping, exercising or having a cup of coffee. The distribution of offence locations has changed somewhat between 2009 and 2010. Public places and the internet have become more common crime locations, while schools and other locations have become less common.

Figure 3. Proportion of reports with hate crime motives according to the scene of the crime, 2010.



Relationship

Unknown perpetrator is the most common

In more than half of all reports of hate crime, the perpetrator is *unknown* to the victim. In just less than one third of cases, the perpetrator is a *distant acquaintance*, which includes a neighbour, school friend, colleague or a person or group known by name or appearance to the victim. Only in 6 per cent of cases is the perpetrator someone close, such as a family member, friend or ex-partner.

Table 2. Number and proportion of reports with hate crime motives according to the relationship between perpetrator and victim, 2010.

Relationship	Number	%
Close relationship	307	6
Spouse/partner/cohabite	14	0
Former partner	74	1
Family	48	1
Friends/acquaintances	171	3
Distance acquaintance	1,440	28
Neighbour	502	10
Colleague	67	1
Known person/group	613	12
School friend	258	5
Unknown	2,839	55
Customer/client	487	9
Service sector employees	531	10
Unknown person	1,821	35
No information available	553	11
Total	5,139	100

Hate crimes cleared up

The concept “cleared up” is a police expression and means either that a person has been linked to the crime through a decision to prosecute, order of summary punishment or waiver of prosecution, or that the crime has been cleared up in some other way. A crime is regarded as cleared up even if the accused is freed at a later stage in a trial. The account is based on the decisions made in relation to the principal offence in the report and which has been assessed as being a hate crime.

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

In March 2011, 69 per cent of all reports (principal offences) from 2009 with hate crime motives had been cleared up. 8 per cent of the reports were *personally cleared up*, of which the majority occurred through a decision to prosecute. When comparing different hate crime motives, it emerges that personal clearing up is lowest among Islamophobic hate crimes (5 per cent) and other antireligious hate crimes (4 per cent) and slightly higher than average among anti-Semitic hate crimes (9 per cent). 61 per cent of the reports were cleared up *technically*, which means that a crime could not be confirmed.

Table 3. Number and proportion of cleared up hate crime reports, according to principal offence, reported in 2009 and cleared up during the period January 2009–March 2011.

Type of decision	Number	%
Personally cleared up	440	8
Decision to prosecute	414	7
Order of summary punishment	14	0
Waiver of prosecution	12	0
Technically cleared up	3,541	61
Suspects under 15	233	4
Crime cannot be confirmed	922	16
Deed is not a crime	105	2
Other technically cleared up	2,281	39
Not cleared up	1,816	31
Under investigation	174	3
Other not cleared up	1,642	28
Total	5,797	100

Xenophobic/racist hate crimes

Hate crimes motivated by xenophobia/racism³⁶ can take many forms. They can be anything from events that later turn out not to be criminal to serious crimes of violence. It may be a question of vandalism of refugee camps, damage to cars, insult to and harassment of persons because of their actual, or perceived (by the suspect), foreign or Swedish origin. Visual identifiability – people’s appearance – is one of the most important criteria for a presumptive perpetrator when it comes to categorising people into groups.

Results in brief

- In 2010, slightly less than 3,790 hate crimes motivated by xenophobia/racism were reported, which is approximately 330 less reported incidents than the previous year.
- Unlawful threats/molestation is the most common xenophobic/racist hate crime (40 per cent).
- The proportion of perpetrators that were customers, clients or service personnel was higher for crimes motivated by xenophobia/racism than it was for other motives.
- The result from SCS 2010 shows that 17 percent of the self-reported exposure to muggings in 2009 was stated to be motivated by xenophobia.

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

The absolute majority (97 per cent) of xenophobic/racist hate crimes in 2010 were committed against minority groups. 84 per cent were committed by majority groups and 13 per cent by other minority groups. Only 3

³⁶ 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.

per cent of reported xenophobic/racist hate crimes were committed against the majority group, which are people with Swedish backgrounds. One example to illustrate xenophobic/racist hate crimes when the type of crime is assault is:

Unknown perpetrator has pushed or knocked the complainant to the ground and has then kicked him at least once in the back of the head. Before he was knocked to the ground, the perpetrator shouted the words “fucking wog” at him several times.

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

In order to get a comprehensive picture of the level of exposure to crime, surveys of self-reported exposure can be used as a complement to the statistics for reported hate crimes. Taken together, many 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 feelings of exposure to around 10 types of crime. The survey also describes the scope of those crimes that citizens are less inclined to report to the police. For the following categories of crime: mugging, assault, threats and harassment, the SCS poses the follow-up question of whether there might have been a xenophobic motive behind the offence.

In total, the results from the SCS 2010 show that 1.5 per cent of the population (16–79 years) of Sweden, which represents approximately 111,000 persons, stated that they had been subjected to hate crime with xenophobic motives during 2009. 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 2010 and the SCS 2009 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 events and proportion of events reported to the police in 2009 according to the Swedish Crime Survey (SCS) 2010.

n=143 (net)	Proportion exposed in %	Estimated No exposed in population	Estimated No of events in population	Proportion of reported events in %
All hate crimes motivated by Xenophobia*	1.5	111,000	211,000	23
<i>Muggings</i>	0.1	9,000	11,000	27
<i>Assault</i>	0.3	21,000	41,000	33
<i>Threats</i>	0.6	46,000	127,000	23
<i>Harassment</i>	0.4	32,000	32,000	14

* In the accounting for all hate crimes, exposed persons are only included once. Thus the total of the accounts of individual types of crime exceeds 1.5 per cent.

Exposure to threats most common for hate crime motivated by xenophobia

According to the Swedish Crime Survey, 1.5 per cent of the population stated that they had been subjected to a xenophobic hate crime in 2009. A xenophobic motive was quoted to the greatest extent by those subjected to threats (0.6 per cent). Being subjected to harassment and assault with xenophobic motives is the next most common, as 0.4 respectively 0.3 per cent stated that they had been subjected to each type of crime in 2009. Exposure to mugging (0.1 per cent) was quoted the least.

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

The number of offences with xenophobic motives in the form of muggings, assaults, threats and harassment is estimated at 211,000 during 2009. Muggings are the crime category where the greatest proportion of all victims states that the motive was xenophobic. Just less than one fifth (17 per cent) of all reported muggings recorded in the SCS were stated as having a xenophobic motive for the mugging.

Of all offences motivated by xenophobia, the type mentioned least was exposure to assault (11 per cent). In-between can be found exposure to harassment and threats, where a xenophobic motive for the crime was given in 12 respectively 13 per cent of cases.

Assault and muggings are reported more often than threats

In the SCS 2010, slightly less than one fourth (23 per cent) of the reported hate crimes motivated by xenophobia were stated to have been reported to the police, which is slightly lower than the propensity to report when compared with the total population, which was around 26 per cent for the four types of crime. The offences said to be reported to the greatest extent, in 33 per cent of the cases, were assaults. Just over one fourth (27 per cent) of muggings were reported to the police. Threats and harassment were reported to the least extent (23 respectively 14 per cent).

More common for males and young people to be exposed to xenophobic hate crimes

In slightly over half (57 per cent) of the xenophobic hate crimes reported in the SCS, the victim is a male. Thus the corresponding proportion of females is 43 per cent. When the focus is directed at the age of those SCS participants who reported having been exposed to xenophobic hate crimes for the years 2008–2010, we find that it is persons aged 16–24 and 25–44 who are victimised most often (37 and 36 per cent of the reported cases respectively). In slightly over one fifth (22 per cent) of the cases, the victim was aged 45–64 years, and in five per cent of cases the victim was aged between 65 and 79.

Afrophobic hate crimes

Afro-Swedes encounter xenophobia/racism in Swedish society because of their ethnic background, skin colour and nationality.³⁷ It can be expressed as graffiti on front doors saying “ape”, defamation by being called “nigger” or being exposed to assault in a market 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 the exposure of Afro-Swedes to hate crime and discrimination is relatively limited. Anybody can become exposed to an Afrophobic crime if the perpetrator concentrates on persons because they believe that they are part of a certain group.³⁸ However, it is only those cases where expressions that insult Afro-Swedes can be separated from other xenophobic/racist hate crimes that are assessed to be 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 in the statistics.

Level and offence structure

In 2010, 818 reports were assessed to contain a primary offence with Afrophobic motive, which represents an increase by 38 incidents since 2009. Unlawful threats and molestation represent 33 per cent of all Afrophobic hate crimes reported, which makes this the most common crime category. Violent crime (25 per cent) and defamation (22 per cent) are the next most common types of crime. The smallest crime category for this motive is unlawful discrimination (3 per cent).

Unlawful threats and molestation

Unlawful threats and molestation with Afrophobic motives can be aimed at persons in public places. This can express itself as follows:

The identified individual has called the complainant a “fucking nigger” and a “meatball”. The identified individual has also told the complainant that she should go back to her native country, that she smells bad and that he hates blacks.

Anti-Roma hate crimes

Romas encounter xenophobia/racism in Swedish society because of their origins. It can be expressed as defamation by being called “gypsy” or by being subjected to unlawful discrimination by being refused entry into a

³⁷ An earlier report, *Experiences of discrimination and racism among young people with African background in Sweden*, mapped different types of racism and discrimination experienced by young people in Sweden (Ombudsman mot etnisk diskriminering, DO, 2007, p. 55).

³⁸ Describing hate crime aimed at Afro-Swedes is not entirely without problems, from a sampling point of view. In Sweden, statistics of the demographic constitution of the population are 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 that persons are part of a certain group, not because of the individuals' own identification with a nation. Thus, persons can be exposed who have parents from, for instance, Africa and Europe, the West Indian region and South America. The common factor is that the skin colour is used as a marker of origin. For a longer discussion, see the Ombudsmannen mot etnisk diskriminering, DO (2007).

shop because of their origins. It is important to consider these hate crimes separately because this group is viewed as especially vulnerable in society. Knowledge about the exposure of Romas to hate crime and discrimination is relatively limited.³⁹ Anyone can become exposed to an anti-Roma hate crime if the perpetrator feels that the victim belongs to this group. However, it is only those cases where there are expressions that insult Romas and that can be separated from other xenophobic/racist hate crimes that are assessed to be 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 as anti-Roma in the statistics.

Level and offence structure

In 2010, 145 reports were identified as having a primary offence with an anti-Roma motive, which represents a reduction by 18 incidents since 2009. Unlawful threats and molestation represent 34 per cent of all anti-Roma hate crimes reported, which makes this the most common crime category. Defamation (21 per cent), unlawful discrimination and violent crime (14 per cent respectively) are the next most common types of crime. Agitation against national or ethnic group is less common (10 per cent).

Unlawful discrimination

Unlawful discrimination with an anti-Roma motive can be aimed against persons and be expressed as follows:

Sonja's mother was in the grocery shop. When she went into the shop, the store owner came up to her and told her she wasn't welcome in the shop. The store owner alleged that Sonja's mother had engaged in shoplifting and called her a "bloody gypsy".

³⁹ One example of research in Sweden is the Equality Ombudsman (DO) who, in 2004, wrote a report about discrimination of Romas in Sweden (Ombudsmannen mot etnisk diskriminering, DO, 2004, p. 1–42).

Islamophobic, anti-Semitic and other antireligious hate crimes

Antireligious hate crime can take many forms. For instance, the suspect may have expressed hostility or hatred against Islam, Judaism or some other religion. It may be a case of vandalism of premises linked to religion, such as mosques, synagogues, churches or cemeteries, but also harassment of persons because of their religious faith. A central focus for antireligious hate crime is, therefore, the disrespect for the victim's religion.

In order for a hate crime to be regarded as antireligious, the victim must belong to (or the perpetrator must think that they belong to) a religion (Islam, Judaism or other religion), and the perpetrator must not belong to the same religion. Apart from Islam and Judaism, which are captured by the Islamophobic and anti-Semitic motives, the motive also includes other religious faiths.

Results in brief

- In 2010, just more than 550 reports with an antireligious motive were identified, which is slightly fewer compared to 2009. Islamophobic hate crimes have increased, whilst anti-Semitic and other antireligious hate crimes have declined.
- Of all reported antireligious hate crimes, 49 per cent were assessed to be Islamophobic, 29 per cent anti-Semitic and 22 per cent other antireligious hate crimes.
- Agitation against ethnic or national group is more common in anti-Semitic and Islamophobic hate crimes, while criminal damage/graffiti is more common in other antireligious hate crimes compared with other hate crimes.
- In total, 50 per cent of the antireligious hate crimes were cleared up. 6 per cent were personally cleared up and the remainder technically cleared up.

For hate crimes where another antireligious motive is identified, it is common for buildings belonging to various religious denominations to be subjected to criminal damage and graffiti, of which one example is:

Someone has smashed three window panes at the Kingdom Hall belonging to the Jehovah's Witnesses. This is the third time the building has been subjected to vandalism in this way.

There are also examples of criminal damage and graffiti to Jewish and Muslim premises. This damage can express itself as follows:

A perpetrator has destroyed a window by throwing stones at the windows of the part of the synagogue where services are held. There have recently been a number of similar incidents.

Unknown perpetrator has painted a pig's head and written Mohammed on the main entrance door into the Mosque.

Homophobic, biphobic and heterophobic hate crimes

Homophobic, biphobic and heterophobic hate crime may be expressed in many ways, from expressed derogatory phrases about a persons' sexual orientation in general to serious cases of assault. The most common is for the victim to be insulted on the basis of a sexual orientation assumed by the perpetrator. It might be a question of vandalism of RFSL's⁴⁰ premises, about speeches expressing hatred in public spaces or about defamation and damage inflicted. Research has previously shown that LGBT persons⁴¹ who are open about their sexual orientation can become more vulnerable to crime.⁴² According to one survey, approximately one quarter of victims of homophobic hate crimes report the event to the police.⁴³ Studies also show that homosexual men exposed to hate crime report the crime twice as often as lesbian women.

Results in brief

- In 2010, 770 hate crimes because of sexual orientation were identified. Of these, about 750 had a homophobic motive.
- Compared to 2009, hate crimes because of sexual orientation has decreased by 290 reports.
- Slightly less than every fourth homophobic, biphobic or heterophobic hate crime is a violent crime.
- The results from SCS 2009 describes self-reported exposure to crime motivated by homophobia as being lower than that motivated by xenophobia.

The most common homo/bi/heterophobic hate crimes are unlawful threats and molestation, followed by violent crime and defamation. The least

⁴⁰ Swedish Federation of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Rights.

⁴¹ The abbreviation "LGBT" refers collectively to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender people.

⁴² Tiby and Lander (1996), Tiby (1999, s.171 or 2000), Norrhem, Rydström and Winkvist (2008, s.157).

⁴³ Tiby (1999, s. 207).

common is unlawful discrimination. This distribution of homophobic hate crime has been stable for the past six years. Homophobic violent crime is often committed in the victim's own *home*, and the perpetrator is usually unknown to the victim. One example of this is:

Some unknown youths have been harassing Fares by throwing things at his window and playing "Knock, Knock, Ginger" on his door. They have also put bangers through his letterbox and glued his door shut. The plaintiff's opinion is that he has been harassed because he is homosexual.

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

For the crime categories muggings, assault, threats and harassment, the SCS poses questions about whether the victim feels there is anything homophobic about the motive. When interpreting the material, it is important to be aware that the number of observations of hate crime and, in particular, hate crime with homophobic motives in the survey material is small and that great variations between years consequently 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 2008

In total, 0.2 per cent of the population (16–79 years), which represents approximately 17,000 persons, state that they were exposed to hate crime with homophobic motives during 2008. This corresponds to 2007, when 0.2 per cent (17,000) of the population stated that they had been exposed to a homophobic hate crime. According to Table 5, below, based on the survey, the number of events with homophobic motives can be estimated at 30,000 criminal events during 2008. 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 according to the crime category and estimated number of events and proportion of events reported to the police in 2009 according to the Swedish Crime Survey (SCS) 2010.

n=27 (net)	Proportion exposed in %	Estimated No exposed in population	Estimated No of events in population	Proportion of reported events in %
Homophobic hate crime	0.3	19,000	36,000	17

Homophobic hate crimes are reported to a lesser extent

Finally, it emerges that one sixth (17 per cent) of the homophobic hate crimes reported to the SCS 2010 were also reported to the police, a decrease of 16 per cent from SCS 2009. A number of studies have shown that the propensity to report among the group subjected to homophobic

hate crimes is low, and that around 25–30 per cent of crimes are reported.⁴⁴ The proportion of homophobic hate crimes that are reported to the police is smaller, however, than would be expected on the basis of the reporting propensity within the population at large, which lies at 26 per cent for the four types of crime taken together.

More common for males and young people to be subjected to homophobic hate crimes

Males report having been exposed to homophobic hate crimes to a greater extent than females. Males were exposed to a little over half (58 per cent) of the reported homophobic hate crimes, and thus females had been exposed to slightly less than half of the hate crimes of this kind (42 per cent). The SCS data for all three of the years 2008–2010 show that the victim is aged between 16 and 24 in 48 per cent of the homophobic hate crimes reported for the years 2007–2009. Thirty per cent of the homophobic hate crimes had been committed against individuals aged between 25 and 44 years, while 22 per cent had been committed against persons aged 45–79.

⁴⁴ Tiby (1999, p. 207).

Transphobic hate crimes

“Transgender persons” is an umbrella concept for persons with transgender identity (the gender people feel they are) or gender expression.⁴⁵ 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.

Results in brief

- In 2010, 31 transphobic hate crimes were identified.
- Unlawful threats and molestation is the most common transphobic hate crime followed by defamation and assault.

Level

In 2010, 31 reports were identified as having a transphobic motive as their primary offence, which is at the same level as previous year. The number of offence reports with a transphobic motive increased by a total of sixteen between 2008 and 2009 however. As the number of reports with a transphobic motive is low, it is important to consider this when interpreting the results. This creates greater uncertainty in the breakdown of different categories and can contribute to large variations between years.

In the majority of reports, the transphobic hate crime is aimed against persons who have had a sex change and, as a result, have been subjected to a hate crime by the perpetrator attacking the victim using violence, harassment or carrying out criminal damage to a victim’s home and property. One example of an assault with transphobic motive is:

Peter was standing in the square together with a number of friends. Unknown perpetrator then came up to Peter and shouted “tranny”. Peter then asked if the perpetrator knew tranny meant. The perpetrator then said “you are a disgusting fucking tranny.”

⁴⁵ Darj and Nathorst-Böös (2008, p. 6).

The most common transphobic hate crimes are molestation and unlawful threats (16 reports) followed by defamation (6 reports) and assault (5 reports). In the majority of the reports, the perpetrator was either *known* to the victim by name or appearance or was *unknown* to the victim. Some common locations for being subjected to transphobic hate crimes are *public places* and in the victim's own *home*, on internet or in *other places*.

White power ideology motivated hate crimes

This section accounts for reports where the crime is assessed to be motivated by white power ideology, meaning hate crimes motivated by the perpetrator's extreme right-wing values or national socialist ideology.⁴⁶

Hate crimes where the motive includes white power ideology are of a number of typical cases. They may be about perpetrators shouting "sieg heil" or making so-called Hitler salutes in town. There may be fliers in schools and in public places, with white power ideology messages linked to organisations. It is also common for swastikas and ideological messages⁴⁷ such as "ZOG"⁴⁸ or "88"⁴⁹ being graffitied onto cars belonging to victims, on letterboxes or doors of victims' houses or other premises.

Level and development

Of all reported hate crimes in 2010, just less than 5,140, 9 per cent were motivated by white power ideology. This corresponds to 444 reports, or 111 fewer incidents than the previous year. The most common types of crime (primary offence)⁵⁰ in the hate crime reports motivated by white power ideology in 2010 were agitation against ethnic or national group (37 per cent), criminal damage/graffiti (28 per cent), followed by unlawful threats and molestation (23 per cent).

⁴⁶ In its annual reports up to 2004, *Criminality linked to the internal safety of the nation*, the Swedish Security Service has kept a great focus on crimes linked to the white power environment. See also the *Säkerhetspolisen*, for instance 2001 and 2005.

⁴⁷ See Gestrin (2007, p. 85–122) for a description of right-wing extremist movements and their symbols, number symbols, anniversaries and abbreviations.

⁴⁸ ZOG is an abbreviation sometimes used during white ideologically motivated hate crimes, where the abbreviation represents an idea of the world being run by a Jewish conspiracy, called the Zionist Occupation Government.

⁴⁹ The eighth letter in the alphabet is H. HH = Heil Hitler.

⁵⁰ In comparisons of types of crime over time, large percentage changes from one year to another may arise because of low absolute figures.

Links to organisations

In 12 per cent (55 reports) of hate crime reports motivated by white power ideology, a link to an 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. This means that a total of 1 per cent of all hate crimes in 2010 could be linked to a national socialist organisation or right-wing extremist group. This is a decrease of 79 reports compared with last year, when a total of about 134 reports could be linked to a national socialist organisation or right-wing extremist group. 89 per cent of the 55 reports in total were xenophobic/racist. An example of a hate crime where there is a link to an organisation is:

The complainant reports that he today received a letter by post. The letter was from the Swedes' Party and contains xenophobic information. The complainant has never previously received information of this kind and it is completely at odds with his own views.

Complainants

An important part of analysing hate crimes is to see which persons have reported to the police that they have been exposed to these crimes. In 2010, 5,580 persons were registered as complainants in reports to the police of crimes where xenophobic/racist, antireligious, homo/bi/heterophobic or transphobic motives had been determined. For most of those exposed to a hate crime in 2010, the motive was xenophobic/racist, which corresponds to the distribution of all hate crimes. Of those exposed to hate crimes in 2010, 5 per cent were exposed to hate crimes motivated by white power ideology. Around 66 per cent of the victims were men and around 34 per cent were women.

Age distribution of those exposed differs from the age distribution in the population

The age distribution of the people exposed to hate crime in 2010 differs from the distribution of age groups in the population. This pattern was seen both in 2008 and 2009 as well. Of those exposed to hate crime, the proportion of *children* (0–14 years) is 9 per cent, while their proportion of the population is 16 per cent. The corresponding proportion for *older people* (55 years and over) is 8 per cent, while their proportion of the population is 32 per cent. Children and older people are thus underrepresented in terms of exposure to hate crime in relation to their numbers in the population.

Suspected persons

In 2010, 1,659 persons were identified as suspected of crimes in the reports where the motive was determined to be xenophobic/racist, antireligious (Islamophobic, anti-Semitic and other antireligious), homo/bi/heterophobic or transphobic. In 32 per cent of the hate crime reports, it was possible to identify a suspected perpetrator, which is comparable to last year. The risk of discovery also varied depending on the type of crime. Unlawful threats, molestation, violent crime and defamation are examples of crime categories where there is much more often a suspected person than for other types of crime, such as agitation against ethnic or national group or criminal damage/graffiti.

Younger suspects overrepresented in hate crimes

Of the suspected persons identified in 2010, 32 per cent (521 persons) were *younger* than 20. 171 of these persons (10 per cent of all suspects) were younger than the age of criminal responsibility, 15 years, while this group (persons younger than 20) constituted 23 per cent of the population in 2010. At 39 per cent, assault was the most common type of crime committed by young people in 2010.

Slightly more than half of the suspected persons (55 per cent) were in the age group 20–54 years, which constitutes 46 per cent of the population. Also, just over one tenth (13 per cent) of those suspected were *older* (55 years and over), an age category that constitutes 32 per cent of the population. Examples of types of crime common among older suspects are unlawful threats and molestation (46 per cent)). In total, younger people are therefore overrepresented in the statistics when it comes to suspected persons in relation to the population, while older people are underrepresented.⁵¹

⁵¹ In 2004, Brå and Living History Forum published the report *Intolerans* (Intolerance), which investigated tendencies to xenophobia, Islamophobia, anti-Semitism and homophobia in Swedish school children. The sample consisted of pupils in years 8 and 9 in lower secondary school and years 1, 2 and 3 in upper secondary school. In total, 10,600 pupils responded and the response frequency was 76.2 per cent. The results showed that the majority of schoolchildren had a mainly positive attitude to the various minorities, varying between 66 and 72 per cent (Brottsförebyggande rådet och Forum för levande historia, 2004).

Previous criminal convictions

Questions are often asked about suspected persons' previous criminal acts. Have they previously been prosecuted for crimes or have they no previous convictions? This section describes the criminal records of the suspected persons of hate crimes in 2010. The criminal records are described on the basis of the number of legal proceedings, which are convictions in a district court or statutory punishments issued by a prosecutor or waivers of prosecution over the past 10 years (2000–2009). Studying legal proceedings is of great value, as they describe what the legal system actually does to people who have been found guilty of crimes. However, it is *not* possible to see whether the legal proceedings have included previous hate criminality.

Majority previously without convictions

More than half (57 per cent) of the suspected persons of having committed a hate crime in 2010 were *without previous convictions*, in respect of the 10 years immediately preceding the current suspicion. 13 per cent of those suspected of hate crimes had been prosecuted *once or twice*, while 12 per cent had been prosecuted *10 or more times*. The number of crimes a person has had time to be found guilty of is partly dependent on the age of the person. As the criminal convictions mapped go back over the past 10 years, the younger persons (15–24 years) had had a shorter time in which to get prosecuted than the persons older than 24 years, who had been of the age of criminal responsibility during the entirety of the period mapped.

Lowest criminal convictions among suspects of antireligious hate crimes

The number of previous criminal convictions was lowest among those suspected of antireligious hate crimes (37 per cent), while the suspects of xenophobic/racist hate crimes were the most likely (45 per cent) to have previous criminal convictions compared to those suspected of other hate crimes. In-between come homo/bi/heterophobic hate crimes, where 38 per cent of the persons had previous criminal convictions. For xenophobic/racist hate crimes, one third (31 per cent) had been prosecuted three or more times since 2000. Around one third (32 per cent) of those suspected of hate crimes motivated by white power ideology had been prosecuted three or more times since 2000. The average age of those suspected who, in addition to having a hate crime motive, could be linked to a white power ideology motive was 24 years, while the average age of those linked to all hate crime motives was 32 years.

Regional distribution

This section accounts for the regional distribution of hate crimes reported by county, and in many of the country's municipalities. The latter represents a new form of presentation which is included in the report for the first time this year. Previous reports have presented separate statistics only for the three metropolitan municipalities of Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. Where in the country the most hate crimes are identified is partly influenced by the police and prosecution authorities' campaigns and work against hate crime.

Counties

Most reports in Stockholm County

Slightly less than one third (1,658 reports) of all hate crimes in 2010 were identified in Stockholm County. Even when taking differences in populations into account, Stockholm County has the most identified reports with hate crime motives (81 per 100,000 average population). One explanation may be that the Stockholm County Police continued its efforts against hate crime in 2010. A hate crime unit, where six investigators are now working full-time, has continued its work. They are specialists on investigating and receiving reports that are hate crime related. Together, these measures may very well turn out to be one of the explanations for the number of reports in Stockholm County.

Hate crime is not a phenomenon that is only found in the cities

Although Stockholm County has the largest number of reported hate crimes, it is not possible to say, on the basis of the results of this report, that hate crime is a type of criminality that exists mainly in large cities. When taking average population size into account, the largest number of reports identified, after Stockholm County, have been in Södermanland, Västmanland, Skåne and Örebro counties (between 58 and 81 reports per 100,000 of population).

Östergötland and Västernorrland counties, among others, can be found among the counties in the average category (40 to 47 reports per 100,000 inhabitants), with 44 and 45 reports, respectively, per 100,000 inhabitants. The lowest number of hate crime reports per inhabitant was identified in Gotland and Halland counties (33 reports per 100,000 inhabitants). Västerbotten, Jönköping and Norrbotten counties also had relatively few reports (34 to 38 reports per 100,000 inhabitants). Stockholm and Skåne counties thus end up in a different category than Västra Götaland. In Stockholm County, where a number of initiatives have been taken, the number of hate crime reports is also the highest. Also in Skåne, special initiatives have been taken in the work against hate crime. In Västra Götaland, which is placed in the middle category in relation to the number of reported hate crimes, the police have provided information stating they have worked actively with hate crime issues in the course of 2010, amongst other things in the form of informational and training measures focused on what constitutes a hate crime.

Large spread between counties of the proportion of hate crimes cleared up

The reports (principal offence) that were made in 2009 to the police, prosecution authorities and other crime investigating authorities were followed up until March 2011. By this time, 69 per cent of all the 2009 reports with hate crime motives had been cleared up. In total, 61 per cent of the reports were cleared up *technically*, which, for instance, means that a crime could not be confirmed. 8 per cent of the reports were *personally cleared up*, of which the majority were cleared up through a decision to prosecute. When it comes to hate crimes cleared up, there is a high level of variation, depending on the county in which a crime was reported. Figures for personally cleared up crimes vary from 2 per cent in Halland and 4 per cent in Norrbotten counties, to 17 per cent in Jämtland County. Technically cleared up reports where, among other things, the act may have been found not to be a crime, vary from 49 per cent in Örebro County to 74 per cent in Kalmar County. The number of reports not cleared up, for instance by the investigation still being in progress, is highest in Södermanland County, with 43 per cent, and lowest in Kalmar County, with 15 per cent.

Large cities

In 2010, Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö counties were responsible for slightly more than a quarter of all hate crime reports (just less than 1,380 reports out of just less 5,140). Two thirds of these reports were identified in Stockholm. After taking differences in population into account, the largest number of reports was drawn up in Stockholm, followed by Malmö and then Gothenburg (104, 84 and 50 per 100,000 respectively).

Regional analysis of reports marked as hate crime in RAR

Police hate crime marking

The quality study of police hate crime marking shows that, in the majority of incidents marked by the police, Brå could not identify a hate crime motive. The police authorities marked 7,062 incidents in 2010, of which Brå had also identified 2,566 as hate crimes. When the reports from the police authorities are compared with material from Brå, it emerges that 41 per cent (about 880) of the cases marked by the police in Stockholm County agree with the incidents identified as hate crimes by Brå. As regards the police authority in the county of Värmland, the assessments correspond in 42 per cent of cases. The counties where the least amount of incidents agreed with Brå's classification are Västerbotten (16 per cent) and Halland counties (18 per cent).

What types of crime are marked as hate crime by the police?

To get an idea of how the incidents agree and differ, the criminal structures that Brå and the police use for categorising hate crime have been compared with one another so as to understand whether certain types of crime were marked as hate crime more often than others in 2010.

The results indicate that the most common types of crime where the police authorities and Brå both classified the incident as a hate crime in 2010 were unlawful threat and molestation, crime of violence, and defamation (40 per cent, 18 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). The criminal structures are similar for the incidents that only Brå classified as hate crimes in 2010. The most common types of crime were unlawful threat and molestation, crime of violence and defamation (40 per cent, 19 per cent and 19 per cent respectively).

Of the incidents identified by Brå as hate crimes that were reported in 2010 as agitation against ethnic or national group and unlawful discrimination, the police authorities marked 64 and 51 per cent respectively. Agitation against ethnic or national group is the type of crime where the classification agrees the most between Brå and the police. Of all incidents reported as crime of violence and identified as hate crime by Brå, 48 per cent have also been classified as such by the police in 2010. The equivalent proportion of incidents reported as unlawful threat and molestation is 51 per cent. Defamation is the type of crime where the least amount of incidents are identified or marked as hate crime by both Brå and the police authorities; 42 per cent of the incidents that Brå identified as hate crime were also marked by the police.

Future possibilities

This report has accounted for hate criminality reported to the police in Sweden in 2010 and self-reported exposure to hate crime based on the SCS.

Making hate crime visible by quantifying criminality

Statistics for hate crimes are important, as they show the scope and character of this type of criminality in Sweden. In order to get a comprehensive image of exposure to hate crime, the SCS is used as a supplement to the statistics covering hate crime. One of the aims of the statistics is to provide the judicial system with background material for preventing this type of crime, and to contribute knowledge to the research carried out in the area. By making attacks on the equal value of individuals visible, strategies can be identified for active work to promote human rights. Together, several sources and different methods provide a more complete picture and can be used as complements to each other.

Who is included in the statistics?

All reports where the motive includes ethnic background, skin colour or nationality, religious faith, sexual orientation and transgender identity or expression are mapped. This means that all who are exposed to hate crime because of their ethnic origin, namely Romas, Afro-Swedes, Sami, persons with Swedish, Finnish or Turkish ethnic background, etc., are included in the statistics. Religious faith, for instance, includes Christians, Buddhists, Muslims, Jews and others. When it comes to sexual orientation, homosexuals, lesbians, bisexuals and heterosexuals are included in the statistics. Transgender identity or expression is included in the statistics for transgender persons.

Main findings in the statistics

In 2010, slightly less than 5,140 hate crimes were reported in Sweden, which means that the number of reported offences has declined by approximately 660 (11 per cent) since the previous year. By comparison with the previous year there has been a decline in the number of reports

involving almost all of the different hate crime motives included in the hate crime statistics. However, the number of reported Islamophobic hate crimes has increased by just over 80 offences by comparison with the figure for 2009.

Unlawful threats and molestation is still the most common type of crime, followed by violent crime and defamation, for most hate crime motives. There are also patterns that differ. For instance, in anti-Semitic and Islamophobic hate crimes, agitation against ethnic or national group is a more common type of crime than in other hate crimes. In the same way, criminal damage/graffiti is considerably more common in other antireligious hate crimes, where it represents one third of all reports. For all anti-religious hate crimes, it is also less common to be exposed to a violent crime (9 per cent) than in hate crimes where sexual orientation is included in the motive (23 per cent).

The results presented in this report also show that young people are over-represented both among those exposed to this type of crime, and among the suspected perpetrators. Besides often being young people, those suspected of hate crimes are also most commonly individuals who were not previously known to the victim. Males are suspected of hate crimes to a much greater extent than females (with the two sexes accounting for 78 and 22 per cent of suspects respectively). This pattern is the same as that which is found in relation to other types of crime. Focusing on the different hate crime motives, we find that a larger proportion of females are exposed to xenophobic/racist hate crimes, while a significantly larger proportion of males are exposed to homophobic hate crimes. New data from the SCS for the years 2008–2010 show that slightly over half (57 per cent) of the individuals who reported to the SCS that they had been exposed to xenophobic hate crimes were males. Thus the corresponding proportion for females is 43 per cent. The distribution looks much the same for homophobic hate crimes. Thus when victims themselves describe their victimisation, a slightly different picture emerges from that found in the statistics relating to hate crimes reported to the police. The use of a larger number of sources and different methods of measurement together provides a more nuanced picture of the phenomenon, and the different methods and sources may be used to complement one another.

Still few hate crimes are personally cleared up

An area where relatively little research has been carried out is what happens to reported hate crimes further down the judicial chain.⁵² The statistics for 2010 show what happens to the reported hate crimes (principal offence) later on in the judicial chain and the decisions taken by police and prosecutors when investigating these crimes. When the reports from 2009 were followed up until the end of March 2011, it emerged that only rarely could a perpetrator be tied to the crimes: only in 8 per cent of reports was a prosecution started, a statutory punishment issued by a prosecutor or a waiver of prosecution issued. In total, 69 per cent of the crimes were cleared up by the police which represents an increase of 2 percentage points since 2009. The results do not show how many of the hate crimes

⁵² The researcher Eva Tiby has followed homophobic hate crimes from report to judgment on behalf of the Living History Forum (2006). In a previous report by Brå (2002), all reported crimes from 2000 were also followed up to district court judgment.

subsequently result in a more severe court sentence, but previous studies have shown that the rule of increased severity of punishment is rarely used – hate crimes do not often result in more severe punishments.⁵³

A delimitation – sample of offence types

Viewed from an international perspective, the Swedish hate crime statistics are detailed and include a substantial amount of information. The Swedish statistics present information on less common types of hate crime motives, for example, such as transphobia and hate crimes against Christians. The method employed to identify hate crimes is resource intensive. One methodological limitation is therefore that the search for hate crimes is conducted among a *sample* of all of the types of crime reported to the police. This 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 crime incident. This discrepancy has existed since Sweden started to produce hate crime statistics in the mid 1990s. When the police authorities started marking offence reports as suspected hate crimes in RAR in 2008, an analysis of these marked offence reports conducted by Brå found that around one hundred of the marked offence reports were linked to offence types that lay outside of the original sample of crime types employed in relation to the production of the hate crime statistics. One such category of offences is robberies against the person. Figures show furthermore that seventeen percent of the total number of robberies against the person reported in the SCS in 2010 had an underlying xenophobic motive. Brå will be initiating work to review the way the hate crime statistics are produced. Among the questions to be examined in this work are those of whether there may be more efficient ways of identifying offence reports and whether the offence reports marked by the police in RAR as suspected hate crimes might be able to constitute the sample at some point in the future.

The judicial system's work with hate crime

In 2010, Brå sent out a survey to the authorities in the judicial system with questions about their work against hate crime. Some police authorities, such as Stockholm County with its hate crime unit, have continued working actively against hate crime during 2010. One third of police authorities have also trained their staff during the year to take notice of, disseminate knowledge about and prevent hate crimes. In just over half of the police authorities who responded to the questionnaire, hate crime training is being planned for 2011. The questionnaire responses show that an absolute majority of the police authorities, as well as the Swedish Prosecution Authority and the Swedish National Courts Administration do not have anybody working specifically with questions relating to hate crime. Four of the police authorities have individuals who work full time with these questions however.

As has already been mentioned, the police have introduced a new field in RAR for registering hate crime, with the aim of improving the opportunities to follow up such crimes. 8 out of 21 police authorities are using

⁵³ Forum för levande historia (2006) and Brå (2002).

the information provided by the marking. The survey question of how the information was used generated different answers, such as the marking triggering thoughts in a member of staff that a hate crime may have taken place to a person. The information is also used for mapping, generating statistics and analysing crime trends.

Taking a more long-term perspective, there are several development works in progress in the legal system that will affect the hate crime arena; for instance, the police are developing a new system for coding information about crime. Here there will be room for so-called focus areas, of which hate crime could be one. In this way, detailed information about hate crime will be already registered at the time of reporting.

Motive is important when reporting an incident

The number of hate crimes that are reported is greatly affected by the work that the legal system – especially the police – carry out in issues to do with hate crime. In order to identify more hate crimes, the hate crime motive should be observed at the time the incident is reported and also during all stages of the preliminary investigation. By increasing or re-allocating the resources available to the police and by further educating personnel, more hate crimes can be identified. The understanding of what constitutes a hate crime varies between different police authorities, which became evident in the quality study that was carried out. There is a need for a common definition of hate crime and for education in how the marking should be done.

Crime prevention work against hate crime in Sweden

In Sweden, as mentioned above, there has been a particular focus on the judicial system's preventative work against hate crime. However, in Sweden there is great commitment and many operations and projects carried out to disseminate knowledge and counter attitudes. Exposed groups are also working actively to counter this criminality. To mention just a few, in recent years projects have been carried out at both national and local level in the Crime Victim Compensation and Support Authority, the crime victim hotline of the Swedish Federation of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Rights (RFSL), the United Nations Association of Sweden, the Anti-Discrimination Bureau in Uppsala and the Roma International Association.⁵⁴ They have worked on encouraging exposed groups to report hate crime and discrimination, have disseminated knowledge through seminars and worked actively to influence decision-makers and those in power.

International work against hate crime

Knowledge about hate crimes is significant to enable active work against fear, hostility and hatred. Hate crime as a phenomenon exists in large parts of the world.⁵⁵ One arena that is more rarely noticed in the work

⁵⁴ The section only mentioned *some* examples of actors.

⁵⁵ The change in the definition of hate crime in Sweden means that more motive categories are accounted for. From an international perspective, Sweden is at the forefront, with more motives and information about victims and perpetrators. But having the same motive categories as other countries, such

against hate crime is the international one. Work is carried out internationally to make hate crime more visible and to create crime prevention strategies. Two big actors are described below. The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)⁵⁶, works by gathering statistics about hate crimes, legislation in the area, projects and initiatives (everything from local to national), etc. The 55 participating countries in OSCE, all the European countries, as well as the USA, Canada and the Central Asian countries, have appointed national contact points for this task.⁵⁷ The information received by ODIHR is accounted for in an annual report about hate crime and on their website.⁵⁸

as the USA, Canada and Finland, does not mean that the statistics can be compared on an equal basis. There are still a number of differences that are significant, such as counting method, different procedures for identifying hate crime, and so on. On the other hand, having more motive categories in Sweden creates opportunities for carrying out a more thorough analysis of the material nationally.

⁵⁶ <http://www.osce.org/odihr/44066>

⁵⁷ In Sweden has the National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå) been appointed the role as the national point of contact for hate crimes and gathers yearly information about the work against hate crime from a large variety of actors, such as the judicial system, other relevant public authorities, non-profit organizations etc.

⁵⁸ To explore more about the legislation concerning hate crimes in different countries visit the web site: <http://www.legislationline.org/topics/topic/4> and 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>.

References

- Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2002). *Hatbrott. En uppföljning av rättsväsendets insatser*. Rapport 2002:9. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.
- Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2006). *Konsten att läsa statistik om brottslighet*. Rapport 2006:1. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.
- Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2008). *Hate crimes 2007. A summary of reports to the police of crimes motivated by xenophobia, Islamophobia, anti-Semitism and homophobia*. English summary of Brå report No. 2008:15.
- Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2011a). *NTU 2010. Om utsatthet, trygghet och förtroende*. Report 2011:1. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.
- Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2011b). *Nationella trygghetsundersökningen 2010*. Technical report. Web report 2011:2. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.
- Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå och Forum för levande historia (2004). *Intolerans. Antisemitiska, homofobiska, islamofobiska och främlingsfientliga tendenser bland unga*. Authors: Ring, Jonas and Morgentau, Scarlett. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.
- Darj, Frida och Nathorst-Böös Hedvig (2008). "Är du kille eller tjej?" – *En intervjustudie om unga transpersoners livsvillkor*. Stockholm: RFSL Ungdom.
- Forum för levande historia (2006). *En studie av homofoba hatbrott i Sverige*. Author: Tiby, Eva. Stockholm: Forum för levande historia.
- Gerstenfeld, Phyllis B. (2003). *Hate crimes. Causes, Controls and Controversies*. London: Sage.
- Gestrin, Håkan (2007). *Högerextrema rörelser och deras symboler*. Stockholm: Natur och kultur, Expo.
- Hall, Nathan (2005). *Hate crime*. Cullompton, Devon: Willan.
- Norrhem, Svante, Rydström, Jens och Winkvist, Hanna (2008). *Undantagsmänniskor – En svensk HBT-historia*. Stockholm: Norstedts akademiska förlag.
- Office for democratic institutions and human rights, ODIHR (2010). *Hate crimes in the OSCE region – incidents and responses. Annual Report for 2009*. Warsaw: OSCE/ODIHR.

- Ombudsmannen mot diskriminering på grund av sexuell läggning, HomO (2008). HomO:s *KommunHandbok – en vägledning för dig som arbetar med brottsförebyggande verksamhet*. Downloaded 14 April 2008 from:
<http://www.homo.se/upload/homo/pdf_homo/Kommunwebben_pdf_brottsforebyggande.pdf>.
- Ombudsmannen mot etnisk diskriminering, DO (2004). *Diskriminering av romer i Sverige: rapport från DO:s projekt åren 2002 och 2003 om åtgärder för att förebygga och motverka etnisk diskriminering av romer*. Stockholm: Ombudsmannen mot etnisk diskriminering.
- Ombudsmannen mot etnisk diskriminering, DO (2007). *Att färgas av Sverige – om unga svartas upplevelser av rasism och diskriminering*. Authors: Kalonaityté, Viktorija, Kawesa, Victoria and Tedros, Adam. Stockholm: Ombudsmannen mot etnisk diskriminering.
- Petrosino, Carolyn (2003). Connecting the past to the future. Hate crime in America. I: *Hate and bias crime: a reader*. New York: Routledge.
- Säkerhetspolisen, Säpo (1997) *Brottslighet kopplad till rikets inre säkerhet under 1994 och 1995*. Report from the Swedish Security Service. Stockholm: Säkerhetspolisen.
- Säkerhetspolisen, Säpo (2001). *Brottslighet kopplad till rikets inre säkerhet 2000*. Report from the Swedish Security Service. Stockholm: Säkerhetspolisen.
- Säkerhetspolisen, Säpo (2005). *Brottslighet kopplad till rikets inre säkerhet 2004*. Report series 2005:4. Stockholm: Säkerhetspolisen.
- Tiby, Eva och Lander, Ingrid (1996). *Hat, hot, våld: utsatta homosexuella kvinnor och män: en pilotstudie i Stockholm*. Stockholm: Folkhälsoinstitutet.
- Tiby, Eva (1999). *Hatbrott?: homosexuella kvinnors och mäns berättelser om utsatthet för brott*. Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, Kriminologiska institutionen.
- Tiby, Eva (2000). *De utsatta: brott mot homosexuella kvinnor och män*. Stockholm: Folkhälsoinstitutet.