

Barriers to Reporting Hate Crime and Hate Incidents in Victoria

A mixed-methods study

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Executive Summary

96.9% (N = 252) of our survey participants reported that they would report a knife assault to the police, and 92.7% (N = 241) that they would report a physical assault to the police. However, when asked about their real experiences of victimisation,

only 5 out of 13 participants reported to police being the victim of a prejudice motivated violent physical attack.

Only 1 out of 5 participants reported to police being the victim of a prejudice motivated sexual assault. This finding suggests that participants are aware that they should report hate crime, but when they are victimised, there are barriers that prevent them from reporting.

We created a typology of barriers to reporting hate crimes and hate incidents. The typology includes five types of barriers divided into two categories:

Internal barriers

- > internalisation
- > lack of awareness

External barriers

- > fear of consequences
- > lack of trust in statutory agencies
- > accessibility

Our typology is based on 29 empirical studies conducted in North America, Europe and Australia, and it is supported by our original research in Victoria.

Different communities experience barriers in different ways, because of the unique nature of their histories, vulnerabilities, and forms of hate crime victimisation. For example, a primary barrier to reporting, especially among African and Aboriginal communities, is the

perception that law enforcement agencies demonstrate discriminatory behaviour towards racial minorities. We refer to section 6 of this report for a detailed description of how different communities experience different barriers.

Our study participants proposed numerous solutions to remove barriers to reporting. Initiatives to address internal barriers are mainly related to education and awareness campaigns. Initiatives to address external barriers are mainly about improving the police response to hate crime and hate incidents, and creating an integrated multi-channel reporting system. It is important to note that some of the suggested solutions are already in place, but some community members were not aware of them. We refer to section 7 of this report for a comprehensive discussion.

Our study participants reported different types of barriers in relation to different types of hate crimes and hate incidents. Internal barriers were more relevant to the underreporting of less serious incidents, such as rude gestures from teenagers or verbal assault. External barriers were more relevant to underreporting of more serious incidents, like assault or vandalism.

Our study participants reported levels of hate crime and hate incident victimisation that are much higher (between 40% and 87%, depending on the community) than the average levels of self-reported victimisation in the Victorian population (26%, according to a recent Victorian survey).

Among our participants, the most trusted institution for reporting prejudice-motivated incidents was the human right commission, followed by community organisations and by law enforcement agencies. The most preferred reporting tool was the phone, followed by face-to-face reporting, websites, apps, Facebook and Instagram.

Introduction

Hate crime usually refers to any criminal offence motivated by bias towards an out-group. Hate incidents are malicious acts motivated by bias towards an out-group that do not constitute a criminal offence. In different jurisdictions, these events have different names: just within Australia, for example, hate crime is referred to as prejudice-motivated crime in Victoria, and as bias crime in New South Wales. Hate crimes have a significant negative impact on both victims and broader society: they are likely to be more violent than regular crimes, create a fear among the targeted group that undermines community social cohesion, and have adverse mental health effects on victims and their communities (Hein and Scharr 2012; Chermak et al. 2012; Freilich and Chermak 2013). In countries where there are national registers of hate crime, official reports show that the number of hate crimes has been increasing in the last decade (see, for example, US Department of Justice 2019; Home Office 2018). In countries like Australia, where there is no national register of hate crime, it's impossible to fully understand the trends of this phenomenon. However, anecdotal evidence suggests that hate crimes and hate incidents are a significant problem in Australia, too. Since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, there have been numerous reports of racial vilification and violent aggressions that have included knife threats, verbal and physical attacks, house and car vandalism, as well as workplace discrimination against some employees (Tan 2020). Anti-Asian attacks in Australia have been particularly prominent, with over 200 cases reported since January 2020 (Chew 2020). Since the beginning of the pandemic, there has been a proliferation of social media messages promulgating

hateful misinformation and conspiracy theories scapegoating minority groups such as Asians, Jewish and Muslims in relation to the origins of COVID-19 (Zheng et al. 2020).

Various governmental and non-governmental organisations collect reports of hate crime and hate incidents from victims and witnesses. They include law enforcement agencies, human rights commissions and community organisations. However, these data collection efforts are hindered by low rates of community reporting. Underreporting is a well-documented phenomenon: hate crime research has shown that often victims are reluctant to report their experiences of targeted hostility to the police, other governmental agencies or through a third-party reporting alternative (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2014; Chakraborti 2018; Chakraborti, Garland and Hardy 2014; Clement, Brohan, Sayce, Pool and Thornicroft 2011; Home Office 2013; Mason et al. 2017; Myers and Lantz, 2020; Paterson, Walters, Brown and Fearn 2018). In the United States, underreporting of hate crime is usually measured by looking at the differences reported between the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) and the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). Between 2004 and 2012, an average of 269,000 victimizations were reported by the NCVS, whereas UCR hate crime statistics reported an average of 8,770 incidents (Pezzella et al. 2019). There is no reliable measurement of the extent of under reporting in Australia.

Research on hate crime and hate incidents reporting barriers in Australia

The reasons that community members do not report hate crime are the focus of much research in North America, United Kingdom and Europe. We will discuss the key studies of this corpus in section 5 of this report. To our knowledge, six empirical studies have explored barriers to reporting hate crime and hate incidents in Australia. Poynting and Noble (2004) surveyed (N=153) and interviewed (N=34) Arab and Muslim Australians from Sydney and Melbourne about their experiences of racism and barriers to reporting discrimination, abuse and violence. The study identified numerous barriers in line with international research on the topic, including distrust of law enforcement authorities, scepticism that their reports would be treated seriously, feelings of resignation, institutional discrimination and racism, fear of reprisals or other negative consequences, and lack of knowledge on where and how to report.

In 2008, Leonard, Mitchell, Pitts, and Patel (2008) analysed the responses of 390 lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual and transgender Victorians to an online survey about their experiences of heterosexist violence and same-sex-partner abuse, as well as experiences of reporting. The barriers that prevented participants from reporting the incidents largely spun around the belief that police would not take them seriously, and feelings of frustration and disappointment at the ways in which heterosexist abuse is ignored or trivialised by police.


A report by the Victorian Equal Opportunity Human Rights Commission released in 2013 described the nature and extent of racism and conduct motivated by racial or religious hatred in Victoria.

The Commission conducted an online survey with a sample of victims and witnesses of racist behaviours (N=227) and interviewed stakeholders from a variety of communities (Aboriginal, African, Jewish, Muslims, Indian, and immigrants) and key community organisations.

The most common reason why victims and witnesses did not report racial and religious hate-motivated incidents was their belief that nothing would be done about it.

Other obstacles to reporting included lack of knowledge about where and how to make a complaint, fear of victimisation or other repercussions, language barriers, and distrust of official institutions. For some, the limitations of the Victorian and Commonwealth legal systems to address vilification and prejudice-motivated crime was also a significant barrier to reporting.

Wickes, Pickering, Mason, Maher and McCulloch (2016) examined the impact of the new terminology of 'prejudice-motivated crime' adopted by Victoria Police on perceptions and reporting behaviours in a wide number of communities. The authors analysed the accounts of 53 members of high-priority



victim groups (migrant youth, Africans, homeless people, people with disabilities, Muslim women, Jews, Indians, LGBTI, and Indigenous) obtained through focus groups and interviews. They found that, beyond the terminology used to label the crime, police responses to hate victimisation and police interactions with victims remained a significant barrier to victims reporting these crimes in Victoria.

A Victorian Equal Opportunities and Human Rights Commission (2016) report dealt with the results of the trial of a third-party system to record incidents of racism against Aboriginal people in Victoria. The report explained the low number of reports that the system received as evidence of how significant the barriers to reporting racism are for the Aboriginal community. These barriers were found to be a general belief that nothing would be done, the traumatic nature of the process of reporting, belief that reports of covert racism would not be taken seriously, normalisations of everyday forms of racism, fear of repercussions of reporting, distrust in government bodies and particularly the police, and unfamiliarity with online forms.

Wiedlitzka, Mazerolle, Fay-Ramirez and Miles-Johnson (2018) analysed data from the National Security and Preparedness Survey to examine the influence of individual characteristics on six potential reporting barriers (language, Indigenous status, citizenship, immigrant status, perception of social isolation, and religion), and perceptions of legitimacy on the decision to report crime and hate crime incidents to police. The study concluded that the only variables associated with the victim's reluctance to report hate victimisation were poor perceptions of

police legitimacy and police cooperation.

Although the topic of hate crime and hate incidents reporting barriers has been the focus of previous research in Australia and globally, we have identified important gaps. First, there has been no attempt to systematise the current knowledge on barriers to reporting.

The barriers identified in previous research use different and often overlapping definitions. This prevents the building of cumulative and comparative knowledge on this topic.

Second, there is still comparatively little research on how different types of barriers affect different groups. For example, research in Victoria has focused exclusively on ethnic and religious minorities or on LGBTIQ+ groups, without exploring different communities with a comparative approach. Third, there is a lack of understanding of how barriers can be different for different types and severity levels of hate crimes and hate incidents. To our knowledge, this topic is largely unexplored.

Aims of this report

As the current research on barriers to reporting is largely disconnected, and there has been no attempt to systematise the different types of barriers emerging from different empirical studies, in this report we aim to:

- 1 *create a typology to summarise the different barriers emerging from key empirical research studies; and*
- 2 *test the robustness of the typology with data from Victoria (Australia).*

As few studies have used a comparative design to look into differences and similarities across different communities that face hate victimisation, in this report we aim to:

- 3 *explore the differences in barriers experienced by different Victorian communities.*

As the existing literature is largely focused on barriers to reporting hate crime, that is, criminal offences, in this report we aim to:

- 4 *look at whether different barriers are associated with different types of hate crimes and hate incidents.*

This report will provide an updated, comprehensive examination of barriers to reporting hate crime and hate incidents in Victoria, as well as community solutions to address reporting barriers. Specifically, this report aims to:

- 5 *explore the perceived solutions to barriers from a community perspective; and*
- 6 *collect community perceptions of different existing reporting systems and procedures.*

This report will provide important evidence for all stakeholders involved in tackling hate in Victoria, including policy makers, law enforcement agencies and community organisations, to better understand how to address community reporting barriers.

Methods, data and procedures

We adopted a mixed-methods sequential approach in three phases. During Phase 1, we conducted a review of key studies exploring barriers to reporting hate crime. The studies were selected because they aimed to explore barriers to reporting hate crime by interviewing either victims or other stakeholders using quantitative, qualitative or mixed-methods approaches. As our aim was to capture a broad range of different barriers, we only included studies that used an inductive research design aimed at generating types of barriers from empirical data. We included both grey literature and peer-reviewed journal articles. We identified 29 empirical studies conducted in Australia (N=6), USA (N = 4), UK (N=18), and EU (N=1) between 1999 and 2019 (see Appendix 1). We coded the results of these studies and produced a typology to summarize the different types of barriers captured in the body of research.

During Phase 2, we conducted 15 interviews with representatives of community and government organisations working with communities facing hate crime victimisation in Victoria. The sample included representatives of religious communities (Jewish, Muslim and Sikh, N = 3), ethnic communities (Arab and African, N = 4), people living with disabilities (deaf and communication impaired, N =2), LGBTIQ+ (N = 3), First Nations (N =1), and government agencies working with multiple communities (N = 2). The interviews were conducted between September 2019 and March 2020, either face to face or remotely (via Skype or phone calls) and lasted between 40 and 60 minutes each. The interviews with representatives of the communities of deaf people were aided

by an Auslan interpreter. At the beginning of the interview, all participants were shown a page with vignettes and textual description of nine forms of hate crime and hate incidents (Appendix 2). We used this standard prompt to make sure all interviewees were referring to the same types of incidents during the interview. Participants were then invited to give their opinions about barriers to reporting the incidents described in the vignettes in their communities, as well as possible solutions to increase reporting.

All the interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim selectively for the analyses. The transcripts of the interviews were analysed by means of qualitative content analysis as described by Graneheim and Lundman (2004), with a standard systematic coding technique (Assaroudi, Heshmati, Armat, Ebadi and Vaismoradi 2018) using a combination of conventional (inductive) and direct (deductive) content analysis (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). Deductive coding was based on the typology developed at Phase 1. Cross-checks and discussions between researchers about coding and analysis were held regularly throughout the analysis (Elo et al. 2014). The purpose of the interviews analysis was to: 1) understand the differences and similarities in the barriers experienced by Victorian communities; 2) examine the differences between the barriers emerging from the interviews and the typology created at Phase 1; and 3) compile a list of perceived solutions to address reporting barriers.

During Phase 3, we conducted a quantitative survey with members of communities facing hate crime and hate incident victimisation in Victoria. Participants



were selected through a respondent driven sampling methodology, which is a modified version of the traditional chain-referral sampling with a double incentive system (i.e., both participation and recruitment incentives). This methodology is especially effective for studying hidden populations of which size and composition are unknown, which precludes the use of probabilistic sampling frames. To initiate the recruitment chains, we selected a conceptually diverse group of individuals within each group by engaging peak Victorian organisations. Questionnaires were collected anonymously via an online platform (Qualtrics) between 25 February 2020 and 19 June 2020. Metadata and consistency of responses were cross-checked before including responses in the final dataset; we removed responses that had geolocation metadata markers outside Victoria, and we removed responses that included text entries of out-of-context or inconsequential answers to open-ended questions.

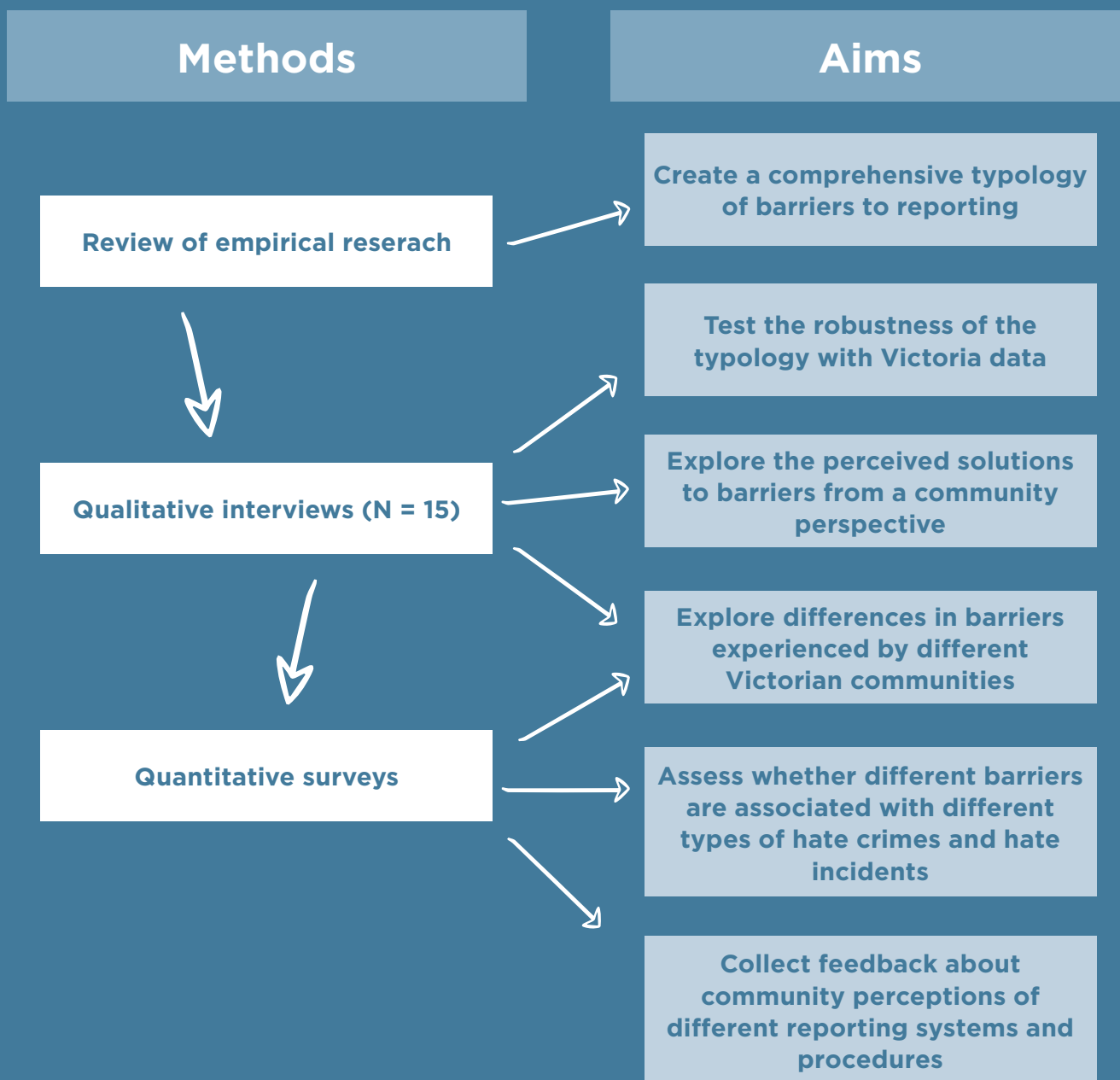
After cleaning the data, we remained with a total of 260 questionnaires collected from eight communities:

- ✦ African (N = 35)
- ✦ Chinese (N = 33)
- ✦ First Nations (N = 11)
- ✦ Jewish (N = 39)
- ✦ LGBTIQ+ (N = 28)
- ✦ Muslim (N = 82)
- ✦ people living with a disability (N = 11)
- ✦ Sikh (N = 21)

We conducted univariate and bivariate analysis of the data to examine the prevalence of different types of reporting barriers and reporting behaviours in Victoria, using the categories developed during Phase 1 and refined during Phase 2. We used non-parametric tests to explore bivariate relationships between barriers to reporting different types of hate crimes and hate incidents; differences between self-reported perceived vs real personal experiences of victimisation and reporting; and differences in self-reported opinions by different demographic groups (by age, gender and education). We used parametric tests (ANOVA and t-tests) to test for differences in trust in the various reporting bodies and preferred reporting tools by different demographic groups. As we have small convenience samples from each community, especially First Nations and people living with a disability, in this report we do not speculate about the proportions and differences in attitudes and self-reported behaviour between communities, and we strongly advise readers against interpreting the data beyond our discussion. We used SPSS for the statistical analyses, and Tableau Desktop for the data visualisation.

Figure 1.

Methods and aims of the research presented in this report.



Reviewing the empirical research to create a typology of barriers to reporting

After reviewing 29 empirical studies on barriers to reporting in Australia, UK, USA and the EU (see Appendix 1), we propose an original typology with five broad types of barriers that can be grouped into two categories.

Internal barriers

- internalisation
- lack of awareness

External barriers

- fear of consequences
- lack of trust in statutory agencies
- accessibility

The following table (Table 1) summarises the typology and provides some indicators for each type of barrier.

Table 1.

Typology of barriers to reporting hate crimes and hate incidents

Category	Type	Indicator
Internal	Internalisation	Feelings of hopelessness
		Normalisation of hate
		Perceptions of structural oppression
		Self-deprecation
		Cultural norms
	Lack of awareness	Not knowing what is a hate crime or a hate incident
		Not knowing where and how to report
External	Fear of consequences	Retaliation
		Being outed
		Getting in trouble
		Affecting a relationship
	Lack of trust in statutory agencies	Pointlessness of reporting
		High personal costs in relation to low benefits
		Not being taken seriously
		Uninformed response
		Discrimination by police
		Suspicion
	Accessibility	Barriers to physical access
		Technological barriers
		Language barriers



We see internal barriers as situated within the individual who is in the position to report a hate crime or a hate incident. Conversely, external barriers are about the relationship between the individuals and other entities, such as the offenders, law enforcement agencies, the justice system, and other stakeholders.


The two categories are interlinked, because external barriers, in the long run, can affect internal barriers.

Internalisation refers to a variety of beliefs, ideologies, values and perceptions held by victims and witnesses that normalise, validate or minimise hate victimisation (see, for example, Clement et al. 2011; Richardson, Beadle-Brown, Bradshaw, Guest, Malovic and Himmerich 2016; Sin, Mguni, Cook, Comber and Hedges 2009; Thorneycroft and Asquith 2015; Fathi 2014; Lockyer 2001). These internalised ideas contribute to the perception that some members of society experience hate attacks, and this is something that cannot be changed but requires individuals to put up with it. Internalisation can be expressed as a feeling of hopelessness, resignation and acceptance of repeated harassment and hostility as the expected and inevitable consequence of being different. It can also be expressed as normalisation and acceptance of everyday abuse, harassment and bullying. This type of barrier also includes feelings of self-deprecation, shame or disempowerment

derived from someone's self-recognition as a victim of hate victimisation, as well as social values, beliefs and ideologies that perpetuate historical trauma and marginalisation of some groups.

Lack of awareness refers to the lack of knowledge and understanding of civil and human rights, and legislation protecting communities from different forms of hate and prejudice. It can be lack of awareness of what constitutes a hate crime or a hate incident, lack of clarity about meaning and definitions of terms like hate crime, racism, prejudice, discrimination, harassment, etc. (e.g., Chakraborti and Hardy 2015; Culotta 2005; Lockyer 2001; Swadling, Napoli-Rangel and Imran 2015; Wickes et al. 2016). This barrier can also derive from lack of familiarity with reporting processes and tools, including ways to report to police, human rights commissions or civil society organisations (e.g., Antjoule 2016; Chakraborti 2018; Poynting and Noble 2004)

Fear of negative consequences of reporting is usually related to fear of retaliation by the offender or the offender's group (which can be a family, a political group or a community), but it can also be related to other fears specific to certain communities. For example, members of LGBTIQ+ communities often fear being 'outed' (Antjoule 2016; Chakraborti and Hardy 2015; Peel 1999). People living with a disability fear that caregivers will withhold care and that they will lose one of their few social relationships (Clement et al. 2011; Sin et al. 2009). This is often the case in contexts of dependency and unequal power relations. Migrants fear compromising their migration status (e.g., Fathi 2014; Lockyer 2001). Retaliation



can take the form of violence and re-offending, but also more subtle forms, such as the withdrawal of benefits, rights, care or supporting assistance in the case of dependent people.

Lack of trust in statutory agencies is probably the most common barrier, emerging from numerous empirical studies across the world.

It is generally related to the relationship between the victim (or the witness) and the police (e.g., Cuerden & Blakemore 2019; Mason 2019; Mason and Moran 2019; McDevitt et al. 2012; Wickes et al. 2016). This barrier can emerge from previous negative reporting experiences of the victim (or the victim's community members), and it is commonly related to rude treatment by police frontline staff, the perception that police force members will not trust the victim, will not take the incident seriously, or will be unwilling to act upon the report (among other factors). Distrust and low expectation in the response of justice agencies to the reporting of a hate crime is often expressed in disbelief in the utility of reporting, apprehensions about the treatment by frontline staff, and, in particular, negative expectations about the police response. Chakraborti, Garland

and Hardy's (2014) study suggests that this barrier is experienced more intensely by certain demographic groups and communities than others; they found that younger victims were more reluctant to report to police due to considering the incident as something they must deal with personally, and that people with disabilities were more likely to report hate incidents to other authorities (e.g., a social worker, a health professional, or a housing association) than the police. This pattern emerges from research into disability hate crime (see for example Clement et al. 2011; Richardson et al. 2016; Sin et al. 2009; Thorneycroft and Asquith 2015).

Accessibility is related to barriers affecting the access and effectiveness of reporting mechanisms. For example, poor wheelchair access to a police station can affect the possibility of a person in a wheelchair reporting an incident to police (Sin et al., 2009). Lack of digital skills or access to the internet can affect the possibility of some community members (for example, poorer or older members, or people with restricted access to the internet) to use online reporting tools (Chakraborti and Hardy 2015; Hardy and Chakraborti 2016; Williams and Tregidga 2013). Sometimes victims might have special needs in terms of language (some ethnic communities might have low levels of English proficiency; Chakraborti 2018; Swadling et al. 2015) or other communications needs (for example, people with communication impairments; Lockyer 2001).

Findings from the qualitative interviews



All the barriers discussed by the participants in our qualitative interviews fit into the typology described in Table 1. However, the interviews suggest some important differences between communities in relation to how these barriers are experienced.

Internalisation is experienced to some extent by all communities, but it appears to be a key barrier especially for First Nations and African communities, who experience hopelessness, structural oppression, self-deprecation, and adhere to cultural norms that prevent community members to report hate crimes and hate incidents. For example, some communities stigmatise reporting for different reasons – because it can bring trouble to the community, because one should deal personally with these incidents, etc.

These bitter feelings among African and Aboriginal communities were associated with the experience of marginalisation and rejection by mainstream Australian society.

The same historical structural violence and its associated suffering was mentioned by members of the deaf, LGBTIQ+, Muslim, and Sikh communities. Self-deprecation and structural oppression were also key themes in the interviews with people living with a disability. Some also mentioned the role that media plays in exacerbating feelings of animosity against specific groups and contributing to stigmatisations of the Muslim, Sikh and African communities. The following table (Table 2) provides some quotes to describe the different ways each community experience the internalisation barriers.

Table 2.

Selected quotes expressing the internalisation barrier

Indicators	Community	Quotes
Hopelessness	African	"Whenever there is an incident, there are big community meetings. And it's not about what we can do about this, it's not empowering. It's just a kind of sitting there as a sense of... there is nothing we can do."
Hopelessness/ normalisation	First Nations	"There is also the issue of you born with this, you know, getting verbally abused and being racially vilified and all of these things. I've been racially abused my whole life; it just becomes a norm. I don't know that it could be ever seen as something that could change or that there is a point in reporting it."
Structural oppression	First Nations	"How is it going to be ensured that doesn't happen when mainstream society doesn't think it's a problem? So, I don't know that any framework actually would fix that. What does it change by reporting it?"
Structural oppression	LGBTIQ+	"The trans and gender diverse community has been victim of systematic social abuse. We struggle because we have all this pain and wounds inside."
Self-deprecation	People living with a disability	"If you want to report a hate crime you have to previously take on the identity, 'I'm a disabled person, I'm at risk' and this is a huge issue for many people because they don't think about themselves as disabled but as culturally and linguistically diverse people."
Normalisation	Jewish	"The Jewish community is used to deal with these [minor] incidents."
Cultural norms	African	"They are afraid of complaining about anything. They think, we came to their country so we should be thankful and respectful to them and don't complain."


Lack of awareness of what constitutes a hate crime was mentioned as a barrier to reporting by most interviewees. However, this barrier is experienced differently by communities. Some interviewees suggested that the terminology used by different agencies and stakeholders can be confusing for the community. In the First Nations communities, for example, the discourse is around racism, not hate crime. Representatives of people with living with a disability and LGBTIQ+ expressed concerns that official terms

and language used to describe hate crime and hate incidents could be alien to their community members. One representative of African communities said that awareness is high enough in the African community, but people do not report because they are not hopeful that it will make a change. The following table (Table 3) provides some quotes to describe the different ways in which each community experience the lack of awareness barriers.

Table 3.

Selected quotes expressing the lack of awareness barrier

Indicators	Community	Quotes
Not knowing what a hate crime or a hate incident is	Sikh	“They don’t know what should be reported.”
	African	“They don’t know that they can complaint about it.”
	People living with a disability	“Many victims do not know their rights.”
Not knowing where and how to report	Muslim	“There are venues to report that they don’t know.”
	People living with a disability	“There is a lack of information about the procedure [for reporting].”
	First Nations	“Generally, communities don’t know who they can report to or how they could report.”
	LGBTIQ+	“They are not aware of where to go to report hate speech.”



Fear of negative consequences was mentioned by most interviewees as a key barrier to reporting. However, this barrier takes different forms in different communities.

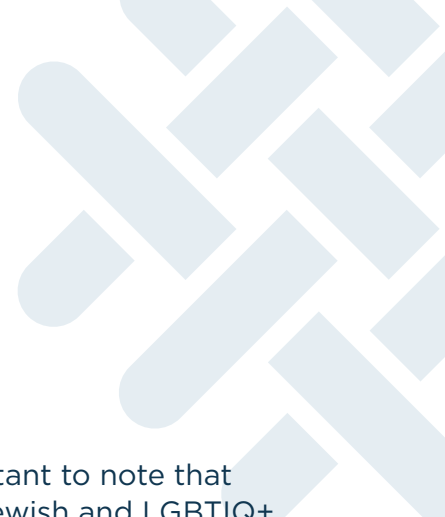
For example, the fear of affecting a relationship with the perpetrator, frequently a family member or carer, is key for people with high care needs, as is the case of people with communication impairments. Members of the LGBTIQ+ community mentioned both the fear of affecting their relationship with the perpetrator, for example in cases where offenders are family members, and the fear of having the victim's LGBTIQ+ identity exposed (being outed). For some, the prospect of exposing their identities and being questioned by a frontline police officer can be particularly traumatic. A nuance that was not part of our initial definition of this type of barrier was that, for some members of the LGBTIQ+ community, reporting a hate-motivated incident or crime involves re-writing their lifelong identity conflict and personal history of trauma. This element, which was mentioned by all our LGBTIQ+ participants, exacerbates their vulnerability and psychological suffering and transforms the reporting in a disempowering experience that they try to avoid. Fear of retaliation takes also

different forms in different communities: it was about violent revenge for Sikh, African and Muslim respondents, and about withdrawal of services for people living with a disability. For this group, the anticipated reprisal sometimes might involve witnesses reporting on behalf of the victim. A more general fear of getting in trouble, or worsening an already vulnerable situation, was mentioned by participants who have a refugee or immigrant status, particularly in African, Muslim and Sikh communities. In these cases, some community members fear that reporting may somehow jeopardise the victim's visa status or generate conflicts when reporting racism in the workplace. In the case of the LGBTIQ+ community, those who perform sex work fear that their business may be affected by reporting a hate crime to the police. The following table (Table 4) provides some quotes to describe the different ways in which each community experience the fear of consequences barriers.

Table 4.

Selected quotes expressing the fear of consequences barrier

Indicators	Community	Quotes
Retaliation	LGBTIQ+	"They got your number and they now know you are a queer, that you are a victim of homophobic attacks and that you are homosexual, and that can make things worse for you."
Retaliation	People living with a disability	"Many times, support workers are punished because they have lodged complaints on behalf of residents without the approval of management. This victimisation of whistle blowers discourages reporting of neglect, abuse and assault to external relevant authorities such as the police."
Getting in trouble	Sikh	"They don't want to be involved in any conflict that can in turn get them in trouble."
Affecting a relationship	LGBTIQ+	"When the perpetrator is someone they love, then reporting is hard for them."



Most interviewees mentioned lack of trust in statutory agencies as a key barrier to reporting. Mainly, this was related to the expectation that no action would be taken to stop the victimisation.

In many cases, the lack of hard evidence of victimisation discourages victims from reporting, because they think it's pointless.

Most interviewees also noted that the reporting process is time consuming and emotionally draining, and this high investment is not matched with a clear return, which makes the victim feel that reporting is not worthwhile. People living with a disability talked about the perception that care services staff and family members respond to reports in ways that neglect the victim's needs, and their concerns about not being taken seriously. Interviewees from African, Sikh, Muslim, Arabic, and LGBTIQ+ communities expressed concerns about not being taken seriously by the police, and about receiving a negligent or uninformed response. This was associated with perceptions of receiving unfair treatment by police officers, especially among African and LGBTIQ+ communities.

It is, however, important to note that representatives of Jewish and LGBTIQ+ communities talked about having a relationship of close collaboration with Victoria Police in relation to tackling hate in their communities, and praised recent policy and policing initiatives in Victoria. The interviews suggest that a primary barrier to reporting, especially among African and Aboriginal communities, is the perception that law enforcement agencies behave in a discriminatory manner against racial minorities, which underpins a general lack of confidence in the police found in previous research (Brunson 2007; Zaykowski 2010). The following table (Table 5) provides some quotes to describe the different ways in which each community experience the lack of trust barriers.

Table 5.

Selected quotes expressing the internalisation barrier

Indicators	Community	Quotes
Pointlessness of reporting	First Nations	"Most of what happens are random contacts in the street by people they don't know and never see again. So [...] what's the point of reporting?"
Pointlessness of reporting	African	"Many discussions were about 'I had this experience, I tried to make a complaint that went nowhere, I'd prefer to keep matters in my own hands rather than through the system'. Their experiences when they've made reports is that they don't get anything from that."
High personal costs in relation to low benefits	Jewish	"They don't see the value in reporting, in putting in the effort, so they don't bother."
Not being taken seriously	Muslim	"For those people who do have the courage to access Victoria Police and report what happened, I think the way they are responding to, I think it compromises their experiences and I think that's very problematic."
Uninformed response	LGBTIQ+	"The vulnerability of the intersex people is multiplied by how police treat them. Police are now more trained around transgender but their work on intersex is poor. They may misgender a person or misinterpret a person or not support them fully because of that."
Uninformed response	People living with a disability	"Police lacks training and finds it too difficult to interview victims who are non-verbal."
Discrimination by police	African	"A lot of the police conducts towards young African people I'd describe them as hate crimes. They were getting assaulted by the police, being verbally abused, being dehumanised, physically assaulted, being subject to humiliating treatment in public and in private. The treatment of people on the base of race by police not only affects African communities but also Aboriginal and other racial communities."
Discrimination by police / suspicion	Muslim	"There has been a quite delicate relationship between the police and the community, and the way the Muslim community has been policed in the context of terrorism and violent extremism."
Suspicion	First Nations	"Aboriginal communities don't trust the police; they don't engage with police generally. They don't trust government departments at all either, they have just as much stress with government departments as they have with Victoria Police and this goes back to historical issues and children being removed and alike."

Accessibility is the final type of barrier that emerged during the interviews. It is commonly expressed in terms of language barriers, both by people with communication impairments, and by people with different language backgrounds. This barrier is particularly relevant because reporting hate crimes and hate incidents may require complex language skills, which victims might be able to do only using their native languages. Barriers to physical access were mentioned in relation to specific reporting mechanisms. For example, older people, people with disabilities and highly traumatised participants might find difficulties in accessing online forms. Others, however, valued online channels as

preferred ways of communication for their members (e.g., community of deaf and hard of hearing people) but emphasised that these means could be effective reporting mechanisms only if they meet the specific needs of their community members (e.g., by providing video forms for the reporting by deaf people). The following table (Table 6) provides some quotes to describe the different ways in which each community experience accessibility barriers.

Table 6.

Selected quotes expressing the accessibility barrier

Indicators	Community	Quotes
Language barriers	People living with a disability	"The whole system is designed for people who can read, write and speak, but if you can't, your chances of getting justice are very low. Most of our clients have communication impairments which involve the inability to speak, read, or write. These victims are unable to communicate the abuse due to the lack of support and appropriate communication aids."
Language barriers	Muslim	"Language is a barrier that is still there, especially to the aged group."
Language barriers	LGBTIQ+	"English can be another barrier for immigrant trans [people]."
Technological barriers	African	"There is the sense that these [remote] reporting mechanisms are too impersonal."

Perceived community solutions to reporting barriers

After discussing the barriers to reporting, interviewees were invited to discuss possible solutions. In relation to internal barriers, many interviewees talked about the need to develop consistent language and clear definitions to underpin education and awareness campaigns, and to clarify the reporting process and community expectations when filing a report.

Participants proposed a variety of awareness strategies and campaigns to educate communities on what hate crime is and how to report it. Ideas included:

-  developing manuals for communities (e.g., definitions of key terms, frequently asked questions, examples of incidents, where to go to report)
-  providing information to immigrants and refugees about their rights, the laws that protect them, and where to go if they are victimised
-  running information sessions in communities to promote reporting mechanisms
-  running awareness media campaigns
-  promoting campaigns through flyers in letterboxes
-  establishing training forums where people with lived experience of disability train people with disabilities and their families about key topics related to hate crime reporting
-  further training for residential support staff and house supervisors' reporting of violence, abuse and neglect affecting disabled residents.

Some participants talked about the need to explain to communities why reporting is important and disseminating stories of successful reporting outcomes. Victims with successful reporting experiences can be persuasive voices in a campaign to boost community reporting, and they could be healing and empowering for other victims. Other participants, however, pointed to the need for a new approach where the focus is not on promoting reporting but on promoting outcome-focused services for victims. A few participants suggested that a cultural change was needed to tackle the structural oppression and historical trauma affecting their communities: without this cultural shift, victims won't change their opinions on reporting discrimination and abuse. The following table (Table 7) includes two quotes that outline this important point.

Table 7.

Quotes outlining why a cultural shift is needed to enhance reporting (and, more generally, tackle hate)







“ I think, ultimately, education is the main way to prevent antisemitism. It's not a logical argument, it's not fact-based, it's about what is acceptable and what is not acceptable. For example, with jokes that are just not appropriate. This implies a change of culture, so education is a major piece of the solution. ”


Member of the Jewish Community

“ This isn't just a minorities issue, it is to society in general, so it needs everybody to call this out, it needs everybody to do accept that our country is a multicultural country now, it's not a European country and that none race is better than other. A lot of racial abuse is always because people say Aboriginal history and Australian history are different. We need that one narrative, all in the same but not separate. ”


Member of the First Nations
Community

In relation to external barriers, most interviewees discussed what the police should do, in their view, to boost hate crime reporting. According to participants, the police should:

-  adopt and implement so-called “bias indicators”, that is, key identifiers of prejudice-motivated crime that have been used for over 20 years by many police forces in Europe and North America (see, for example, Turner 2001)
-  make referrals for victim support, even if the incident does not constitute a crime
-  inform victims about the results of the investigation, even if they are not positive
-  develop a code of practice for responding to victims and witnesses with disabilities, and amend the Victoria Police Manual to put the code’s standards into operation
-  implement reasonable adjustments to procedures to deliver equitable services to Victorians with disabilities (e.g., engage Independent Third Persons for interviewing victims with communication barriers)
-  implement more training for frontline police officers (to receive reports in the most efficient and appropriate manner when dealing with traumatic experiences, to respond to needs of specific groups such as people living with a disability or transgender and intersex people) and adopt advisers (such as disability advisers)

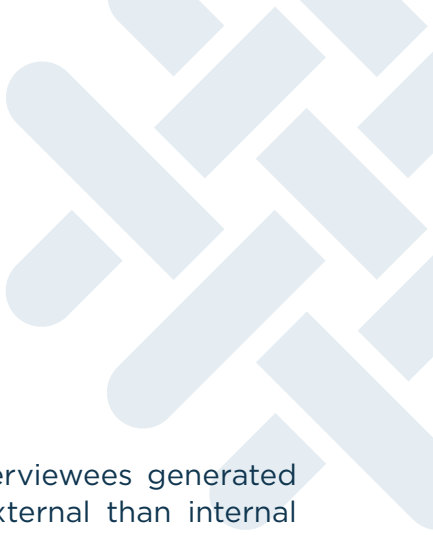


create mechanisms for collaboration between police and communities on tackling hate



hire representatives of communities in the police to advise and help to address hate crime.

It is important to note that many of these suggestions have already been adopted by Victoria Police. To know more about this topic, we suggest watching two videos, published in June 2020, in which Senior Sergeant Andrew Gardner explains Victoria Police’s strategy to tackle prejudice-motivated crime (<https://youtu.be/X12IDjUJ1ec>) and how Victoria Police can protect the identity of victims reporting a prejudice-motivated crime (<https://youtu.be/JdjLII4hTnU>). These videos are part of a larger education project to raise education about tackling hate in Victoria, called Tackling Hate (www.tacklinghate.org).



Some interviewees suggested that a new integrated, multi-channel reporting system would boost reporting. This system should:

- ➔ be victims' needs-centred
- ➔ ensure access to support services
- ➔ ensure participation and endorsement of communities and community leaders
- ➔ be the outcome of collaboration between government and non-government organisations
- ➔ involve collaboration between different communities
- ➔ offer a variety of specialised multi-channel reporting options tailored to the needs of specific communities
- ➔ ensure adequate funding for participating community organisations.

Participants highlighted that ensuring meaningful outcomes for victims would be key to tackling reporting barriers. Some interviewees highlighted that accessing victim support would be a meaningful outcome. Other interviewees described outcomes such as obtaining legal support, apologies from the offender, stopping the perpetrator's abuse. One participant suggested that there should be meaningful community outcomes rather individual outcomes, such as increased advocacy power and visibility. The following table (Table 8) summarises the solutions that emerged during the interviews. Solutions are grouped according to the typology of barriers in Table 1.

Interestingly, the interviewees generated more solutions to external than internal barriers. There may be multiple reasons for this. For example, they might think that internal barriers will change as a result of changes in external barriers, by giving hope to communities that hate crimes and hate incidents are tackled successfully and with clear outcomes, and by removing the perception of discrimination and unfair treatment by the police. An alternative explanation is that internal barriers are less visible from within communities, and community members are more able to identify external, rather than internal, problems.

Table 8.

Summary of key community solutions to hate crime reporting barriers

Barriers	Proposed community solutions
Internalisation	Promote a cultural change in the whole of Australian society
Lack of knowledge	Awareness campaigns (on definitions, reporting processes, promoting reporting, etc.)
Fear of consequences	Protecting and supporting victims
Lack of trust	Make sure outcomes of reporting are more meaningful for communities (improving operational responses to reporting, etc.)
	Training about specific communities' needs (for example, including disability advisers)
	Stop discriminatory practice by police
	More meaningful community engagement (more meaningful collaboration between government and non-government organisations, implementation of expert recommendations, more community presence in state bodies)
Accessibility	Multi-channel and disability-friendly reporting options

Findings from the quantitative survey

First, we collected key demographic characteristics of the sample:

Female

46.5% N=121

Male

41.5% N=108

Non-binary

0.8%

Did not disclose gender

11.2% N=29

32.7%

N=85
university
degree

28.8%

N=75
postgraduate
degree

8.8%

N=23
tertiary qual,
trade or TAFE

15.4%

N=40
year 12 or
equivalent

1.9%

N=5
no formal
qualification

0.8%

N=2
other
qualifications

11.5%

N=30
did not
disclose

18-24

years of age

22.3%

N=58

25-34

years of age

16.5%

N=43

35-44

years of age

21.9%

N=57

45-54

years of age

11.5%

N=30

over 55

years of age

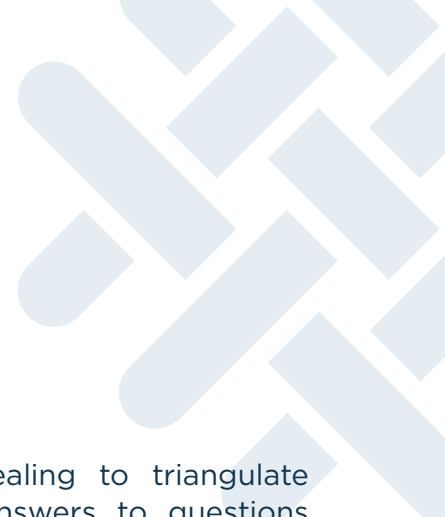
15.4%

N=40

did not
disclose

12.3%

N=32



The questionnaire presented the same nine scenarios that we used to introduce the qualitative interviews (see Appendix 2). The scenarios were tailored for each community: for example, Jewish community members read scenario 1 as: “A man verbally abuses an identifiable Jewish person in a train station”, African community members read scenario 1 as: “A man verbally abuses an identifiable African person in a train station”, and so on. After each scenario, we asked whether participants would report it to police, to a community organisation (or another person / organisation), or not report it to anyone.

Figure 2 summarises the answers to this question. The results show that participants would be more likely to report to the police a crime that is perceived as serious (such as a knife assault), and less likely to report to police an incident that is perceived as less serious, such as teenagers making a rude gesture towards someone in their community. Of the participants,

However, it is revealing to triangulate this finding with answers to questions about personal victimisation. At the end of the questionnaire, we asked whether participants have even been the victim of a hate crime or hate incident, and we asked whether they have reported it or not. Figure 3 shows that the proportion of serious crimes that were not reported is much higher than expected.

96.9%
N=252 declared that they would report a knife assault to the police

92.7%
N=241 declared that they would report a physical assault to the police

91.9%
N=239 declared that they would report property damage to the police

Figure 2.

Reporting intentions of nine types of hate crimes and hate incidents. The X axis shows the frequency of respondents selecting each option

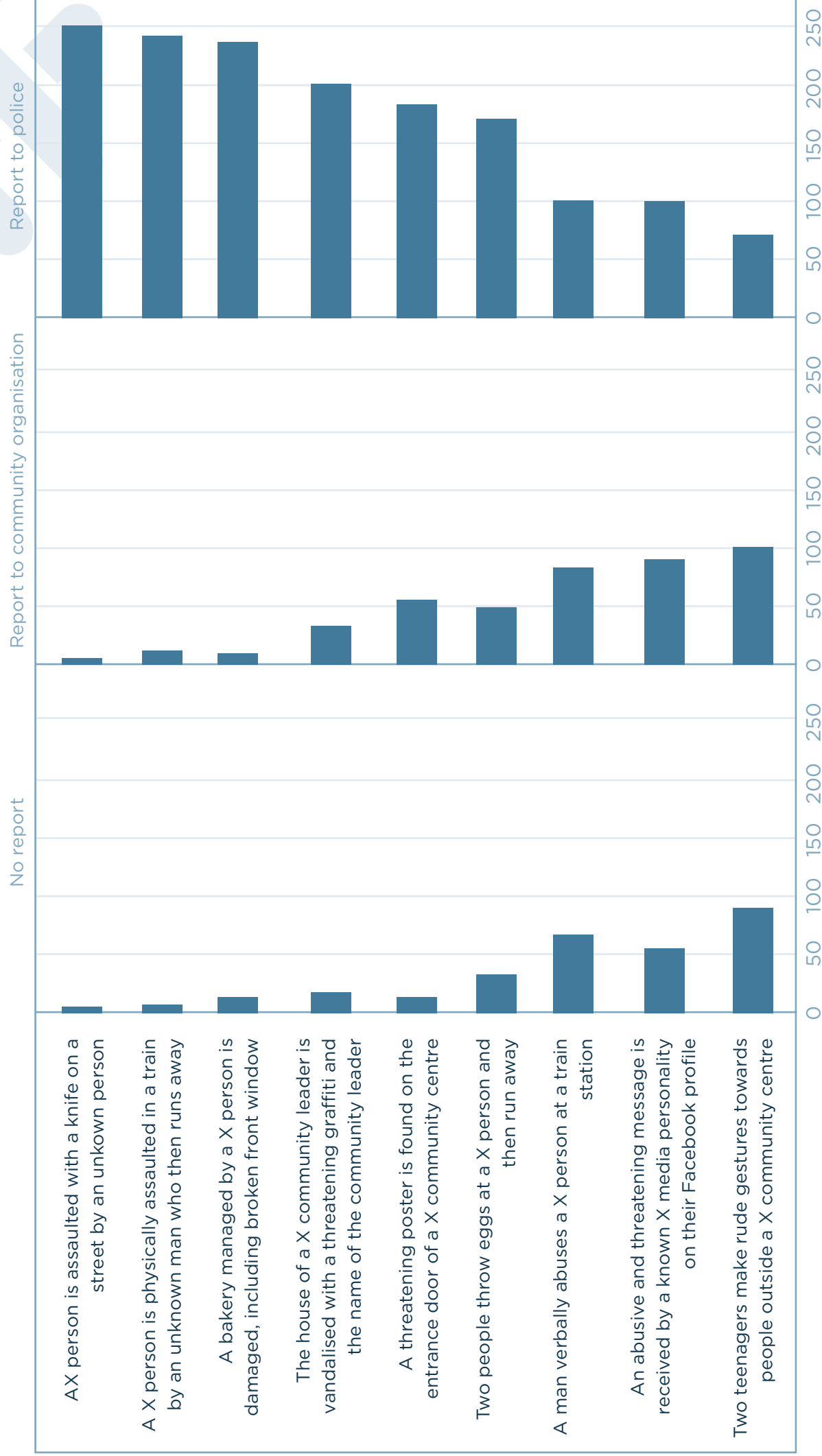
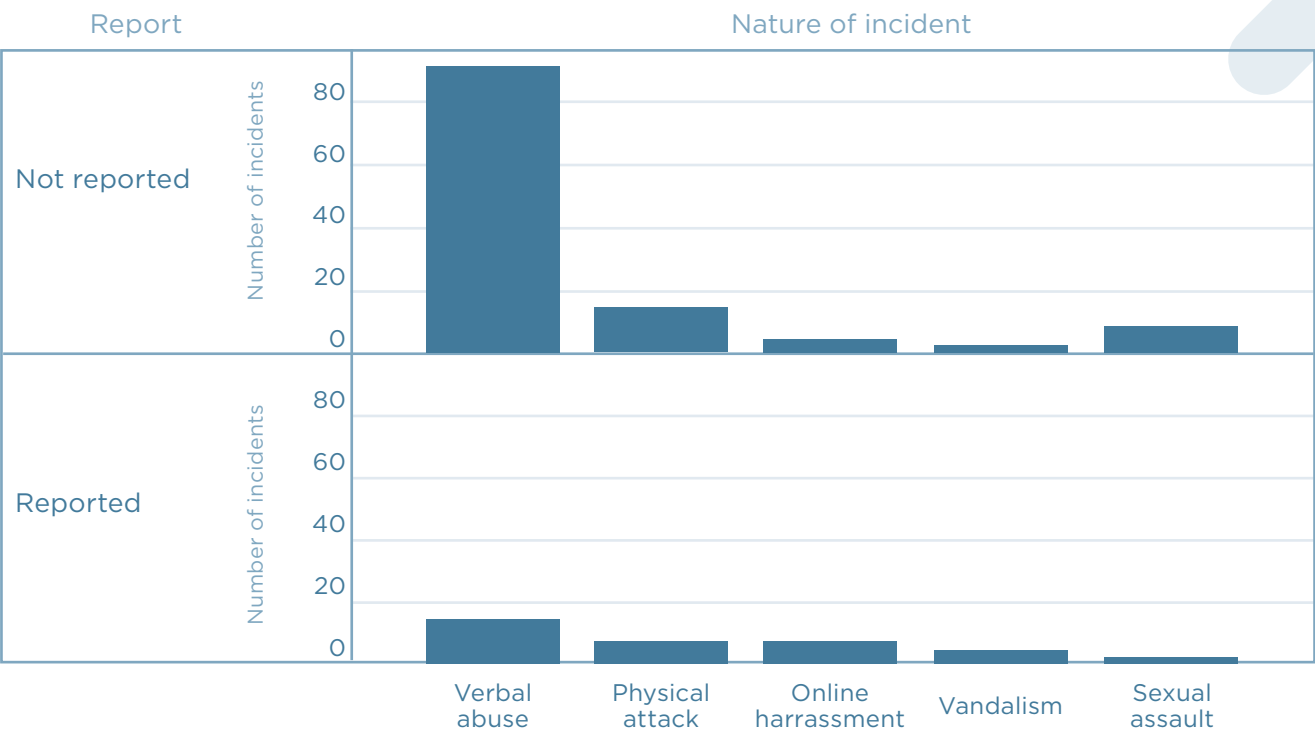


Figure 3.

Reporting behaviour among participants who were personally the victim of a hate crime or a hate incident



In real life, only 5 out of 13 participants reported being the victim of a violent physical attack. Only 1 out of 5 participants reported being the victim of a sexual assault.

Only 13 out of 96 participants had reported verbal abuse through any official avenue.

This finding suggests that, even though participants know that they should report hate crimes to the police, at least the most serious ones, barriers prevent them from doing it in real life. We would exclude that this discrepancy is the product of social desirability bias, because the questionnaire

was anonymous and openly asked about barriers to reporting, so participants were incentivised to report barriers.

Participants reported different types of barriers in relation to different types of hate crimes and hate incidents. If internal barriers were more likely explain underreporting of less serious incidents, such as rude gestures from teenagers or verbal assault, external barriers were more likely to explain underreporting of more serious incidents, like assault or vandalism (Figure 4).

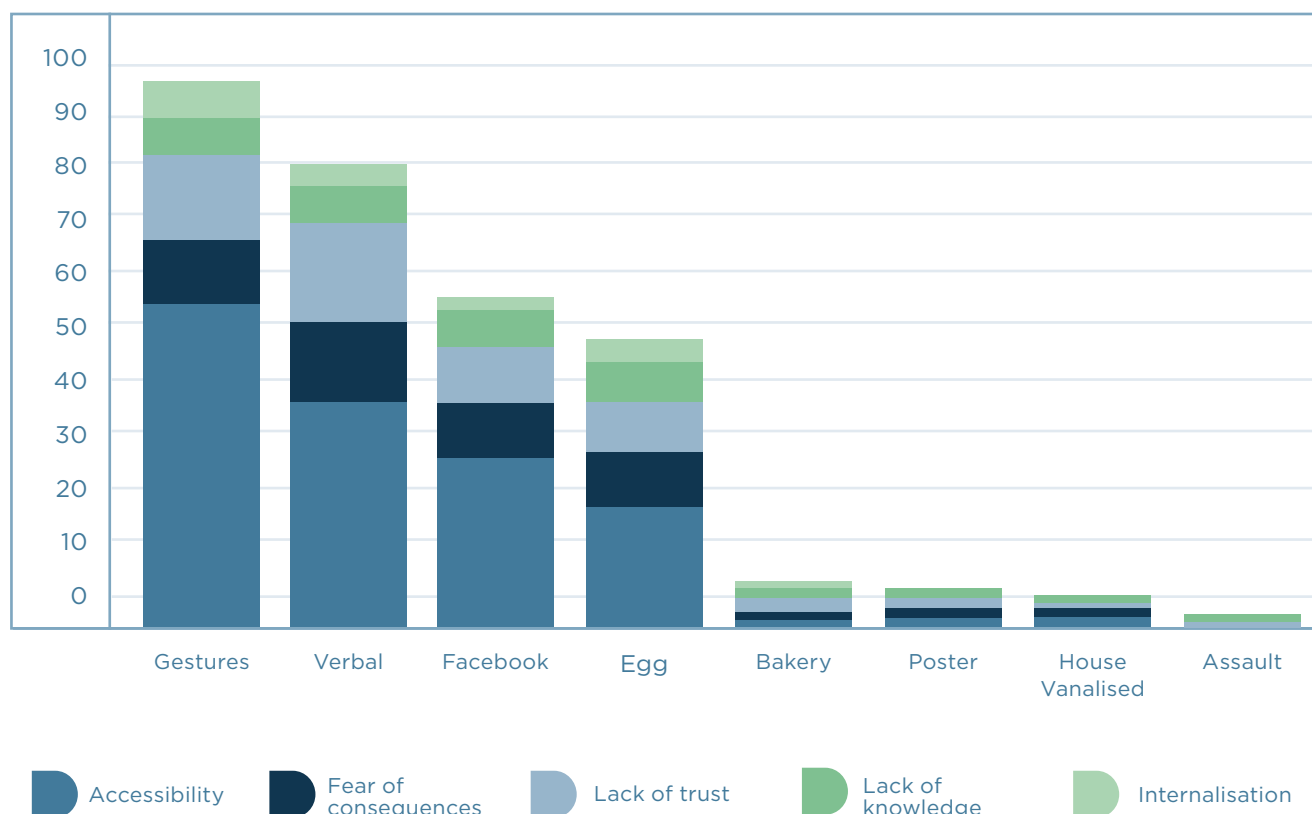
Internal barriers were cited by 65.3% (N = 64) of the people who would not report “Two teenagers make rude gestures towards people outside a X community centre”; by 63.3% (N = 50) of people who would not report “A man verbally abuses a X person at a train station”; by 65.5% (N = 36) of the people who would not report “An abusive and threatening message is received by a known X media personality on their Facebook profile”; and by 53.3% of people who would not report “Two people throw eggs at a X person and then run away”. Conversely, external barriers were cited by 61% (N = 8) of people who would not report “A bakery managed by a X person is damaged, including a broken

front window”, by 50% (N = 6) of people who would not report “A threatening poster is found on the entrance door of a X community centre”, by 54.5% (N = 6) of people who would not report “The house of a X community leader is vandalised with a threatening graffiti and the name of the community leader”, and by 100% (N = 5) of people who would not report “A X person is physically assaulted in a train by an unknown man who then runs away”.

Figure 4.

Different barriers for different types of hate crime and hate incidents.

The Y axis reports the percentage of participants who indicated each barrier type as reason not to report the incident





Self-reported reporting behaviours were different among participants from different communities. All the tables with the analyses are available in Appendix 3. As sample sizes in each community were small and not representative (please refer to the methods section), we warn against generalising the findings to broader communities. Among our participants, we can identify some broad, suggestive trends. For example, participants from the Chinese community and Sikh community are more likely to report to police all types of hate crimes and hate incidents, compared to participants from the Muslim, African and LGBTIQ+ communities.

We then looked at personal victimisation and community victimisation. Personal victimisation was measured by the question: “Have you been victim of any sort of aggression – such as verbal abuse, physical attack, sexual assault, robbery, or vandalism – because of your identity (ethnic, cultural or religious background, or your gender, sexuality, or disability, or other identity)?” Community victimisation was measured by the question: “Do you know anyone who was victim of any sort of crime because of their X identity?” The question was customised for each community, for example members of the Chinese community read the question as: “Do you know anyone who was victim of any sort of crime because of their Chinese identity?”

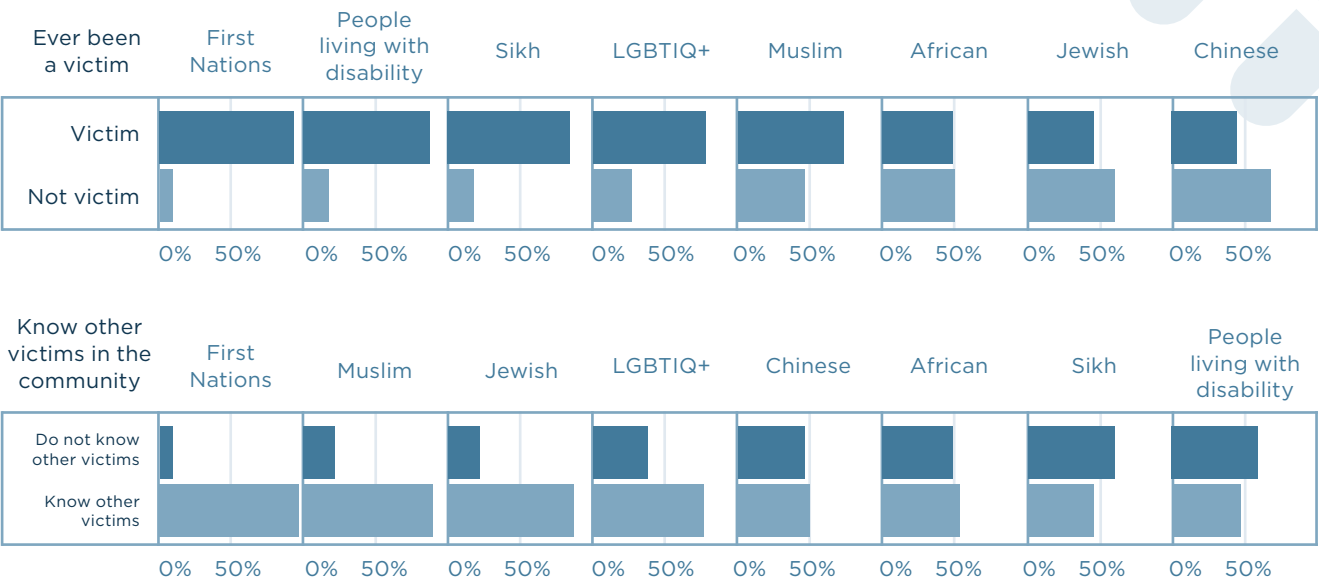
Patterns of personal and community victimisation were also different among survey respondents from different communities (Figure 5). Given the sample limitations, we avoid speculating on the different proportions of victimisation within each community group.

It is important to note that all communities had levels of personal and community victimisation much higher than the national average.

A recent representative survey of the Victorian population found that 26.6% of the Victorian population experienced some form of discrimination or harassment because of their perceived identity (Dunn et al, 2020). In the present study, reported personal discrimination ranged from 42% among Chinese respondents to 87.5% among First Nations respondents, and community discrimination ranged from 44.4% among respondents living with a disability to 87.5% among First Nations respondents. Also, it is important to note that low level of self-reported community victimisation might be affected by different levels of personal relationships and cohesiveness of each community. For example, people living with a disability are more socially isolated than other communities (that is, they know fewer people), and this might affect responses to our question about community victimisation.

Figure 5.

Proportions of respondents were victimised and who know people who were victimised in their communities



The survey explored trust in different institutions collecting hate crimes and hate incidents reports (namely, police, human right commissions and community organisations), as well as the preference for different reporting tools (Figure 6 and Figure 7).

Participants reported, on average, more trust towards a human right commission than a community organisation and a law enforcement agency.

The most preferred reporting tool was the phone, followed by face-to-face reporting, a website, an app, Facebook and Instagram. We report, in Appendix 4, the differences in the average responses between community groups. We run ANOVA tests to check whether there were significant differences in levels of trust and preference for reporting tools by different reported genders, age groups and education level. The only statistically significant difference is in relation to preference for phone reporting, which was significantly more preferred by participants in the 45-54 age group than other groups (see table in Appendix 4). No other difference is statistically significant (all p values > .05).

Finally, we asked how likely participants would be to report if reporting would take 5 minutes, 20 minutes, 40 minutes, 1 hour or more. The percentage of participants that would be moderately or extremely likely to report if it took 5 minutes was 87.2%. This dropped to 78.6% if reporting took 20 minutes, to 47.9% if reporting took 40 minutes, and to 34.6% if reporting took 1 hour or more.

Figure 6.

Average trust in organisations receiving reports

Average self-reported trust (scale 1 to 100)

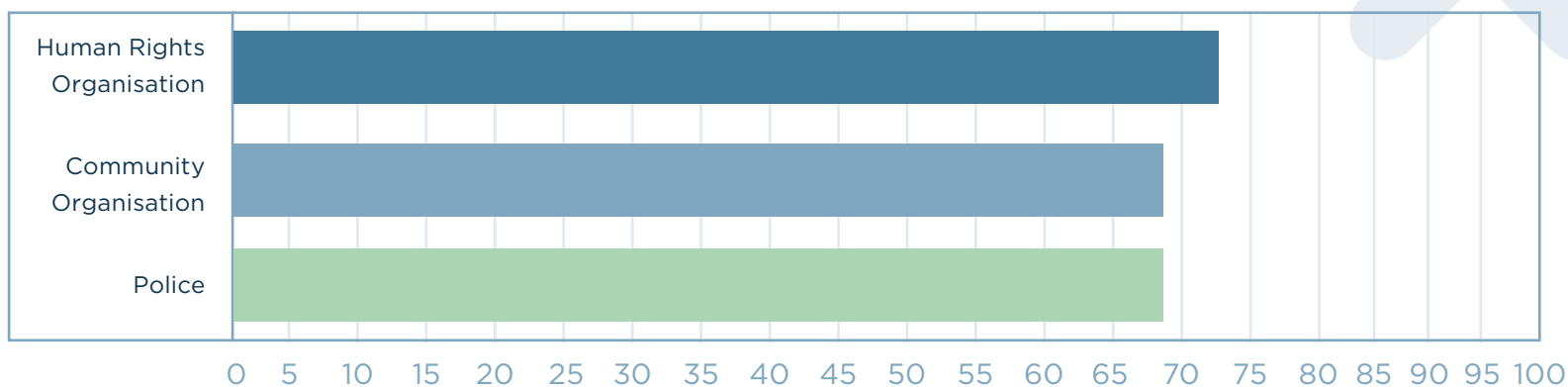
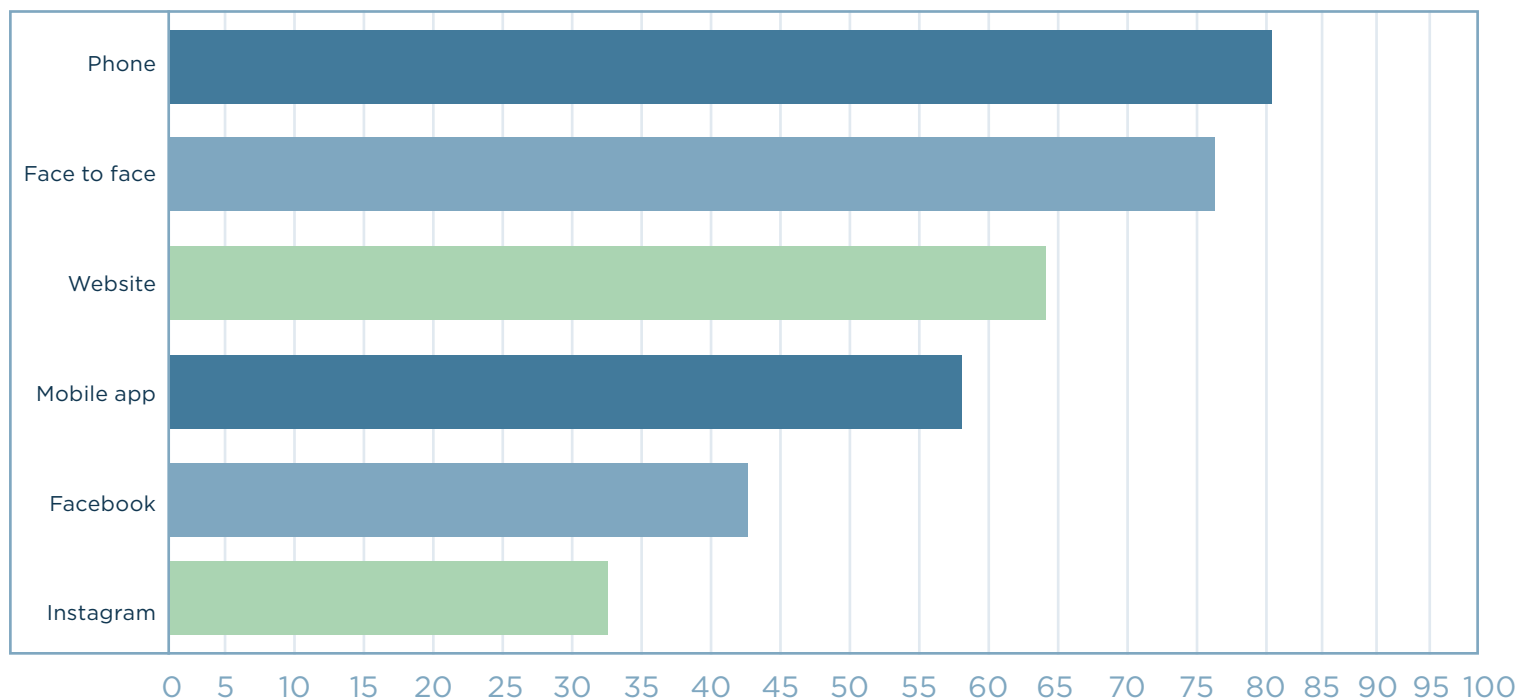


Figure 7.

Average preference for different reporting tools

Average self-reported preference for each tool (scale 1 to 100)



Conclusion and recommendations

This report explored the reasons why different communities in Victoria do not report hate crime and hate incidents victimisation. It showed that barriers to reporting are still widespread in Victoria, although the study participants know that they should – in theory – report, especially when they are the victim of a serious crime.

We created a typology of barriers, which includes five types of barriers divided into two categories:

Internal barriers

- > internalisation
- > lack of awareness

External barriers

- > fear of consequences
- > lack of trust in statutory agencies
- > accessibility

These barriers are experienced in different ways by different communities. For example, fear of consequences can manifest as fear of being outed for LGBTIQ+ communities, fear of affecting their Visa status for refugees and migrants, or fear of losing family or carer support for people living with a disability. Although different communities experience barriers in different ways, most of the barrier types are recurrent across communities and might benefit from cross-community coordinated responses. For example, initiatives of community education and awareness could benefit multiple communities and intersectional identities across communities.

To address internal barriers, it is necessary to promote community education and awareness of rights, legislation and protections available to individuals. It is also important to remove the stigma associated with reporting that is present in some communities. To address external barriers it is necessary to:

- ✖ improve relationships between communities and stakeholders, both governmental and non-governmental;
- ✖ provide key services to mitigate negative consequences of reporting;
- ✖ improve effectiveness of responses from statutory agencies (as well as the communication of these responses to communities);
- ✖ improve accessibility to reporting (for example, by creating an integrated multi-channel system tailored to the needs of multiple communities);
- ✖ set up an outcome-focused reporting process for communities, where community members are provided services along with reporting, and be made aware of the benefit, both at personal and community level, of reporting.

Effectively communicating all tackling hate initiatives to communities is key. For example, some community members that we interviewed were not aware of important initiatives that Victoria Police have implemented to tackle prejudice-motivated crime.

The use of consistent definitions would make education and awareness efforts more effective.

For example, some communities refer to racism, others to community-specific terms (like homophobia, antisemitism or Islamophobia), others to discrimination, and so on. A more comprehensive and inclusive terminology would clarify education and awareness efforts.

Internal barriers are stronger in relation to reporting hate incidents (such as verbal abuse and harassment), and external barriers are stronger in relation to reporting hate crimes (such as physical assault and property damage). Institutions focusing on tackling hate crime, such as Victoria Police, should focus primarily on addressing external barriers. Institutions focusing on tackling hate incidents, such as community organisations or human right agencies, should focus primarily on addressing internal barriers. However, it is important to remember that both external and internal barriers contribute to underreporting of both hate crimes and hate incidents, and they both need to be addressed.

Based on our interviews, the Victorian Human Rights Commission is the most trusted body to receive reports (compared to Victoria Police and community organisations). Phone and face-to-face are still the preferred ways to report an incident or a crime.

Effective reporting systems should require between 5 and 20 minutes to report. Only 1 in 2 people would report, if reporting took 40 minutes or more.

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Appendix 1




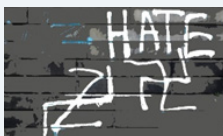



Studies considered in our review to produce the typology of hate crime barriers

Study	Study Type	Country	Group
Antjoule (2016)	Empirical (mixed method)	UK	LGBTI+
Chakraborti (2018)	Empirical (qualitative)	UK	Generic
Chakraborti, Garland & Hardy (2014)	Empirical (mixed method)	UK	Diverse groups
Chakraborti & Hardy (2015)	Empirical (qualitative)	UK	LGBTI+
Cuerden & Blakemore (2019)	Empirical (qualitative)	UK	Generic
Hardy & Chakraborti (2016)	Empirical (mixed method)	UK	Diverse groups
Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services, HMICFRS (2018)	Empirical (qualitative)	UK	Diverse groups
Mcbride, M. (2016).	Empirical (mixed method)	UK	Diverse groups
Paterson, Walters, Brown, & Fearn (2018)	Empirical (mixed method)	UK	LGBT and Muslim
Peel (1999)	Empirical (mixed method)	UK	LGB
Raine (2015)	Empirical (qualitative)	UK	Diverse groups
Richardson, Beadle-Brown, Bradshaw, Guest, Malovic, & Himmerich (2016)	Empirical (mixed method)	UK	Disabled
Sharrock., Pullerits, Piggott, Edwards, & DeMarco, (2018)	Empirical (qualitative)	UK	Generic
Sin, Mguni, Cook, Comber, & Hedges (2009)	Review	UK	Disabled
Swadling, Napoli-Rangel, & Imran (2015)	Empirical (qualitative)	UK	Generic
Williams & Tregidga (2013)	Empirical (mixed method)	UK	Generic
Wong & Christmann (2008)	Empirical (mixed method)	UK	Diverse groups
Wong, Christmann, Meadows, Albertson, & Senior (2013)	Empirical (mixed method)	UK	Generic
Culotta (2005)	Empirical (qualitative)	USA	Generic
Herek, Cogan, & Gillis (2002)	Empirical (qualitative)	USA	LGB
Lockyer (2001)	Empirical (qualitative)	USA	Generic
Simich & Kang-Brown (2018)	Empirical (mixed method)	USA	Diverse groups
Leonard, Mitchell, Pitts, & Patel, (2008)	Empirical (mixed method)	Australia	GLBT
Poynting & Noble (2004)	Empirical (mixed method)	Australia	Muslim and Arab
Victoria Equal Opportunity Human Rights Commission, VEOHRC (2013)	Empirical (mixed method)	Australia	Diverse religious and racialised groups
Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission, VEOHRC (2016)	Empirical (qualitative)	Australia	Racialised groups
Wiedlitzka, Mazerolle, Fay-Ramirez & Miles-Johnson (2018)	Empirical (quantitative)	Australia	Generic
Wickes, Pickering, Mason, Maher & McCulloch (2016)	Empirical (qualitative)	Australia	Diverse groups
European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, FRA (2016).	Empirical (qualitative)	European Union	Professionals

Note: LGBTI+ = Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, and others. LGBT = Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender. LGB = Lesbian, gay, and bisexual.

Appendix 2

The nine vignettes used to prompt the qualitative interviews

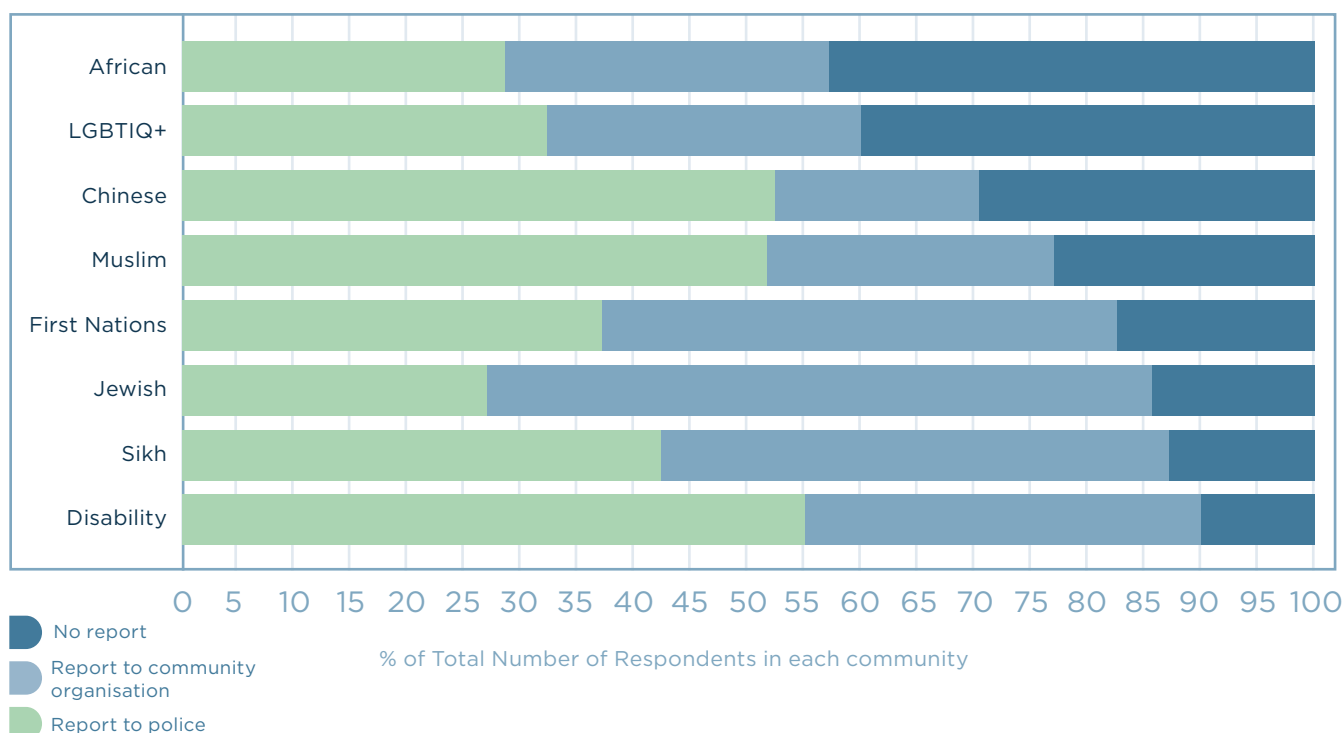
Type	Vignette	Example
Verbal abuse		A man yelled abuse to an identifiable XXX person in a train station
Gesture		Two teenagers made rude gestures towards people outside a XXX community centre
Call, mail, leaflet, social media post		An abusive and threatening email was received by an identifiable XXX person on their Facebook page
Sticker, poster		A threatening sticker was placed on the entrance door of a XXX community centre
Graffiti		The house of a XXX community leader was vandalised with threatening graffiti and the name of the community leader
Property damage		A school for kids of the XXX community was damaged, including a broken bench and a broken glass window
Direct assault with physical contact		A visibly XXX man was physically assaulted in a train while commuting to work by an unknown man who then run away
Indirect assault using object		Two people threw vegetables at a person with identifiable XXX identity, and run away
Use of weapon		A woman of identifiable XXX appearance was assaulted with a gun on a street by an unknown person

Appendix 3

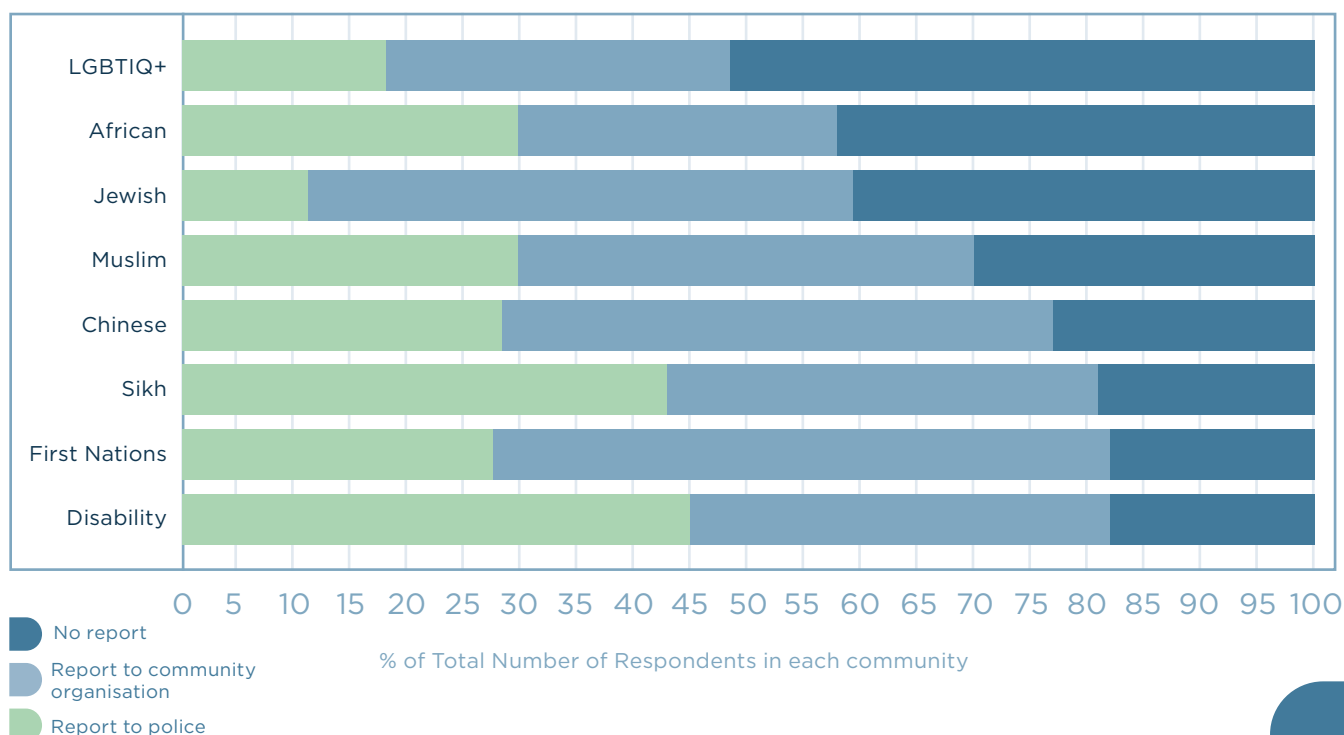
Tables outlining self-reported reporting behaviours by community

As the sample size of respondents, especially from First Nations and communities of people living with a disability (N = 11 in each community), are very small, we strongly recommend avoiding generalisations based on these tables. The tables only describe average responses among the survey respondents.

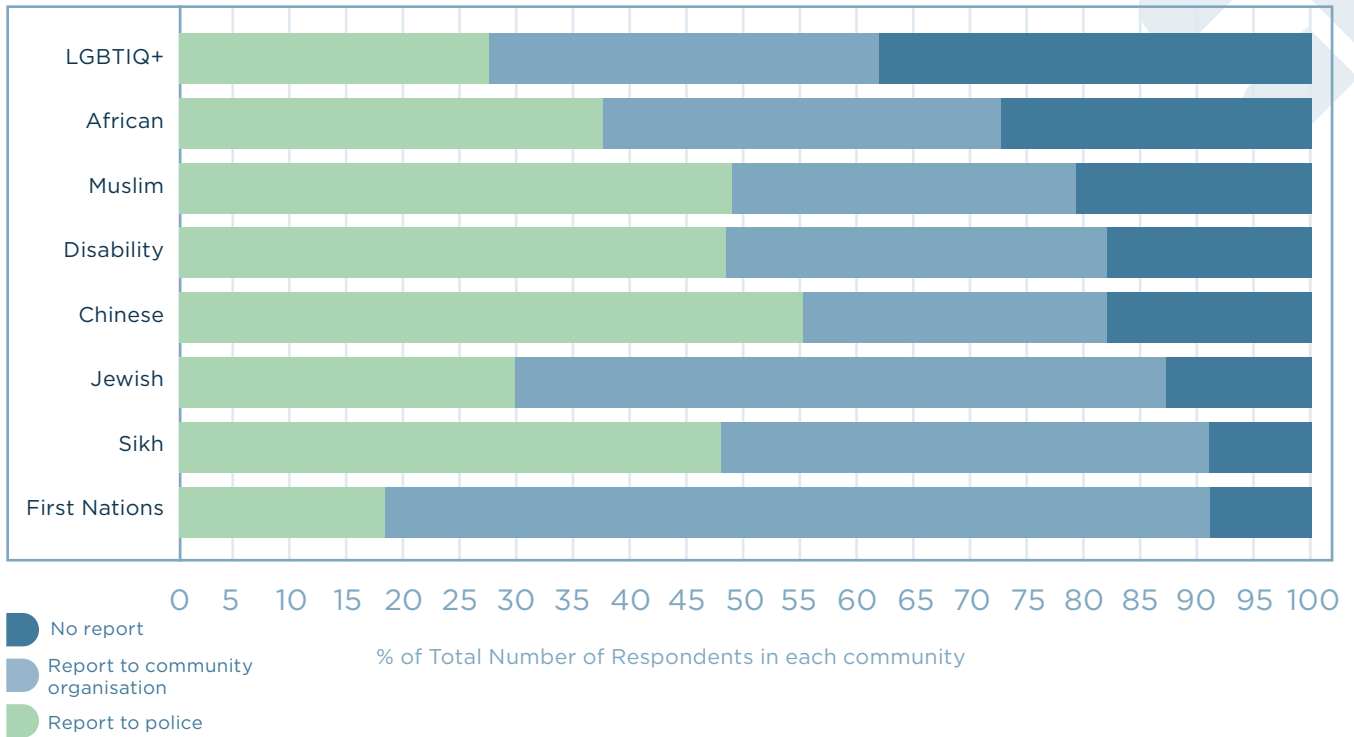
1. A man verbally abuses a X person at a train station



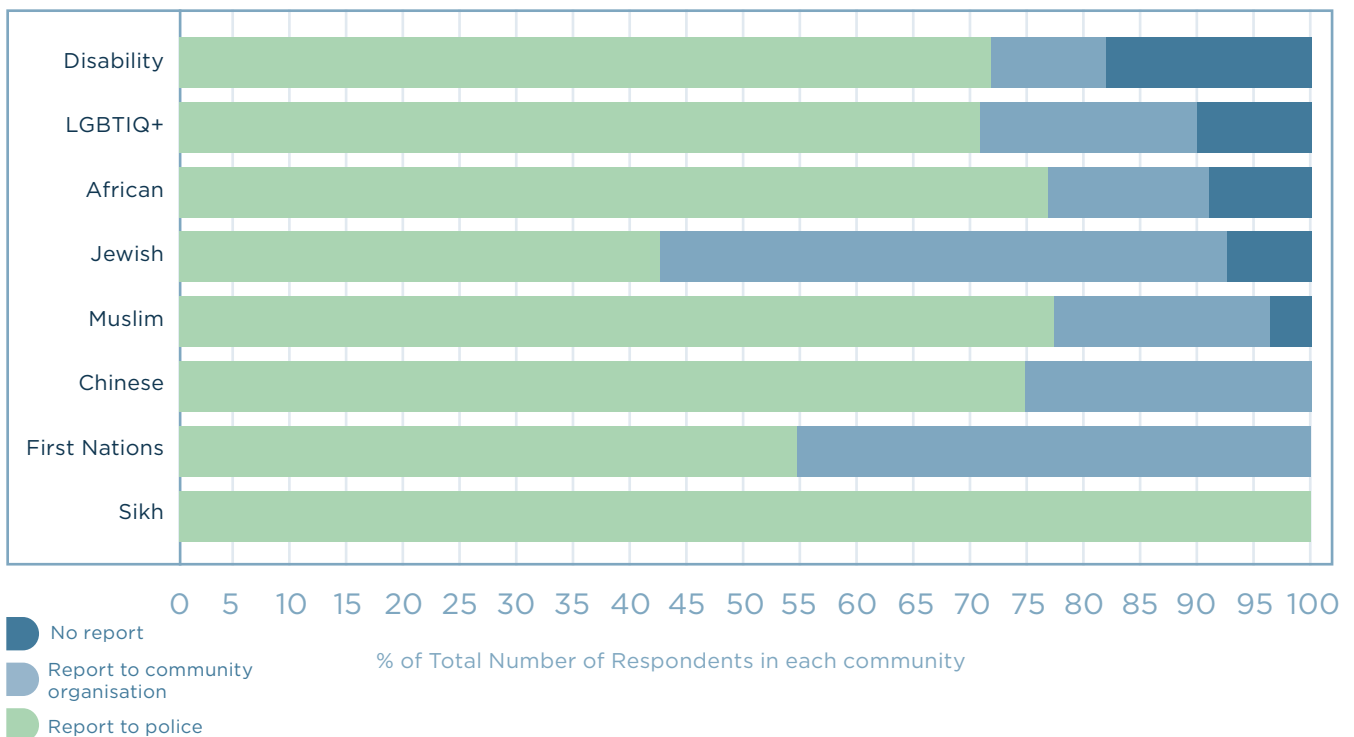
2. Two teenagers make rude gestures towards people outside a X community centre



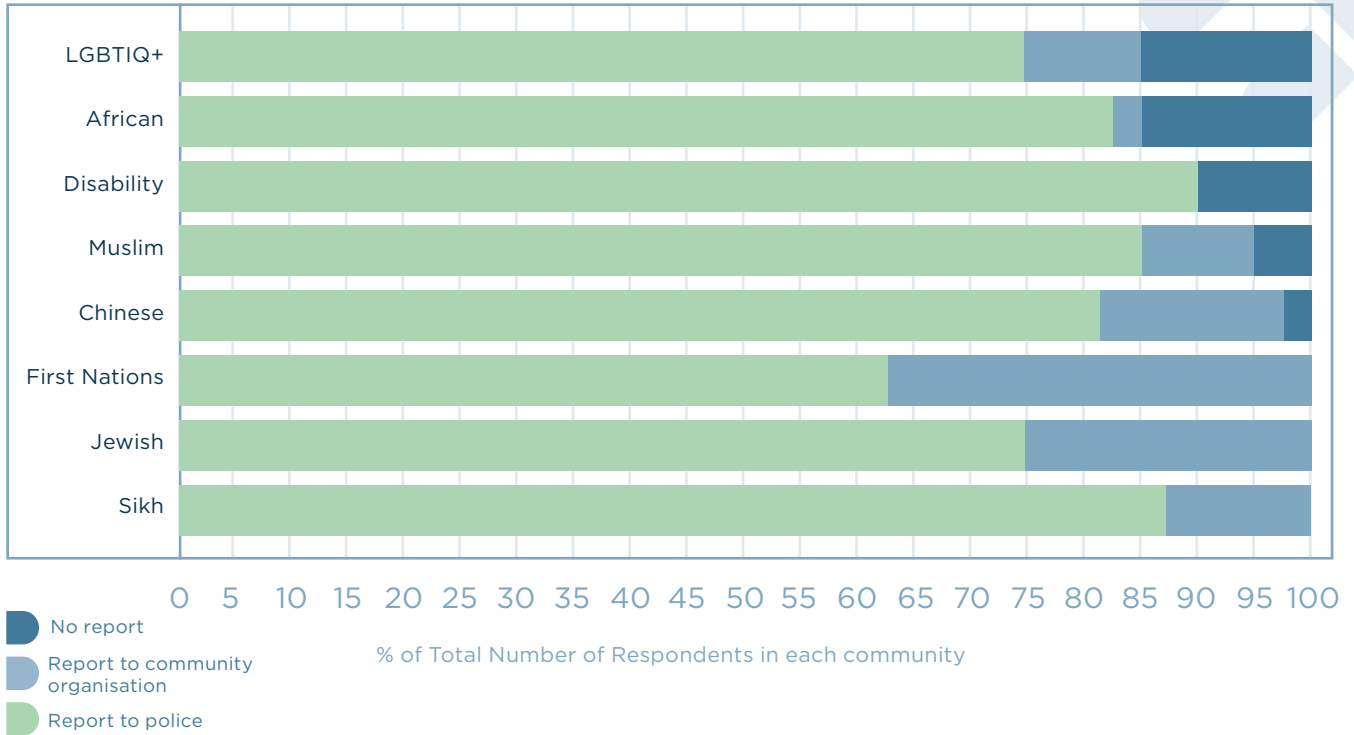
3. An abusive and threatening message is received by a known X media personality on their Facebook profile



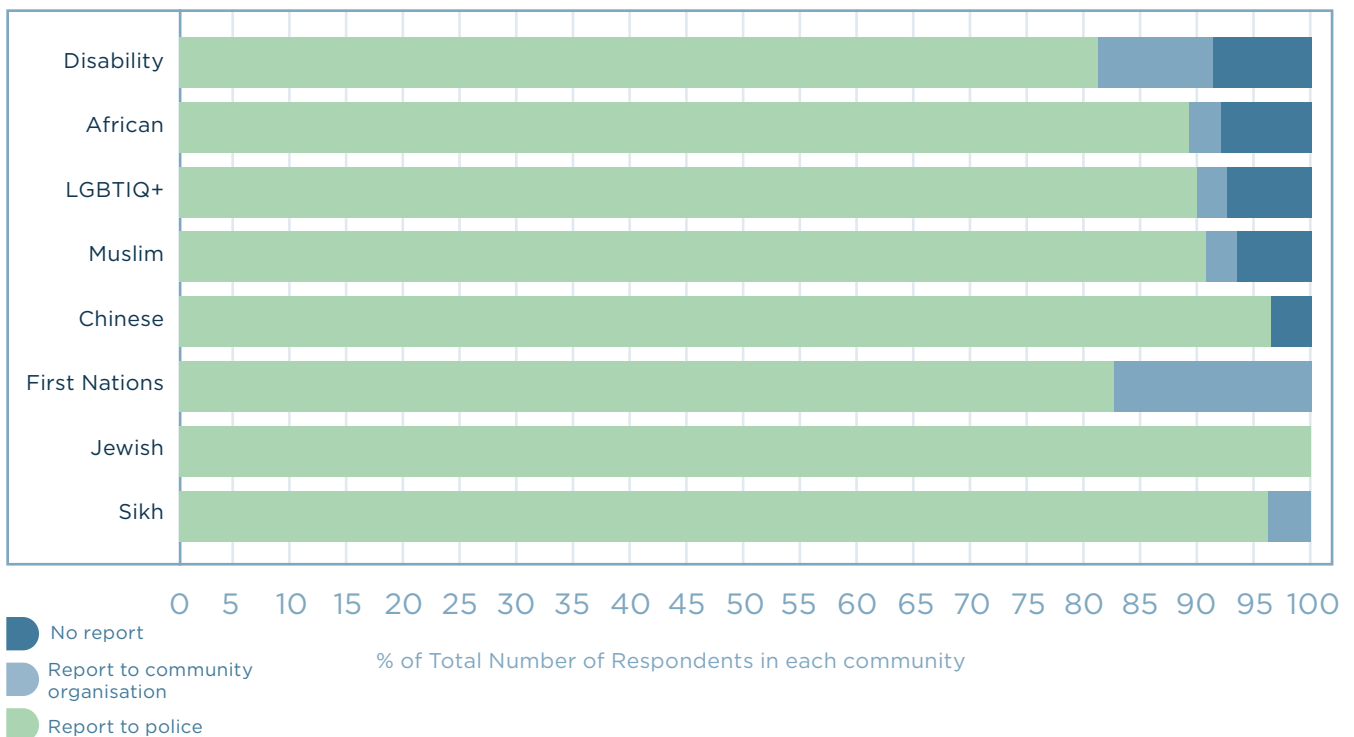
4. A threatening poster is found on the entrance door of a X community centre



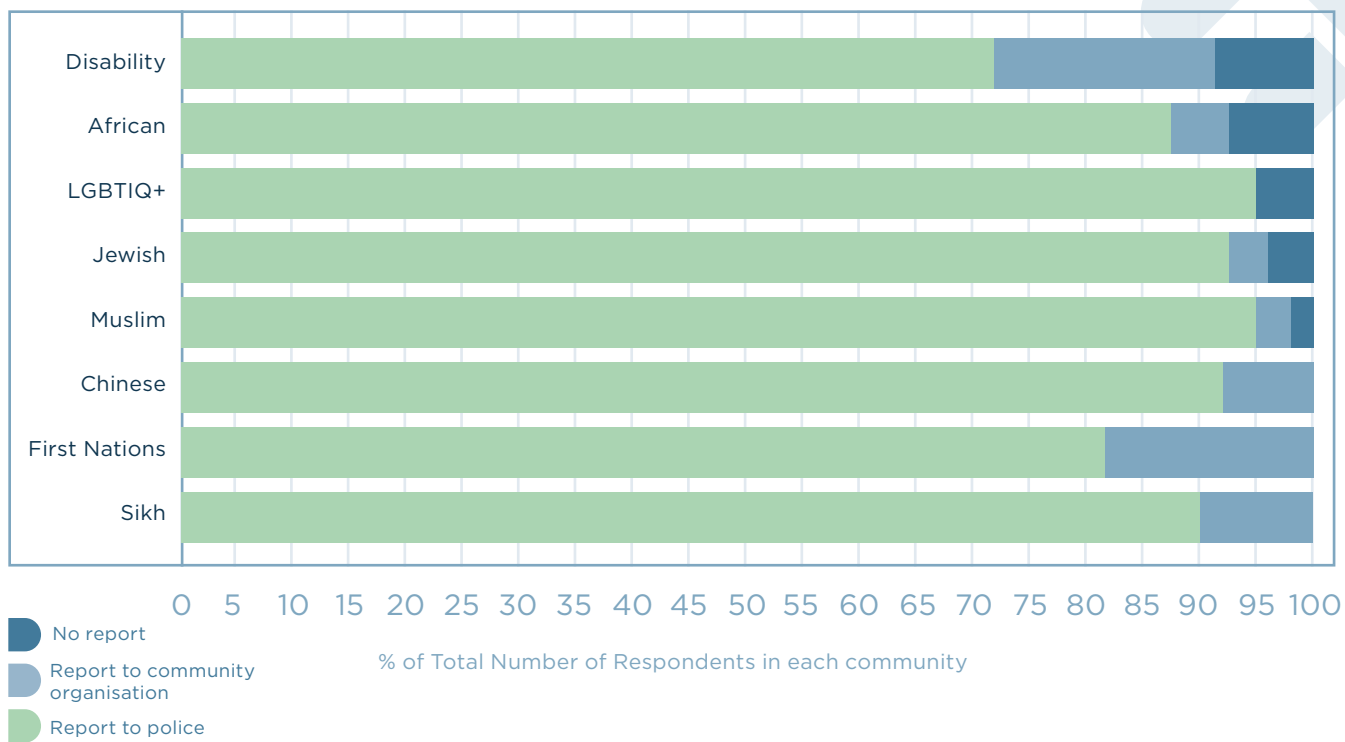
5. The house of a X community leader is vandalised with a threatening graffiti and the name of the community leader



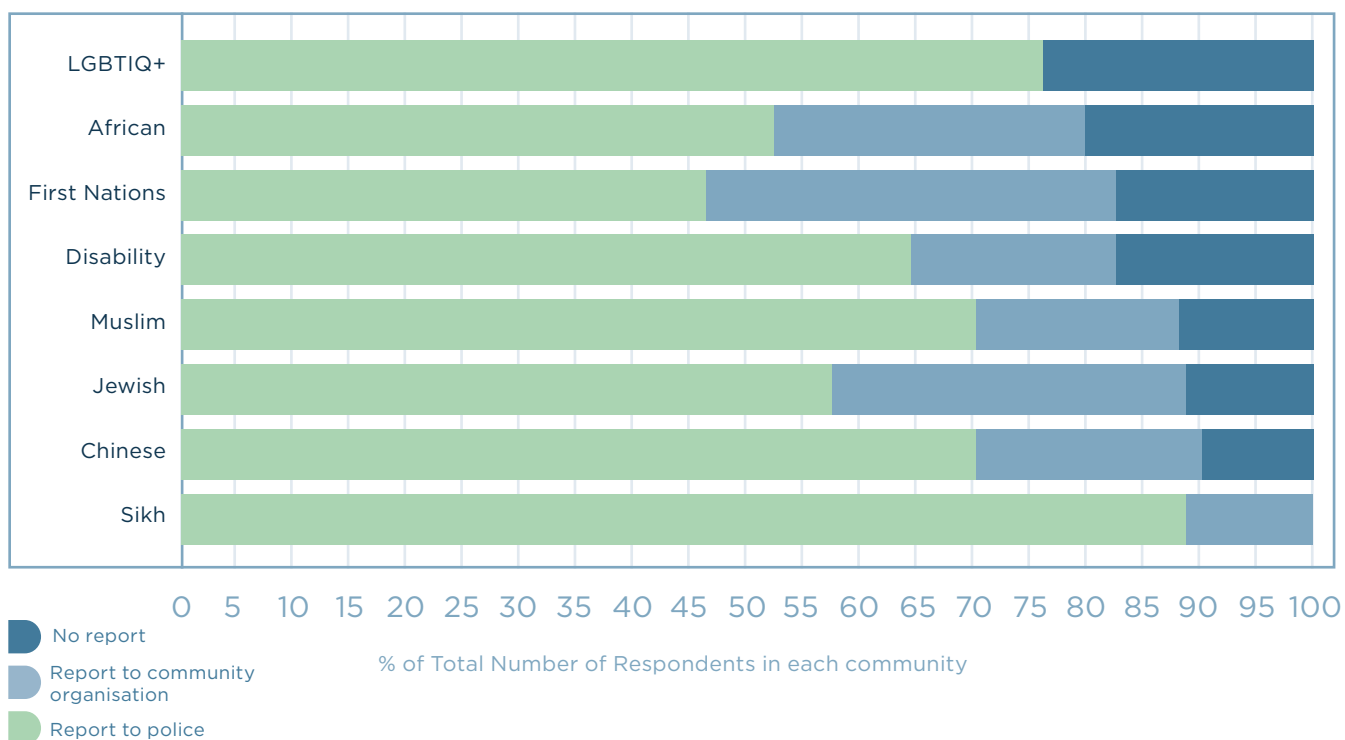
6. A bakery managed by a X person is damaged, including a broken front window



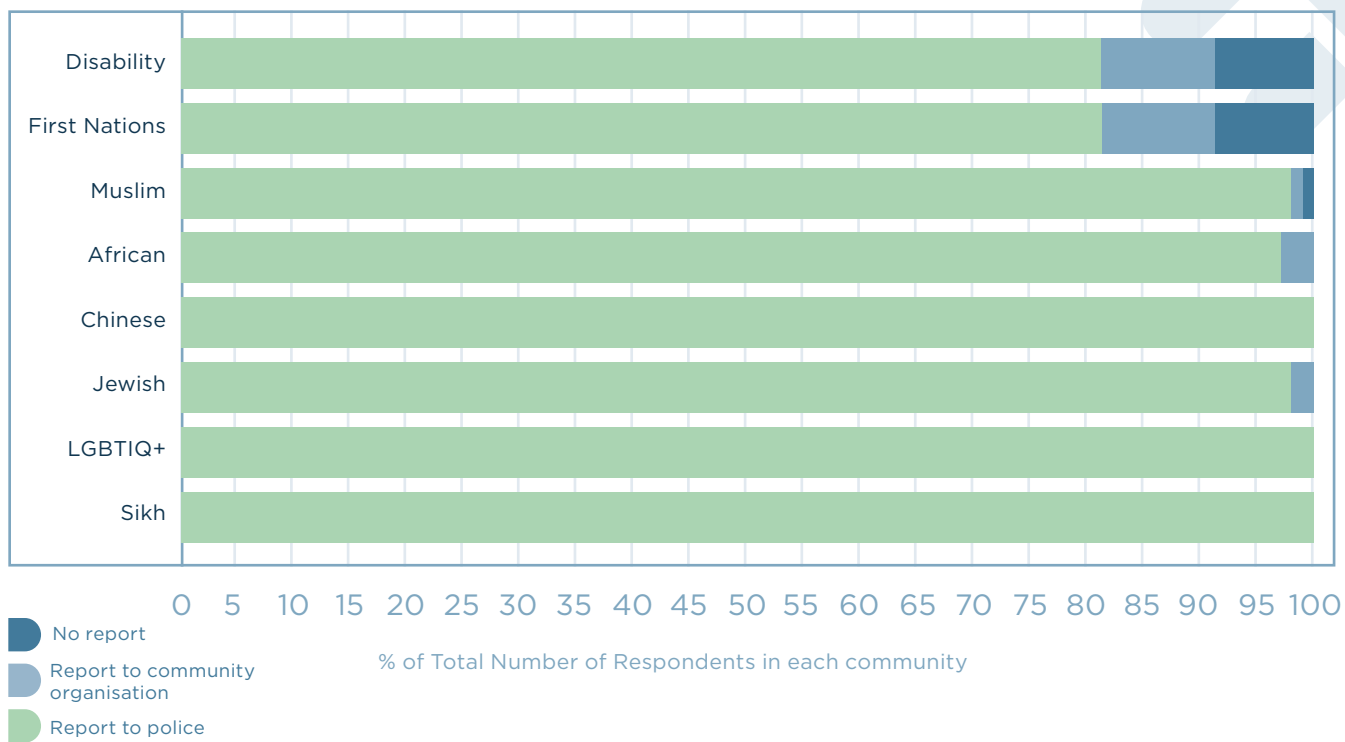
7. A X person is physically assaulted in a train by an unknown man who then runs away



8. Two people throw eggs at a X person and then run away



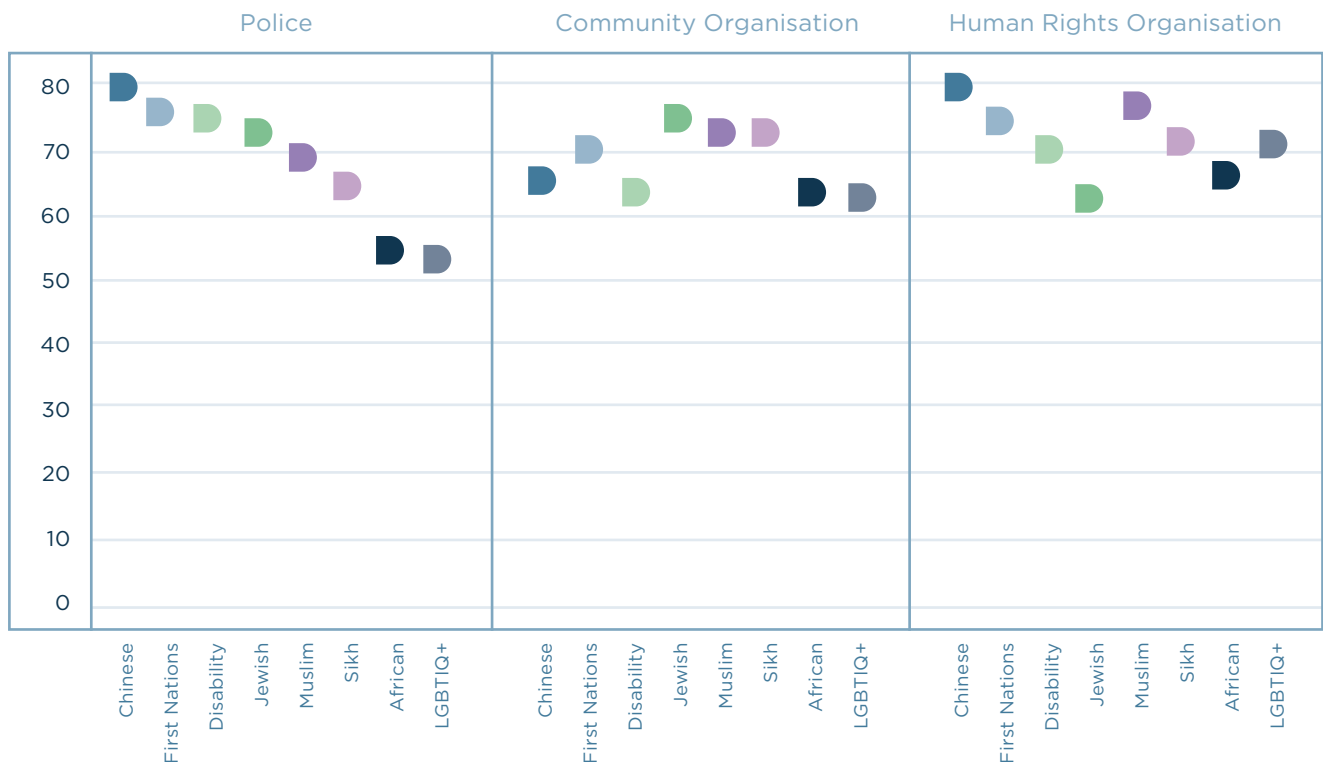
9. A X person is assaulted with a knife on a street by an unknown person.



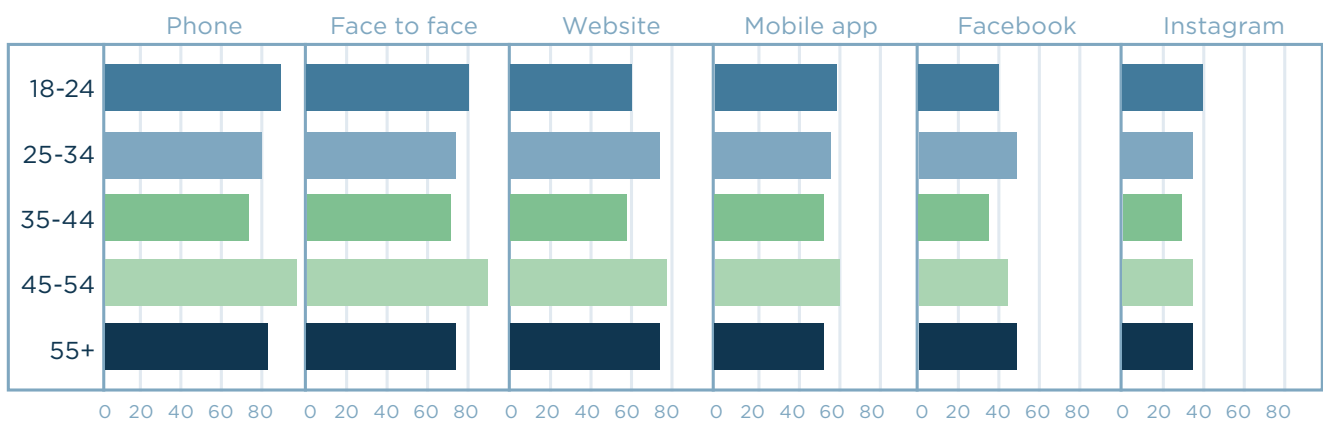
Appendix 4

Community and age differences in self-reported trust in organisations receiving reports, and in self-reported preference for different reporting tools

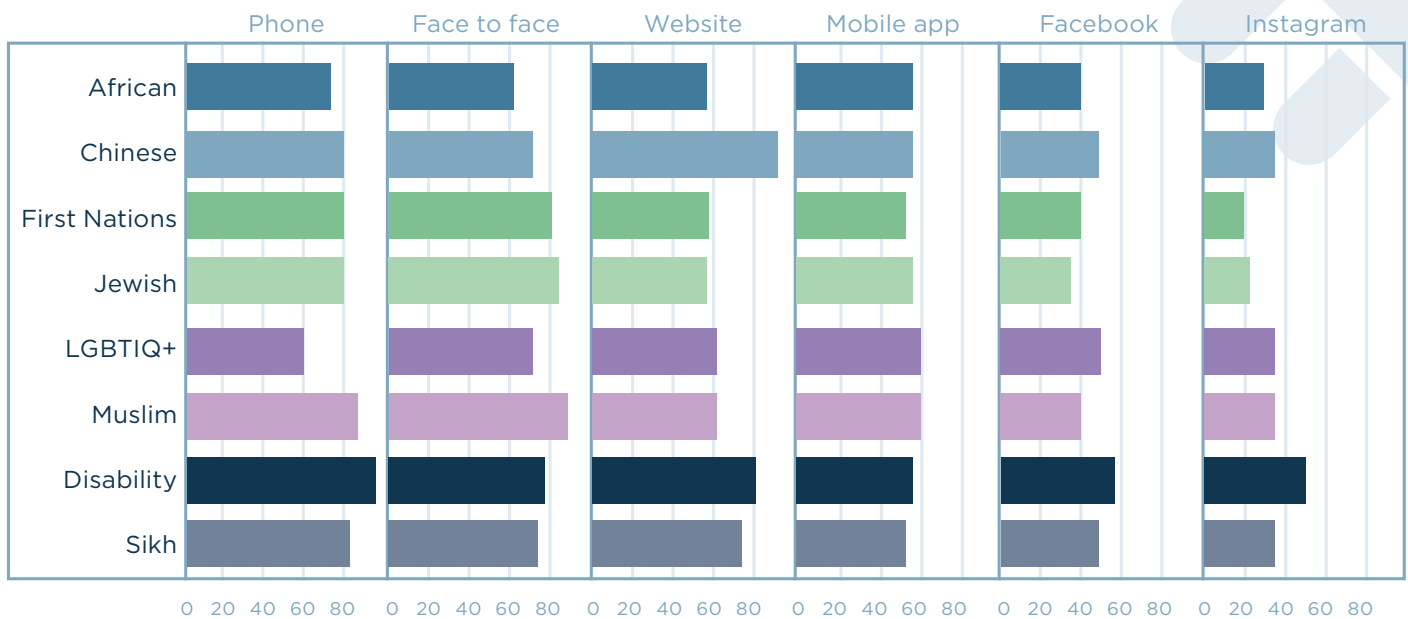
1. Average levels of trust in police, community organisations and human rights organisations (scale from 1 to 100)



2. Average levels of preference for different reporting tools by age group (scale from 1 to 100)



2. Average levels of preference for reporting tools by participants in different communities (scale from 1 to 100)



About the Authors

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Dr Matteo Vergani is Senior Lecturer in Sociology and Senior Research Fellow at the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation. Matteo's main area of expertise is the study of political violence and hate, with a main focus on the empirical evaluation of prevention and reduction programs in Australia and South East Asia. Matteo is leading a research agenda on the relationships between different forms of hate, including terrorism, hate crime and hate speech. He recently launched the collaborative website www.tacklinghate.org and published over 30 peer-reviewed articles and book chapters on violent extremism and hate.

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Dr Carolina Navarro is an Assistant Professor in Psychology (University of Chile) and a member of the Centre for Investigative Interviewing (Griffith Criminology Institute). Between 2018 to 2020 she was a research assistant at the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation. Carolina has a wide experience as a lecturer and researcher in the field of forensic psychology and victimology and is an expert on interviewing of victims. Carolina's work has aimed at contributing to the development of policies that benefit victims of crime, in close collaboration with human rights bodies, law enforcement and NGOs in Chile and Australia.



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