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Eva Groß, Joachim Häfele, Sascha Peter

Group-focused enmity from the perspective of those affected.

*Key findings from the research project "HateTown – Prejudice-driven
actions in urban areas"*

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Funded by the Lebendige Stadt Foundation

Highlights (summary of key findings)

1. Prejudice-motivated victimisation

- The proportion of the three most frequently reported prejudice-motivated offences (reference = without prejudice motive) is 84.1% for "discriminated against", 73.1% for "devaluation of group membership" and 66% for "sexually harassed".
- The most frequently cited characteristics that, in the view of those affected, led to prejudice-motivated victimisation were: "gender" (48.3%), appearance (47.2%) and "nationality" (31.2%).
- Respondents with queer gender identities are comparatively heavily affected. Across all vulnerable groups, they report by far the highest level of concern. devaluation of group membership (83.5%), personal threats, verbal abuse or insults (76.5%) and discrimination (75.9%).
- More than half of people with a queer gender identity have been sexually harassed at some point. This is the highest figure among the vulnerable groups surveyed. Almost four out of five victims suspect that prejudice was the motive behind the sexual harassment.
- At more than 44%, respondents with a queer gender identity were the most frequently attacked. More than 74% of those who were physically attacked believe that they were victimised because of their group affiliation.
- Almost a quarter of respondents with a queer gender identity report having been victims of sexual abuse at some point. Across all vulnerable groups considered here. This is the highest figure across all vulnerable groups considered here. 76% of those affected suspect that prejudice was a motive behind the crime.
- Compared to other vulnerable groups, elected politicians are particularly often threatened, abused or insulted on the internet. Almost 57% of elected representatives report this form of victimisation, and more than 6 out of 10 of those who have been victimised in this way suspect that prejudice is behind the acts. Political representatives are also comparatively frequently exposed to personal threats, verbal abuse or insults (58%) compared to other vulnerable groups.
- Respondents with a chronic illness or disability are "sexually harassed" relatively frequently, at 37.9%. At 15.5%, a relatively large number of respondents with a chronic illness or disability have experienced "sexual abuse". They are therefore at increased risk of experiencing sexualised violence.

2. Experiences of discrimination

- The vulnerable groups examined here differ significantly from members of the indigenous majority population (who do not belong to a vulnerable group) in their experiences of situational discrimination.
group) in their experiences of situational discrimination. People with queer gender identities (94.1%), Muslims (80.5%) and people with non-heterosexual orientations (80.2%) report experiencing discriminatory situations most frequently (e.g. at work, at school, university or other educational institutions, or on public transport). The differences are also clearly evident in the average number of discriminatory situations experienced. Muslims report almost five times as many discriminatory situations as respondents from the indigenous majority population.
- Respondents who do not "German-looking" respondents, those with subjective financial difficulties and queer gender identities.
- The groups most affected in percentage terms are, in the overall comparison, Muslim respondents and those with queer gender identities, but also those who non-heterosexual orientation or subjective financial difficulties, or who do not "look German".
- The vulnerable groups also differ significantly in their experiences of situational discrimination in contact with the police. 40.3% of Muslim respondents Beliefs report having experienced situational discrimination in their lives when in contact with the police. Among respondents with a queer gender identity, 35.5% have experienced discriminatory situations when in contact with the police, as have 28.3% of respondents who say they do not "look German".

3. Indirectly affected by prejudice-motivated victimisation

- 55.9% of respondents report that people in their family and circle of friends have been victims of prejudice-motivated acts. The most common forms of abuse reported are insults (39.2%) and discrimination (35.7%).

4. Reporting behaviour

- The reporting rate among victims of prejudice-motivated crimes across all offences is 19.6%. This means that over 80% of offences remain unknown to the police.
The crime-specific reporting rates vary between 47.6% for property damage and 2.4% for derogatory or disparaging comments made by others about the group to which the respondents belong.
- Almost half (47.9%) of respondents did not tell the police that they felt they had been targeted because of their personal characteristics.

- Only 14.7% reported that the police asked them of their own accord about a possible prejudicial motive behind the crime.
- There are significant differences in reporting behaviour between the various groups. Among the groups affected, elected politicians have a comparatively high reporting rate of 33.9%. Respondents with a migrant background and respondents who do not "look German" had significantly lower reporting rates of 19% and 18.4% respectively.
- At 41.1%, the most frequently cited reason for not reporting was that respondents did not consider the offence to be serious. In second place, with 30.5% of respondents cited "Because I know from experience that it won't do any good" as their reason. The third most common reason, cited by 29.2% of respondents, was the assumption that "the police probably wouldn't be able to solve the case anyway". This reveals a clear scepticism on the part of respondents regarding the effectiveness of police work.

5. Assessment of the police

- When asked to rate the police after experiencing victimisation (on a scale of 1 to 5), the following positive statements received the highest approval ratings: "Took enough time for me" (3.47), "Was helpful" (3.47), "Was friendly and committed" (3.50), "Expressed themselves clearly and comprehensibly" (3.58) and "Treated me with respect" (3.69). Negative ratings such as "Laughed at me" (1.39), "Was prejudiced against me" (2.03) or "Treated me unfairly" (2.04) received significantly less approval.

6. Context of the action

- The three most serious prejudice-motivated acts experienced by respondents were "sexual harassment" (19.1%), "discrimination" (18.7%) and "being personally threatened, abused or insulted" (17.5%).
- The most common locations for the worst prejudice-motivated incidents were "in another district of Hamburg" (24.9%), "outside Hamburg, but in Germany" (23.7%) and "at work" (21.6%).

7. Perpetrators

- In 70.1% of cases, the perpetrators were male, while in 19.6% of cases, the perpetrators were of different genders. 8.2% of the offences were committed by women and 0.7% by persons who were classified as diverse by the respondents. 1.1% cannot provide any information about the gender of the perpetrators because they did not see them.

- 42.3% were unable to provide any information about the main perpetrator other than their gender. 17.3% stated that the main perpetrator came from the school, college or university of the respondents. 16.9% stated that the main perpetrator came from their circle of colleagues at work, while 9.5% named professional contacts such as customers or patients. It is worth noting at this point that just under 5% (78) of respondents say that the main perpetrator came from the police force.
- With regard to the behaviour of uninvolved third parties, 58.4% and 47% of respondents reported that looking away and walking away were the most frequently observed responses. This indicates a rather low level of moral courage and/or empathy with the victims on the part of observing third parties. Significantly fewer, namely 34.8% of respondents, stated that third parties present at the incident had spoken up for them. 20.7% said that third parties had stood up for them in other ways. Only 4% of respondents reported that these individuals called the police.

8. Consequences of the crime

- The following statements were most frequently agreed with as consequences of the crime: "After the crime, I was afraid to go out or visit certain places" (17.5%), "Since the crime, I have had problems trusting people" (15.4%) and "I am still suffering psychologically (mentally, emotionally) from the consequences of the crime" (14.9%).

9. Seeking support

- Most frequently, victims sought support after the crime from friends (47%) or family (40.7%). Professional help, such as victim protection organisations, According to the respondents, however, these services are hardly ever used.

10. Collective victimisation

- Of those who have discussed their victimisation with people who share similar characteristics (59.2%), almost 7 out of 10 respondents believe that the crime also frightens people with similar characteristics, thus highlighting the message character of prejudice-motivated crimes.

11. Trust in institutions

- Becoming a victim usually leads to a decline in trust in institutions. This effect is significantly greater among victims of prejudice-motivated crimes than among victims of crimes without a prejudice motive. However, the loss of trust affects the institutions surveyed to varying degrees. For example, becoming a victim of a prejudice-motivated crime reduces trust in science by 0.2 units compared to respondents who have not previously been victimised. This is the smallest loss of trust when comparing these two groups. Becoming a victim of a prejudice-motivated crime reduces trust in

Trust in the police. Here, the difference in average trust is 1.5 units compared to respondents without victimisation experience.

12. Crime-related sense of security and protective and avoidance behaviour

- A comparison between respondents who have not yet been victims of crime, respondents who have been victims of a crime without a prejudicial motive, and respondents who victims of a crime with a prejudicial motive, shows that victimisation with a prejudicial motive in particular has a negative impact on crime-related subjective safety in all four areas surveyed. The biggest difference is found between respondents who have not been victimised and the group who have been victimised for prejudicial reasons in terms of the average sense of safety in relation to space when travelling on public transport and at stops in Hamburg after dark. Victimisation for prejudicial reasons reduces the sense of safety in relation to space by an average of 0.43 units.
- Fear of crime specific to the offence also increases significantly as a result of victimisation due to prejudice-motivated crime. Compared to respondents who have not yet were victimised, victimisation motivated by prejudice increases the fear of being discriminated against on the basis of a characteristic that indicates that the respondents belong to a particular social group. Here, the difference between the mean values is 0.92 units. The fear of being insulted, threatened or treated in a derogatory manner is also significantly higher in the group of those victimised on the basis of prejudice, with a mean difference of 0.82 units compared to respondents without victimisation experience.
- A comparison of affective fear of crime among vulnerable groups shows that respondents with queer gender identity, with a scale average of 2.49, are most likely to fear becoming victims of one of the crimes surveyed. Respondents who do not belong to any of the 13 vulnerable groups, on the other hand, have a below-average affective fear of crime with a scale average of 1.67.
- Protective and avoidance behaviour also increases significantly as a result of prejudice victimisation. The greatest differences in protective and avoidance behaviour between respondents without victimisation experience and those with prejudice-motivated victimisation can be found in "I avoid visiting certain streets, squares, neighbourhoods or parks" (mean difference of 0.56 units), "I avoid people I encounter in the dark whenever possible" (mean difference of 0.52 units) and "I avoid uncrowded places or streets" with a difference in means of 0.38 units.
This shows a clear barrier effect of prejudice-motivated victimisation experiences on the behaviour of those affected in public spaces, i.e. the spatial mobility of people who experience prejudice-motivated actions is significantly restricted.

- We have defined identity-related avoidance behaviour as behaviours that prevent the disclosure of identity in public (e.g. wearing religious symbols, kissing or holding hands in public, or avoiding certain styles of clothing). In the overall comparison, such identity-related avoidance behaviour is particularly evident among people of the Jewish faith, people with queer gender identities and non-heterosexual orientations.

13. Neighbourhood assessment

- When comparing victims of prejudice with non-victims, lower values in the area of local social capital (e.g. neighbourhood trust) occur systematically across all items among those respondents who report attacks based on identity-forming characteristics.
(e.g. neighbourhood trust) among those respondents who report attacks based on identity-forming characteristics.

Table of contents

1.	Introduction	1
2.	Theoretical and empirical background	3
3.	Survey structure	7
3.1.	<i>Cooperation</i>	7
3.2.	<i>Survey method</i>	7
3.3.	<i>Survey instrument</i>	8
3.4.	<i>Sampling</i>	8
3.5.	<i>Pretest</i>	9
3.6.	<i>Field phase</i>	9
3.7.	<i>Data set preparation, data analysis and presentation of findings</i>	10
3.8.	<i>Public relations</i>	10
4.	Description of the sample and vulnerable groups	11
4.1.	<i>Sociodemographics</i>	11
4.2.	<i>Vulnerable groups</i>	13
4.2.1.	<i>Migration background</i>	13
4.2.2.	<i>Languages other than German in public</i>	13
4.2.3.	<i>Does not "look German"</i>	13
4.2.4.	<i>Politically left-wing fringe</i>	14
4.2.5.	<i>Chronic illness or disability</i>	14
4.2.6.	<i>Non-heterosexual orientation</i>	14
4.2.7.	<i>Muslim</i>	14
4.2.8.	<i>Subjective financial difficulties</i>	14
4.2.9.	<i>Queer gender identity</i>	14
4.2.10.	<i>Political mandate</i>	15
4.2.11.	<i>Political right wing</i>	15
4.2.12.	<i>Sinti and Roma</i>	15
4.2.13.	<i>Jewish</i>	15
4.2.14.	<i>Not a vulnerable group</i>	16
5.	Results	18
5.1.	<i>Concern</i>	18
5.1.1.	<i>General concern</i>	18
5.1.2.	<i>Concern motivated by prejudice</i>	19
5.1.3.	<i>General concern and prejudice-motivated concern by vulnerable group</i>	22
5.1.4.	<i>Personal characteristics that lead to prejudice-motivated victimisation</i>	34
5.1.5.	<i>Experiences of discrimination</i>	39
5.1.6.	<i>Discrimination by the police</i>	41
5.2.	<i>Prejudice-motivated concern among family and friends</i>	43
5.3.	<i>Reporting behaviour</i>	45

5.3.1.	Organisations to which the offence was reported	46
5.3.2.	Reporting rates.....	47
5.3.3.	Reasons for reporting.....	49
5.3.4.	Reasons for non-reporting.....	50
5.3.5.	Assessment by the police	51
5.4.	<i>Context and consequences of the offence</i>	54
5.4.1.	Most serious offence.....	54
5.4.2.	Scene of the crime and context of the crime.....	55
5.4.3.	Perpetrators.....	57
5.4.4.	Behaviour of third parties during the crime	58
5.4.5.	Consequences of the offence	59
5.4.6.	Seeking support	67
5.4.7.	Collective victimisation.....	68
5.5.	<i>Fear of crime and personal attitudes towards crime</i>	71
5.5.1.	Spatial sense of security	71
5.5.2.	Fear of crime specific to certain offences.....	74
5.5.3.	Risk perception	77
5.6.	<i>Protective and avoidance behaviour</i>	80
5.7.	<i>Neighbourhood assessment</i>	84
5.8.	<i>Trust in institutions</i>	87
6.	Summary and discussion	91
7.	Bibliography	93
	Appendix (survey instrument)	98

1. Introduction

Prejudice-motivated actions¹ are directed specifically against individuals on the basis of their social group affiliation and are based on protected characteristics such as skin colour, religious beliefs or sexual orientation (e.g. Häfele & Groß, 2023; Groß & Häfele, 2021; Chakraborti, Garland & Hardy, 2014). In recent years, there has been a significant increase in the number of officially registered cases of prejudice-driven acts. Due to the situation in Israel, a further significant increase in prejudice-related acts (especially against Jews) is currently to be expected. In the social sciences, the term prejudice-related crime (hereinafter PRC) has become established for prejudice-driven acts that are relevant under criminal law (Coester & Church, 2021). This includes "acts in the course of which one or more persons or their property are victimised through intimidation, threats, physical or psychological violence [...]. The harm is not only directed at the direct victim, but also sends an intimidating message that addresses the identity of the victim group and thus the foundations of a democratic society" (Coester 2008, p. 27). The NSU murder series between 2000 and 2006, the anti-Semitic attack on a synagogue in Halle in 2019 and the attack in Hanau in 2020 are among the most well-known and serious cases of hate crime in this country. Compared to "normal" crimes, hate crimes and prejudice crimes are characterised above all by the fact that they target the attributed group identity of the victims and, in addition to their direct (micro level) effect, also have a symbolic effect on the group as a whole, as the aim is to frighten or intimidate the members of the group through these acts (meso level) (e.g. Beyer & Liebe, 2020, p. 131). The intended symbolic effect of the act(s) is typically accompanied by a particularly high intensity of violence in order to cause as much damage or have as great a symbolic effect as possible (Lang 2014; Coester 2015, p. 338; Häfele & Groß, 2023). What is particularly serious is that the affected individual is unable to change the characteristic that made them a victim. Accordingly, the probability of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is significantly higher (e.g. Iganski & Lagou, 2009; Quent, Geschke & Peinelt, 2014). The spectrum of hate crime can range from vandalism to murder (e.g. Gerstenfeld, 2017, p. 159). Prejudice-motivated acts thus have particularly serious and long-term consequences at the micro, meso and macro levels of society. At the macro level, prejudice-motivated acts are always directed against the fundamental values of a pluralistic and democratic society. The particular socio-political sensitivity of prejudice-motivated acts points to the need for a reliable data basis for researching the perspective of those affected, including the perception of the police. While the concept of hate crime has been intensively researched from the victim's perspective in the USA since the early 1990s, only a few representative findings are available for Germany to date.

¹From a criminological perspective, the terms 'prejudice-motivated acts' or (in the case of criminal acts) prejudice-based crime are more accurate than hate crime, especially since the acts are an expression of group-based devaluation and discrimination (group-based hostility towards humans) or negative prejudices against social groups that are linked to social structures of power and oppression. See also Fuchs, 2021, p. 270.

Against this backdrop, the aim of this study is to assess the impact on different groups and the consequences of prejudice-driven actions. In this context, the study also examines, among other things, the perception and trust of those affected in the police, their reporting behaviour, the personal consequences for those affected and their coping strategies. A quantitative online questionnaire was used to conduct a representative survey of the population in Hamburg in autumn 2022 on experiences of victimisation, which provided the data basis for the following report. The results of the study will also be incorporated into the training and further education of police officers, thus making an important contribution to raising awareness and professionalising their handling of prejudice-motivated victimisation.

The study was financed by third-party funding from the Hamburg-based *Lebendige Stadt foundation* and by budgetary funds from the Lower Saxony Police Academy and the Hamburg Police Academy.

2. Theoretical and empirical background

For several decades now, prejudice-motivated actions have been recognised as a distinct social problem in Germany, initially mainly originating in the United States. Accordingly, there are now a whole series of overviews, anthologies and handbooks (e.g. Coester, 2008; Hall et al., 2015; Lang, 2014; McBride, 2016). The concept of prejudice-based crime (PBC) coincides almost entirely with the concept of group-focused enmity (GFE) (Heitmeyer, 2002; Häfele & Groß, 2023). The common core of both concepts is the prejudice-driven assumption of the inequality of different population groups (ideology of inequality) (Heitmeyer, 2002; Zick, Küpper & Heitmeyer, 2009; Zick et al., 2008). The concept of VK can be located at the tip of the GMF iceberg (see Figure 1), i.e. in the area where corresponding (group-related misanthropic) attitudes are reflected in concrete actions (Zick & Küpper, 2021). The broad base of the iceberg is formed by group-focused enmity (GFE) at the attitudinal level, as described in Figure 1. Without this, there would be no basis for legitimising (right-wing Populism in politics and the media, which in turn provides a basis for legitimising misanthropic actions against targeted and devalued groups ("hate crime/right-wing extremist criminal acts and violence").

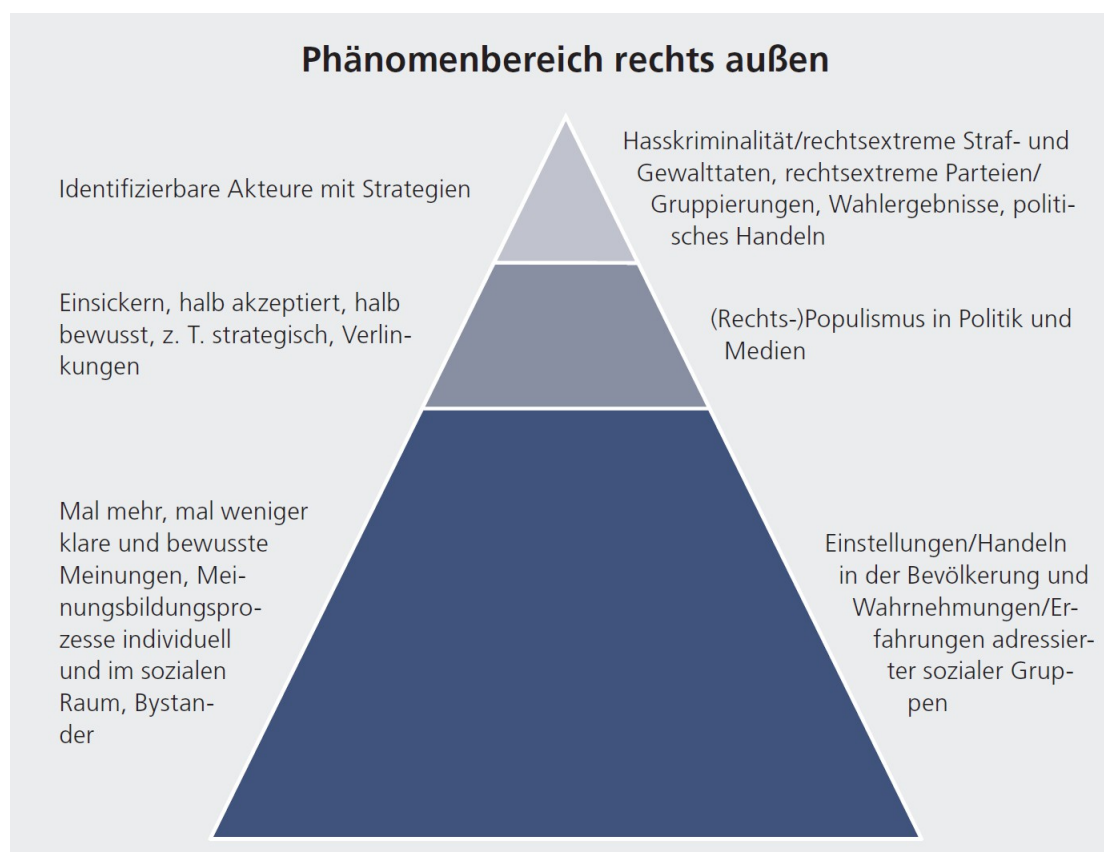


Figure 1: Source: Küpper, Zick & Rump 2021, p. 82.

There are some early theories (Adorno et al., 1950; Allport, 1954) and strong empirical support for the idea that dimensions of GMF are essentially interrelated, i.e. people who reject one out-group also tend to reject other out-groups (GMF syndrome). Empirical research has also sufficiently demonstrated that GMF and so-called "cognitive extremism" based on it play a significant role in the run-up to prejudice-motivated actions. They form the basis for legitimising such acts at the attitudinal level. An empirical connection between attitudes in the sense of GMF and prejudice-motivated actions was also recently proven empirically by Krieg (2022).

Insofar as these are criminal acts (offence + prejudice motive), since 2001 these prejudice offences have been officially recorded under the heading of "hate crime" in the area of so-called *politically motivated crime (PMK)* (Lang, 2014, p. 54). This includes offences directed against a person or group of persons on the basis of their political views, attitudes and/or commitment, nationality, ethnicity, skin colour, religious affiliation, worldview, social status, physical and/or mental disability and/or impairment, gender/sexual identity, sexual orientation or physical appearance (BKA, 2023). These acts may be directed directly against a person or group of persons, an institution or an object/thing which the perpetrator associates with one of the above-mentioned social groups (actual or attributed affiliation) or may be directed against any target in connection with the perpetrator's aforementioned prejudices (BKA, 2023b). Like the GMF concept, the VK concept is also subject to continuous change in the form of adjustments to social debates and developments. Since 2017, for example, instead of simply "their sexual orientation", the new version lists "gender/sexual identity, sexual orientation", which means that trans* people, for example, can be explicitly and clearly included in police counts, where the mere term "sexual orientation" fell short. In 2017, the characteristic "race" was also removed in addition to "ethnicity". The characteristics "physical and/or mental impairment" were also only added with the reform in 2017 (Groß & Häfele, 2021). Since 2017, law enforcement agencies have also been required for the first time, albeit only in a footnote, to take into account the views of the victim among other aspects when assessing the circumstances of the offence (Kleffner, 2018, p. 35).

Referring to Galtung's (2007) sociological definition of violence, which is widely used in the social sciences, all prejudice-driven phenomena can also be described as forms of violence in that they influence affected individuals to such an extent that their current somatic and mental fulfilment is less than their potential fulfilment (Galtung, 2007). Following Heitmeyer & Schrötte (2006), prejudice-related phenomena of violence can be further differentiated into (firstly) forms of direct interpersonal violence (e.g. physical, sexual or psychological-emotional violence), secondly, forms of institutional violence (e.g. violence by or against institutions) and (thirdly) forms of indirect, structural or symbolic violence (violence that is indirectly perpetrated via social oppression

and discriminatory conditions in a society and the cultural construction of inequality). This definition makes it clear that the phenomenon of prejudice-motivated violence not only extends far beyond the boundaries of criminal relevance, but is also always legally relevant within the meaning of Article 3(3) of the Basic Law. In contrast to "normal" violent crimes, prejudice-motivated acts of violence predominantly occur in public or publicly accessible spaces and between perpetrators and victims who are strangers to each other (Lang, 2014) and are typically accompanied by a particularly high intensity of violence (Church & Coester 2021). Insofar as these are violent crimes relevant under criminal law, they are often committed by groups of perpetrators acting collectively (Coester, 2016). It should also be emphasised that victims of prejudice-motivated acts have little opportunity for prevention or defence, as they typically become victims on the basis of unchangeable characteristics (Coester, 2015). People who have already been victims of a prejudice-motivated crime often report multiple victimisation (Church & Coester, 2021). Iganski (2001) describes the far-reaching effects of hate crime using "waves of damage" that extend from the micro level (individual) and the meso level (group, neighbourhood) to the macro level (society as a whole). It is not uncommon for victims of prejudice-driven acts to also report negative experiences in their contact with formal social control institutions such as the police, the judiciary and public prosecutors (e.g. downplaying of incidents) (Coester, 2019: 44).

With regard to prejudice-motivated crime, Germany is one of the countries in Europe where the number of officially registered hate crime cases more than doubled between 2014 and 2018 (Riaz et al., 2021). For 2022, 11,520 offences were recorded, which corresponds to an increase of around 10% compared to the previous year (2021) (Federal Ministry of the Interior and Homeland & BKA, 2023, p. 10). Apart from the susceptibility to error in the official registration of hate crimes (Habermann & Singelstein, 2018; Groß & Häfele, 2021), it must be assumed that there is a very high number of unreported cases in this area, between 50% and 90% (e.g. Church & Coester, 2021; Fröhlich, 2021). Findings collected by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) also point to a very high rate of unreported prejudice-motivated violence and harassment across the EU (FRA, 2021). Most recently, Bender & Weber (2023) were able to show not only that members of marginalised groups are significantly more likely to be victims of prejudice-motivated violence than members of the majority society, but also that these incidents of victimisation are also reported or prosecuted significantly less often.

Added to this is the problem that only offences relevant to criminal law appear in the reported cases, with the result that numerous prejudice-driven phenomena that do not fall within the scope of criminal law are not (officially) visible. In this study, therefore, in addition to prejudice-driven offences, GMF-based victimisation and discrimination that fall below the criminal threshold are also taken into account, as the consequences for those affected are likely to be serious regardless of the criminal relevance of the acts.

According to Article 14 of the European Convention on Human Rights (prohibition of discrimination) and the EU Victims' Rights Directive, member states are required to make prejudice-driven actions visible and to document them comprehensively in statistics. However, Germany has so far failed to meet this requirement. Added to this is the problem of the fundamentally flawed validity of officially registered case numbers. As a result, there is currently little reliable data available on prejudice-driven victimisation (especially beyond criminal relevance). The research project "HateTown – Prejudice-driven actions in urban areas" aims to make an important contribution to closing this gap.

3. Survey structure

3.1. Cooperation

The project was designed and carried out in cooperation with the following institutions:

- **Lower Saxony Police Academy, Institute for Crime and Security Research (IKriS)** (Prof. Dr. Joachim Häfele)
- **Hamburg Police Academy University** (Prof. Dr. Eva Groß)
- **Lower Saxony State Criminal Police Office, Criminological Research, Research, Prevention and Youth Department** (Alexander Gluba, Viktoria Bosold, Lukas Boll)

Associated partner:

- LMU Munich (Institute for Social Sciences Munich): Dr Werner Fröhlich.
- Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Social Authority, Office for Labour and Integration, ESF Administrative Authority (AI), Department for Strengthening Civil Society.
- German-European Institute for Urban Security (DEFUS).
- LKA 7 Hamburg

3.2. Survey method

In order to achieve the research objectives of this study, a comprehensive questionnaire was developed for an online survey. To this end, existing survey instruments from comparable surveys were systematically reviewed and the questions used therein were examined for their applicability. This made it possible to build on the preliminary work of thematically related surveys and to establish partial comparability with these studies, as several questions could be taken directly or adapted from existing surveys. Since existing standard questions from existing victimisation surveys often do not adequately reflect the research interest, a substantial part of the questions had to be newly developed.

The final questionnaire developed in this way contains a total of 107 questions, some of which consist of multiple items. It should be noted that not all respondents had to answer all 107 questions. Depending on their answers to so-called filter questions, respondents took different paths through the questionnaire. For example, respondents who were not affected by a particular offence did not have to answer further questions about the circumstances and consequences of that offence.

Once all the questions had been formulated and the overall instrument had been constructed, the questionnaire was programmed as an online survey using LimeSurvey software. The link to the survey was accessible via a cover letter that was sent by post to all respondents in the sample (see 3.5).

3.3. Survey instrument

The questionnaire (survey instrument) was designed using a participatory process. Accordingly, workshops on the survey instrument were held with representatives of the affected groups before and during the questionnaire design phase. This allowed the perspectives of those affected to be incorporated into the questions and the selection of items.

The survey instrument was then translated into six languages. In addition to German, the questionnaire was also offered to respondents in Arabic, English, Polish, Russian and Turkish. The aim was to minimise interview dropouts due to language barriers.

Data collection took place between 11 July 2022 and 11 September 2022.

As can be seen in Table 1, 91.2% of respondents chose German as the language for the questionnaire. English is the second most common questionnaire language. 6.1% of respondents made use of this option. 0.2% of respondents answered a Polish version of the questionnaire. Polish is therefore the least frequently chosen language option.

Table 1: Distribution of questionnaire languages

Questionnaire language	Number	%
German	3,552	91.2
English	239	6.1
Arabic	44	1.1
Russian	32	0.8
Turkish	21	0.5
Polish	7	0.2
Total	3,895	100.0

3.4. Sampling

A random sample of 50,000 people aged 16 and over who have their main residence in Hamburg was taken from the population register (as of January 2022). In order to obtain the highest possible response rate from people who, compared to members of the majority society, are more likely to be affected by prejudice-motivated actions, oversampling of non-EU citizens was carried out. For this purpose, a first stratum of 35,000 persons with German citizenship and a second stratum

of 15,000 non-EU citizens. The persons selected in this way were contacted by post and received a link to an online questionnaire.

In addition, the invitation to participate in the survey was sent to spokespersons/representatives of minority groups (the Black community, Jewish communities, the Muslim community) with a request to forward it. The aim of this additional snowball sampling method was to achieve the highest possible participation rate among people who feel they belong to typical affected groups.

3.5. Pretest

The questionnaire was pretested using a range of cognitive techniques (Porst, 1998, pp. 34–40; Prüfer & Rexroth, 2000). In order to draw a sample of test subjects (TS), a simple quota plan with combined quota specifications was drawn up. The prerequisite for participation in the pretest was membership of a typical group affected by prejudice-driven actions. Quota characteristics were gender, age and school education. Two people from each cell of the quota plan were to complete the pretest questionnaire and answer a series of additional questions about the questionnaire. The TP were recruited through notices posted in various high-traffic locations in Hamburg. Each participant in the pretest received €50 as an incentive per interview. The pretests lasted between 45 and 90 minutes and were conducted online. The sample (N = 16) showed the educational and middle-class bias typical of surveys (e.g. Diekmann, 1995, p. 271). Even with increased recruitment efforts, it was not possible to achieve greater variation in terms of the above-mentioned quota characteristics. In addition to identifying weaknesses in the questionnaire (unclear wording of questions and scales, ambiguous terms, problems with filtering and layout), the pretest also served to determine how much time respondents needed to complete the questionnaire.

3.6. Field phase

The survey yielded a total of 3,895 evaluable questionnaires. Since, in addition to the 50,000 people contacted who were drawn from the population register, there were other ways of participating in the survey, it is not possible to calculate the exact response rate. If only the random sample were taken as a basis, the response rate would be approximately 8%.

3.7. Data set preparation, data analysis and presentation of findings

The data was analysed using the Stata 17.0 MP statistics programme. The data set underwent several preparation steps prior to analysis. For example, outlier and plausibility checks were carried out before the data was analysed. The results of the individual variables are generally reported. In addition, scales were always created when several variables captured a theoretical construct, such as the dimensions of fear of crime. The possibility of creating scales was always tested using reliability and factor analyses.

The results are presented descriptively (frequencies, cross tables, diagrams). In most cases, relative frequencies are shown, using valid percentages (i.e. cases with valid/non-missing data form the basis for the percentages). Results relating to fewer than 20 cases (but more than 10 cases) are shown in the figures and tables, but are marked with a symbol (†) as they do not allow reliable conclusions to be drawn. Results relating to fewer than 10 cases are not shown in the figures and tables.

3.8. Public relations

In order to attract as much attention as possible to the survey, especially among members of typical minorities, the communities were contacted by the relevant specialist departments of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg – the Ministry of Labour, Health, Social Affairs, Family and Integration, Department for Strengthening Civil Society. As part of an associated partnership with the authority, the minorities represented there and their representatives/spokespersons were informed about the upcoming survey project by representatives of the authority. Using the snowball method (see section 3.4), the various communities were invited to participate in the survey or made aware of it directly through the authority. The coordination of various workshops with members of typical affected groups was also carried out by the above-mentioned authority.

4. Description of the sample and vulnerable groups

4.1. Sociodemographics

As already mentioned in section 3.5, the survey yielded a total of 3,895 evaluable questionnaires. When interpreting survey results, it is important to consider how well the survey represents the respective population – in this case, the resident population of Hamburg. For some characteristics, distributions are available from both the survey and official statistics. This makes it possible to assess whether there has been any selective bias in the survey.

Just under 52% of the people surveyed are women (see Table 2). This corresponds almost exactly to the proportion of women in Hamburg's population. Men, on the other hand, are slightly underrepresented at just under 45%. People with queer gender identities or diverse genders are not included in the official statistics, which makes it difficult to compare sample data with population figures. 2.5% of respondents have a queer gender identity (for a definition of this group, see section 4.2.10).

The respondents are on average 47 years old, with ages ranging from 17 to 95. Respondents in the 16 to 29 age group are underrepresented compared to the age distribution of Hamburg's population (see Table 2). In contrast, respondents in the 30 to 49 and 50 to 69 age groups are overrepresented. Respondents aged 70 and older are again underrepresented. Data collection via an online survey may have played a role here, as 20% of people over the age of 70 did not use the internet at all (ARD/ZDF online study, 2022).

Almost 33% of respondents have a migrant background. This group is therefore slightly underrepresented in the survey compared to the population of Hamburg (see Table 2). However, compared to other victimisation surveys (see, for example, LKA Lower Saxony, 2022), this underrepresentation of people with a migrant background is low. The proportion of non-Germans among people with a migrant background is higher in the sample than in Hamburg as a whole. At 22.08%, the proportion of respondents without a German passport is slightly overrepresented compared to the proportion in Hamburg's total population, which is 19.2%. Efforts such as oversampling non-EU foreigners in the sample, providing six different questionnaire languages and targeting migrant communities can therefore be considered successful in terms of adequately representing people with a migrant background in the survey.

Almost 53% of respondents have a high level of education (tertiary degree) (see Table 2). This group is therefore significantly overrepresented compared to its share in the population of Hamburg (38.3%). Respondents with a medium level of education (secondary level II and post-secondary, non-tertiary level) are underrepresented at just under 31%. Respondents with a low level of education (primary and secondary level I), on the other hand, are slightly overrepresented at almost 17%.

The clear majority of respondents live in a multi-person household (79%). 21% live in a single-person household. Most respondents in multi-person households live in pairs (43.8%). This is followed by household sizes of three people (16.1%) and four people

(14.2%). Larger households are only slightly represented at 4.9%. The average household size in the sample is 2.4, while it is smaller in the population of Hamburg at 1.8 (Statistik Nord, 2022).

Almost two out of three respondents (64.7%) live with their partner in one household. 23.8% state that they do not have a steady partner. 11.5% of respondents have a partner but do not share a household with them. Of the respondents, 30% live in a shared household with minors.

Table 2: Comparison of the sample with key figures for the population

	Sample %	Population of Hamburg %
Gender		
Male	45.53	48.96 ¹
Female	51.96	51.04 ¹
queer	2.51	—
Age		
16 to 29	15.55	20.30 ¹
30 to 49	40.07	34.59
50 to 69	34.00	28.87 ¹
70 and older	10.39	16.24 ¹
Migration background		
Yes	32.89	37.4 ²
No	67.11	62.6 ²
Non-German	22.08	19.2 ³
Level of education		
Low	16.85	15.2 ⁴
medium	30.60	46.5 ⁴
high	52.56	38.3 ⁴
(n)	(3,895)	—

¹ https://www.statistik-nord.de/fileadmin/Dokumente/Statistische_Berichte/bevoelkerung/A_I_3_j_H/A_I_3_j21_HH.xlsx

² https://www.statistik-nord.de/fileadmin/Dokumente/Statistische_Berichte/bevoelkerung/A_1_10_j_H/A_I_10_j21_HH.xlsx

³ <https://www.destatis.de/DE/Themen/Gesellschaft-Umwelt/Bevoelkerung/Bevoelkerungsstand/Tabellen/bevoelkerung-nichtdeutsch-laender.html>

⁴ <https://www.destatis.de/DE/Themen/Gesellschaft-Umwelt/Bildung-Forschung-Kultur/Bildungs-status/publications/downloads-educational-status/educational-indicators-1023017227005.xlsx>

4.2. Vulnerable groups

One of the central questions of this study is whether different social groups are affected to varying degrees by prejudice-driven phenomena. To this end, respondents were assigned to 13 different vulnerable groups based on their answers in the questionnaire. These are groups that are particularly at risk of becoming the target of prejudice-driven actions due to external and/or internal attributions.² The individual vulnerable groups are defined below. The order is based on the size of the respective group in the sample (see Figure 2).

4.2.1. Migration background

The largest vulnerable group, comprising 1,251 individuals or 32.1%, consists of people with a migration background (see Fig. 2). People with a migration background are defined by their nationality, country of birth and the country of birth of their father and mother. This group of people is more likely to be labelled as "foreign" than people without a migration history, which makes them vulnerable to prejudice and acts motivated by disparagement towards people perceived as foreign. Respondents have a migration background if

- they do not have German nationality
- they have German nationality but were not born in Germany and neither of their parents were born in Germany
- they have German citizenship, were born in Germany, but not both parents were born in Germany.

4.2.2. Languages other than German in public

The second largest vulnerable group in the sample consists of people who do not speak German in public, as this also makes it more likely that they will be perceived as "foreign". 1,232 people, or 31.6%, fall into this group (see Fig. 2). The questionnaire included the question: "What language do you speak in private in public (e.g. with friends or family in the city)?" with the answer options "Only German", "Partly German, partly another language" and "Only another language". People who do not speak German in public without exception fall into this vulnerable group.

4.2.3. Not "German-looking"

In addition to language in public, people can also become targets of prejudice-motivated crimes based on their appearance, which is attributed to their foreignness. A total of 981 people, or 25.2%, fall into this group of "non-German-looking" people (see Fig. 2). The responses to the question "Are you

² For the individual groups, we were guided by the concept of group-focused enmity (GFE) (cf. Heitmeyer, 2002; Zick et al., 2008; Zick, Küpper & Heitmeyer, 2009).

other people usually perceive as 'German' looking?". Respondents who gave the answers "No" or "Sometimes" were assigned to this group (in contrast to those who answered "Yes") to this group.

4.2.4. Political left fringe

The political left wing was measured based on self-assessment on an 11-point left-right scale, with 0 representing "far left" and 10 representing "far right". Respondents who chose the three response options 0, 1 or 2 at the left end of the response scale are referred to in this study as the political left wing. As can be seen in Figure 1, a total of 762 respondents, or 19.6%, fall into this group.

4.2.5. Chronic illness or disability

Respondents who answered "Yes" to the question "Are you or have you been affected by a long-term disability or chronic illness (physical or mental)?" were assigned to this group. As can be seen in Figure 2, this group consists of 612 respondents. This corresponds to 15.7%.

4.2.6. Non-heterosexual orientation

Respondents who answered the question "How would you classify your sexual orientation?" with an answer other than "heterosexual" were assigned to this vulnerable group. This comprises a total of 309 respondents or 7.9% (see Fig. 2).

4.2.7. Muslim

Respondents who selected the answer option "Islam" to the question "Which religion do you belong to?" form this group, comprising 243 respondents or 6.2% (see Fig. 2).

4.2.8. Subjective financial difficulties

The group of people with subjectively perceived financial difficulties includes respondents who answered "Poor" or "Very poor" to the question "How well do you manage financially?" (as opposed to the answers "Very good", "Good" and "Average"). As can be seen in Figure 2, 179 or 4.6% of respondents have subjectively perceived financial difficulties.

4.2.9. Queer gender identity

The questionnaire included the question "Which of the following self-descriptions best applies to you?" with answer options such as "Female," "Male," "Diverse," "Trans*," "Inter*,"

"non-binary" or "queer". Respondents who did not identify themselves as exclusively male or exclusively female are considered in this study to be persons with a queer gender identity. 96 respondents, or 2.5%, make up this group (see Fig. 2).

4.2.10. Political office

Respondents who hold a political office at district or state level or any other political office form another vulnerable group. As Figure 2 shows, 95 respondents, or 2.4%, fall into this group.

4.2.11. Political right wing

The political right wing was identified in the same way as the political left wing. Respondents rated their political orientation on an 11-point left-right scale, with 0 representing "far left" and 10 representing "far right". Respondents who chose the three response options 8, 9 or 10 at the right end of the response scale constitute the political right wing in this study. A total of 74 respondents, or 1.9%, are in this group (see Fig. 2).

The current polarisation of social debates on issues such as climate, immigration and gender, which are frequently addressed in the discourse strategies of the right-wing political spectrum, is accompanied by various victim narratives. People who identify themselves as politically right-wing and extreme right-wing accordingly perceive themselves as a vulnerable group that is the victim of debates, practices and movements from mainstream society ("minority/foreign in their own country", "anti-German racism", "language bans by the elites", etc.). We therefore included respondents on the political right wing in the analyses in order to be able to compare their perceptions, experiences and actions with those of the other groups.

4.2.12. Sinti and Roma

Respondents who answered 'yes' to the question

"Would you describe yourself as Sinti or Roma?" answered in the affirmative. With 25 respondents, or 0.6%, this is the second smallest group in the sample (see Fig. 2).

4.2.13. Jewish

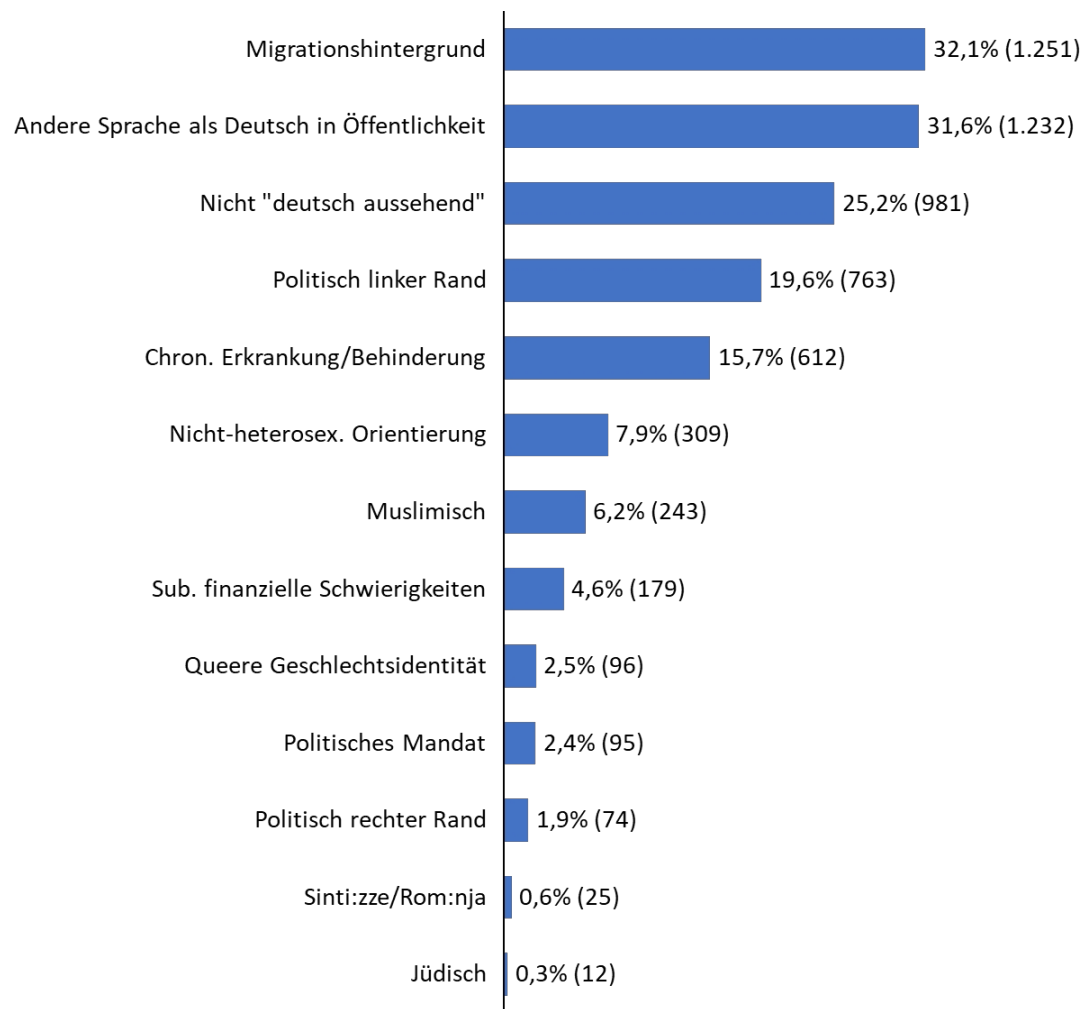
This group was formed in the same way as the group of those who feel they belong to Islam. Respondents who answered "Judaism" to the question "Which religion do you feel you belong to?" form this group, which comprises 12 respondents or 0.3%. This group is thus the smallest of the vulnerable groups considered in this study (see Fig. 2).

These 13 vulnerable groups are not always clearly distinguishable. For example, 22.5% (878) of respondents are assigned to both the "migration background" group and the "language other than German in public" group. These overlaps are plausible, especially since these group characteristics contribute to these individuals being perceived as foreign, which, according to the concept of group-focused enmity (GFE), can be a motive for devaluation on the part of the indigenous population. Respondents from vulnerable groups were assigned to an average of 1.5 vulnerable groups. If respondents belong to several vulnerable groups, this is also referred to in research as intersectionality (e.g. Adusei-Poku, 2012).

4.2.14. No vulnerable group

For comparison purposes, the analyses include the category "Not a vulnerable group" in order to have a reference value for the values determined in the vulnerable groups. This group includes all respondents who do not fall into any of the 13 vulnerable groups explicitly listed above. It can be argued that this group still includes people who are vulnerable, such as women or the elderly. Nevertheless, since these respondents were not assigned to any of the vulnerable groups described above, they belong to the "majority society" in the broadest sense. A total of 1,099 respondents, or 28.2%, do not belong to any of the 13 vulnerable groups.

Figure 2: Frequencies of the various vulnerable groups; basis: all respondents (n = 3,895); multiple group assignments possible



5. Results

5.1. Impact

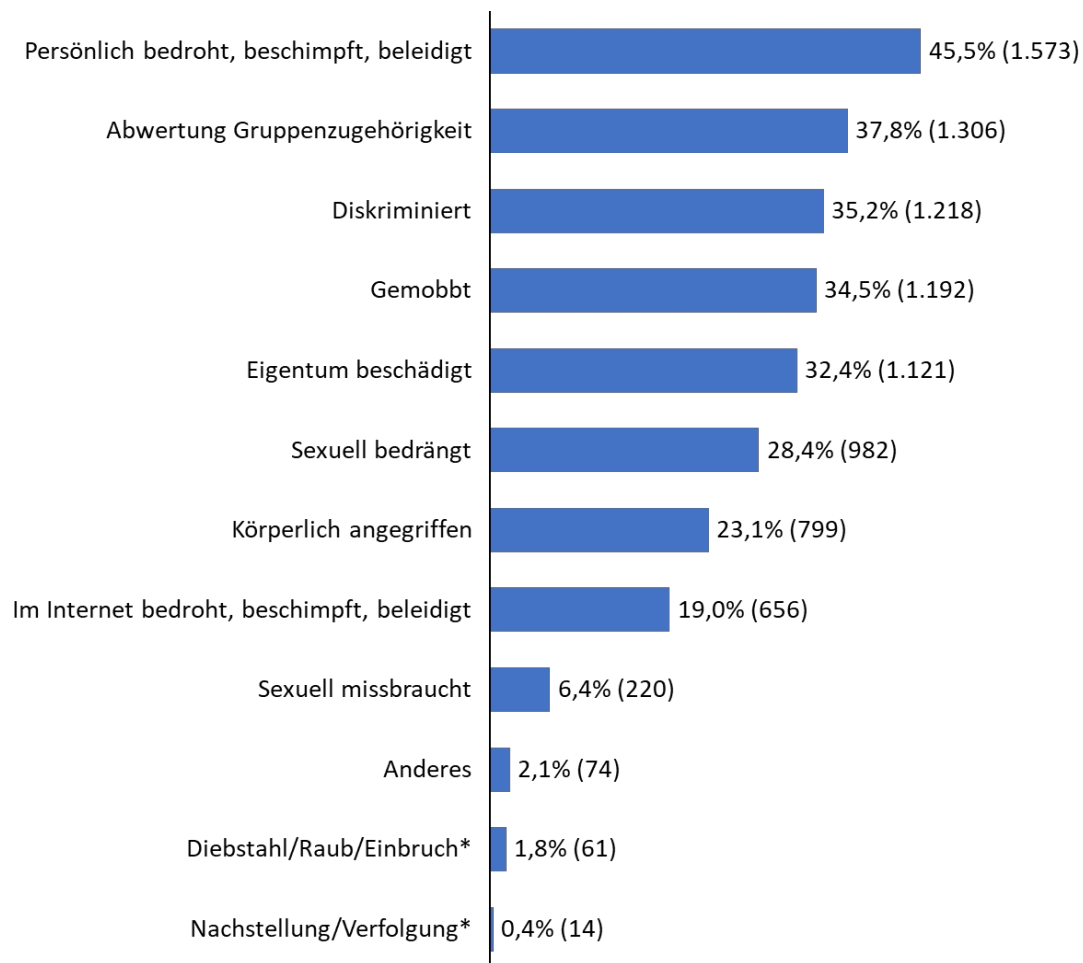
5.1.1. General concern

The survey asked about the impact of 10 different, explicitly named offences. The corresponding question in the questionnaire began with the words "Has the following ever happened to you at any point in your life?" This allowed the *lifetime prevalence* of the various types of victimisation to be recorded. This, and the fact that comparatively low-threshold, partly non-criminal victimisation experiences (devaluation due to group status, experiences of discrimination) were also specifically included in the survey, may explain the comparatively high victimisation rate: 2,751 respondents, or 79.6%, had experienced at least one of the 10 offences listed in their lifetime. On average, victims reported 3.4 instances of victimisation. In contrast, 20.4% had not been victimised.

As can be seen in Figure 3, the extent to which respondents were affected varies significantly between the offences surveyed. For example, 45.4% of respondents stated that they had been personally threatened, verbally abused or insulted at least once in their lives (i.e. outside the internet or social media). This is therefore the most frequently cited offence. In contrast, "sexual abuse" was the least frequently reported offence, at 6.4%.

The questionnaire also included the category "Something else happened to me," which was followed by an open-ended question asking respondents to describe exactly what had happened to them. Where possible, similar responses from respondents were grouped together into further categories of offences. This resulted in two new categories of crime: 61 people, or 1.8%, mentioned crimes related to "theft, robbery and burglary". 14 respondents, or 0.4%, reported crimes in the area of "stalking or persecution". Other newly derived categories of crime did not exceed the threshold of 10 mentions and are therefore not shown separately here.

Figure 3: Frequency of offences surveyed in percent (lifetime prevalence); basis: all respondents (n = 3,456); multiple responses possible; * coded from open-ended question ("What else has happened to you?")



5.1.2. Prejudice-motivated victimisation

Prejudice-motivated acts affect individuals on the basis of their actual or attributed social group membership and the associated identity-forming characteristics. These acts are not only directed at the individual victim, but also send a message to all members of the social group. Those who reported being victims of the explicitly asked-about acts were therefore asked for each act mentioned whether they suspected that they had been targeted because of their group affiliation.³ Here, respondents were asked whether they thought they had been victimised on the basis of prejudice. Due to this sequence of questions in the questionnaire, the residual category "Other" is not shown in the following evaluations, unlike in Figure 3.

³ The question was worded as follows:

"You have stated that the following has happened to you in your life:

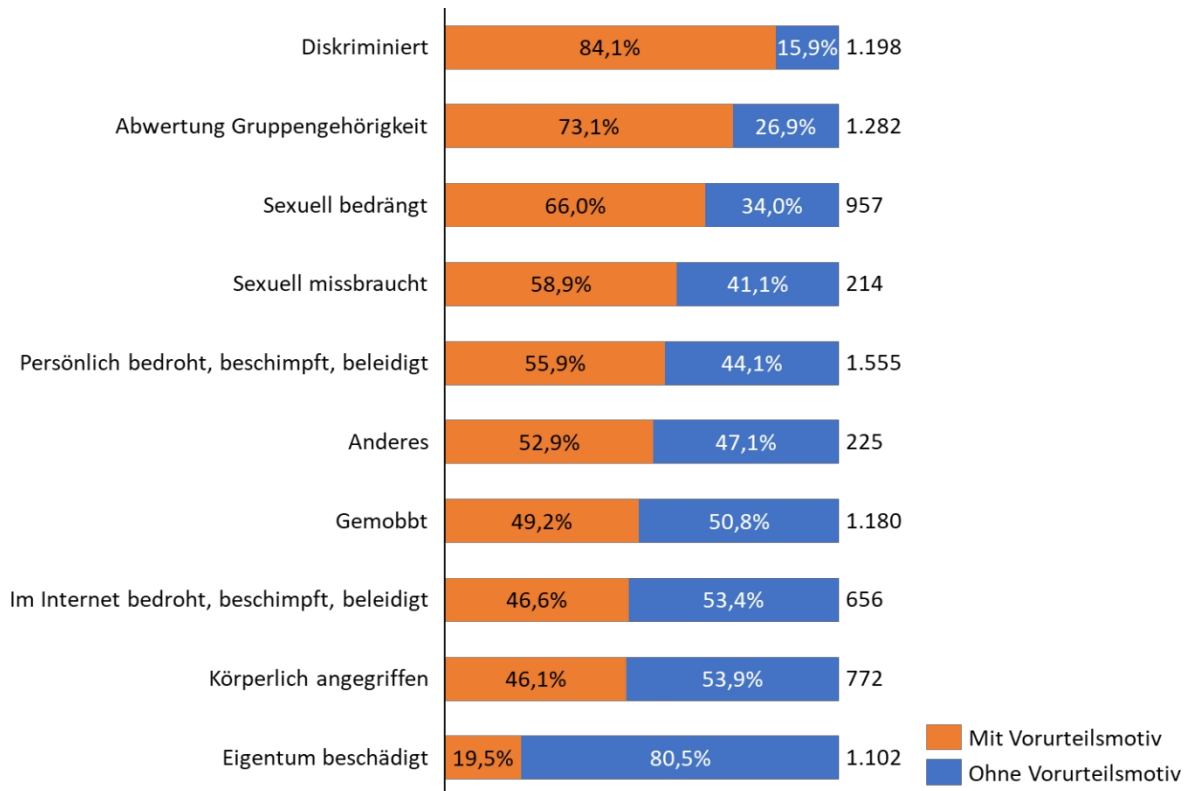
<Repetition of the act previously mentioned by the respondents>

Do you suspect that you were targeted because of certain characteristics that the perpetrator associated with a particular group? By this we mean, for example, your age, skin colour, origin, religious affiliation, gender identity, disability or similar characteristic.

Broken down according to the open responses of the respondents, as the question about the motive for prejudice refers to the response category as a whole and not to individual open responses.

Figure 4 shows that, for example, 84.1% of respondents who reported being affected by discrimination suspect that they were victimised because of their group affiliation. In contrast, significantly fewer respondents (19.5%) whose property was damaged suspect that this victimisation can be attributed to their group membership.

Figure 4: Percentage of prejudice-motivated incidents in all cases of victimisation by type of offence



The following section examines the extent to which the various vulnerable groups are affected by victimisation and prejudice-motivated victimisation. This presentation does not distinguish between the 10 offences surveyed. Instead, it examines whether the respondents were affected by any of the offences surveyed.

All eleven people of the Jewish faith had been victims of at least one of the 10 explicitly surveyed offences at some point in their lives (see Figure 5). All respondents of the Jewish faith suspect that they were victimised because of their group affiliation, i.e. that their victimisation was motivated by prejudice. People of the Jewish faith are thus the group most affected by prejudice-driven acts in this study. However, the number of cases in this group in the sample is so small that it is not possible to draw statistically reliable conclusions about the actual victimisation rate of Jewish people in Hamburg

Further studies focusing more specifically on this group are needed. The ongoing LeAH (Jewish Life and Everyday Life in Hamburg) survey study⁴ aims to close this research gap.

Respondents with queer gender identities were also severely affected. 92.9% of this group were victims of prejudice-motivated victimisation. 3.5% were victimised without prejudice as a motive, and only 3.5% of respondents with queer gender identities were spared from becoming victims.

A non-heterosexual orientation also leads to a higher probability of victimisation. Of the respondents with a non-heterosexual orientation, 83.4% have been affected by prejudice-motivated victimisation, 10.2% have been victimised without prejudice and 6.4% have not experienced victimisation to date.

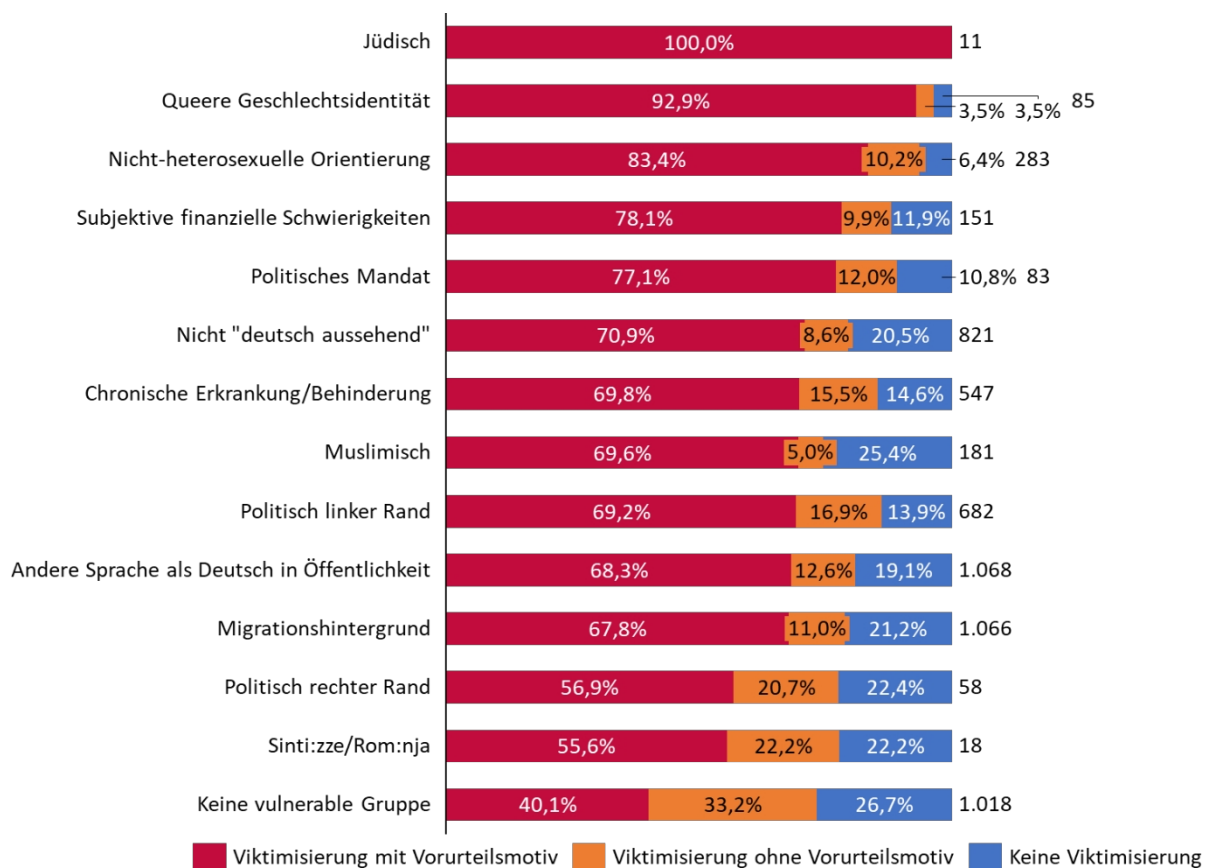
The vulnerable group least affected by prejudice-motivated victimisation in our sample are Sinti:zze and Rom:nja. 55.6% stated that they had been victimised at least once because of their group membership. Here, too, the small number of cases in this group in the sample precludes any generalisation about victim rates among Sinti:zze and Rom:nja in Hamburg. As with Jewish life in Hamburg, further research is needed to paint a more realistic picture.

When interpreting the results, it must therefore be taken into account that the groups of people who are particularly strongly and comparatively less strongly affected have very small case numbers. The reported percentages are therefore subject to a high degree of uncertainty.

Respondents who do not belong to a vulnerable group have the lowest risk of victimisation. 26.7% were spared from becoming victims. 40.1% of these respondents were victims of victimisation motivated by prejudice. This is the lowest figure among the groups compared here.

⁴ <https://akademie-der-polizei.hamburg.de/forschungsprojekt-leah-682158> & <https://www.pa.polizei-nds.de/forschung/projekte/judisches-leben-und-alltag-in-hamburg-leah-116950.html>

Figure 5: Victimization experiences by vulnerable group



5.1.3. General victimisation and prejudice-motivated victimisation by vulnerable group

The following section describes in more detail the extent to which the 13 vulnerable groups were victims of the 10 explicitly asked about offences and whether the respondents suspect that they were affected by the respective offence because of their group membership. The figures on the left show the extent to which the respective vulnerable group was generally affected by the various offences, while the figures on the right show the proportion of those victimised who were targeted on the basis of prejudice. For comparison purposes, the group "No vulnerable group" is shown as a reference in all figures. Percentages based on fewer than 20 cases are marked with a (†) to indicate that these figures should be interpreted with caution. Percentages based on fewer than 10 cases are not shown and the corresponding bars are hidden in the diagrams, as these case numbers are too small to draw reliable conclusions about victimisation.

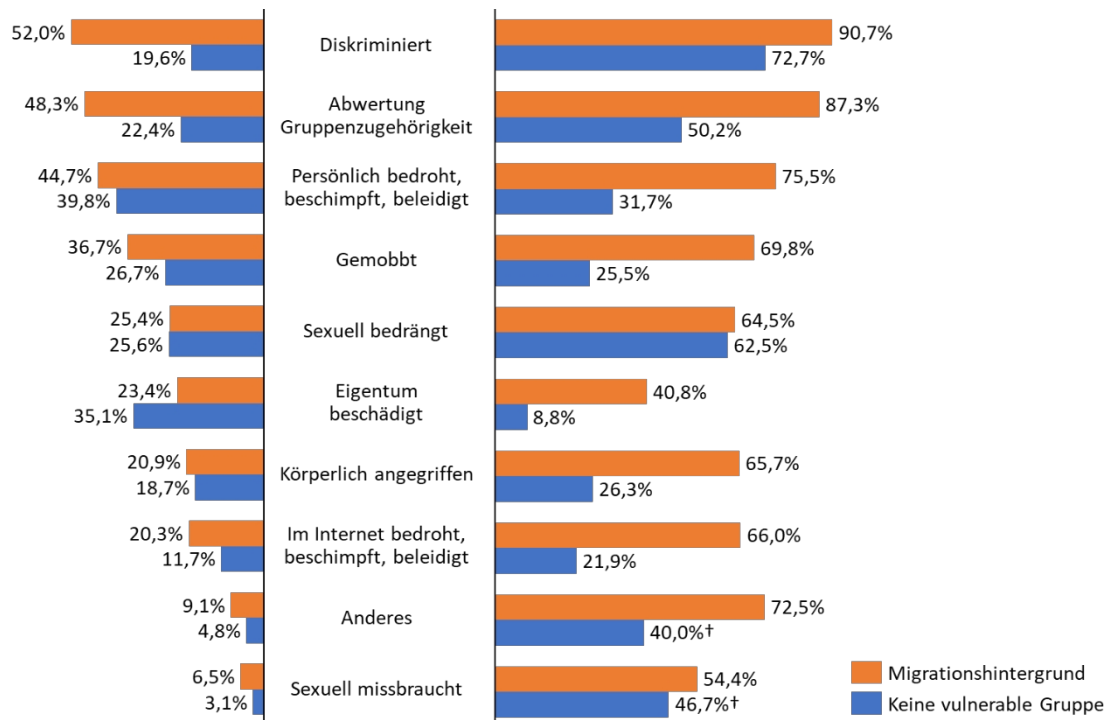
A total of 25 Sinti and Roma and 12 people of Jewish faith took part in the survey, not all of whom answered the questions about victimisation and suspected prejudice. A further breakdown of these respondents by type of victimisation and the existence of a prejudice motive leads to single-digit case numbers in all categories shown here for both groups. Since all bars for the group

Sinti and Roma and Jewish people would be hidden due to the small number of cases, no figures are shown for these two groups in this section.

Figure 6 shows that 52% of respondents with a migrant background report experiencing discrimination. Discrimination is therefore the most frequently reported form of victimisation in this vulnerable group. This means that the crime-specific victimisation rate in this group is 2.65 times higher than among respondents who do not belong to a vulnerable group (19.6%). Of the respondents with a migrant background who have experienced discrimination at some point in their lives, 90.7% suspect that they were victimised because of their group affiliation or because of prejudice. Of the respondents who do not belong to any of the 13 vulnerable groups and have experienced discrimination at some point in their lives, 72.2% suspect that they were affected due to prejudice. Thus, the suspected motive of prejudice is 1.25 times more common among respondents with a migrant background than in the

"Majority society". At 48.3%, devaluation based on group membership is the second most frequently reported form of victimisation among respondents with a migrant background. This victimisation is reported 2.16 times more frequently by respondents with a migrant background than by respondents who do not belong to a vulnerable group (22.4%). Among respondents with a migrant background who have experienced devaluation of their group membership, 87.3% suspect that prejudice was the motive behind this act. Of the respondents who do not belong to any of the 13 vulnerable groups but have nevertheless experienced a devaluation of their group membership (gender, age or other characteristics may have played a role here, see section 4.2.14), 50.2% state that they suspect that prejudice may have been the reason for the devaluation. The prejudice motive occurs 1.74 times more frequently among respondents with a migrant background than among respondents who do not belong to a vulnerable group.

Figure 6: Victimization (left) and presumed motive for prejudice in victimization (right) among respondents with a migrant background, broken down by type of offence; †: percentage based on fewer than 20 cases



Among respondents who speak a language other than German in public, 50.6% report experiencing discrimination (see Figure 7). Of those affected, 91.2% suspect that prejudice was the motive behind the discrimination. 48.9% of respondents who speak a language other than German have also experienced their group affiliation being devalued. Of these, 83.5% suspect that they were devalued on the basis of prejudice.

Figure 7: Victimization (left) and suspected prejudice as a motive for victimization (right) among respondents who speak a language other than German in public, broken down by type of incident; †: percentage based on fewer than 20 cases

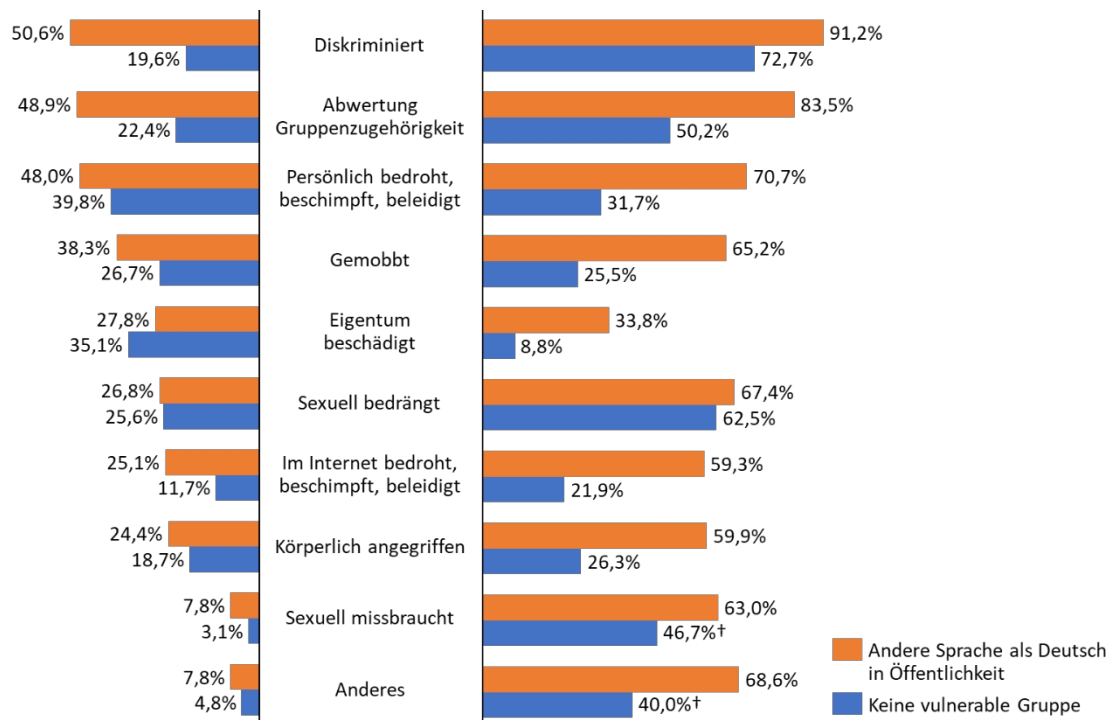
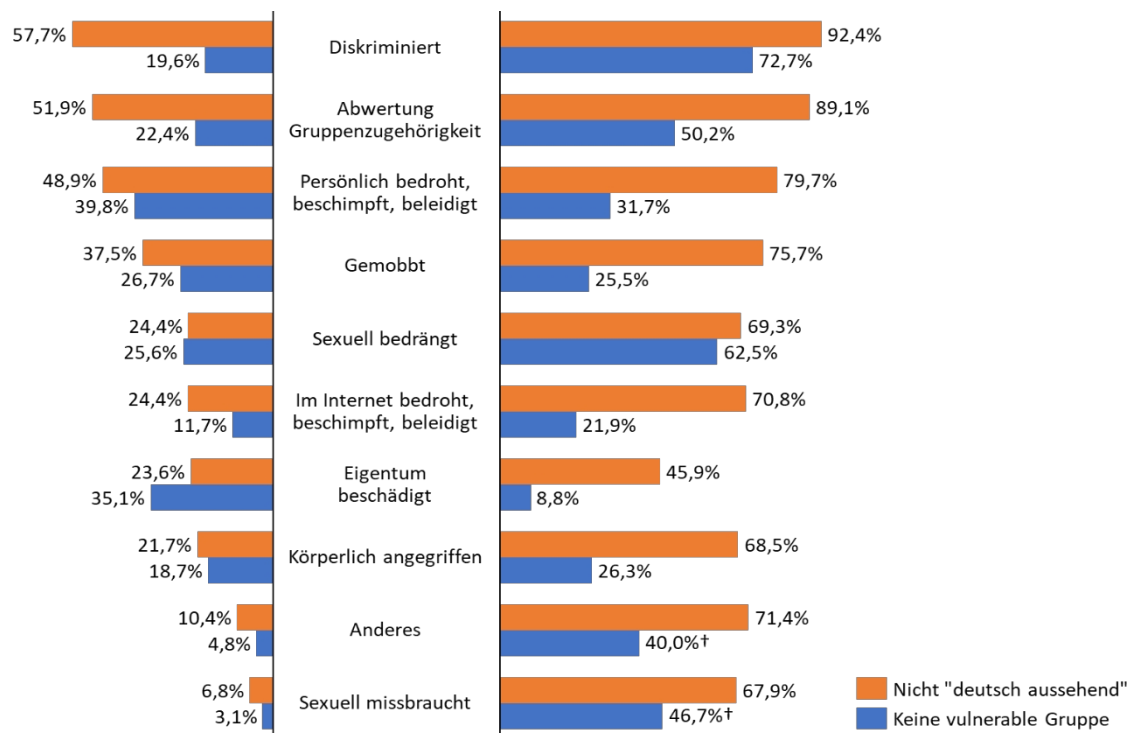


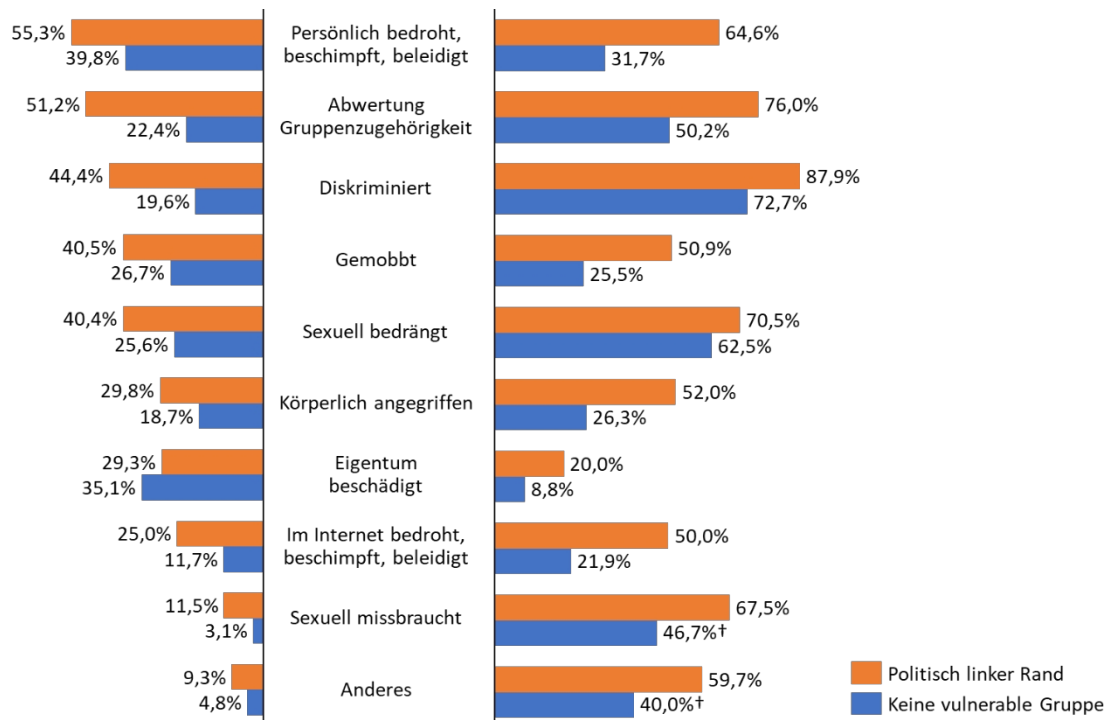
Figure 8 shows that 57.7% of respondents who say that they do not "look German", report experiences of discrimination. Experiences of discrimination are almost three times as common in this group as among respondents who do not belong to any of the 13 vulnerable groups. 92.4% of those who do not "look German" and who have been discriminated against suspect that prejudice was the motive behind the act. Among respondents who do not belong to a vulnerable group, this figure is almost 20 percentage points lower. There are also significant differences between respondents from the majority society and those from vulnerable groups with regard to the devaluation of group membership – the second most frequently cited act in this group. Nine out of ten respondents who do not "German-looking" respondents who have experienced devaluation suspect that they were affected by the incident because of their group membership.

Figure 8: Victimization (left) and presumed prejudice motive for victimization (right) among non-“German-looking” respondents, differentiated by offence; †: percentage based on fewer than 20 cases



The figures above show that groups that are perceived by others as People who are perceived as "foreign", such as those with a migrant background who speak a language other than German, who say they do not "look German" or who are Muslim (see Figure 12), are strongly affected by discrimination, devaluation of group membership, personal threats, verbal abuse and insults. Discrimination and devaluation of group membership in particular occur 2.2 to 3 times more frequently among these groups than among respondents who do not belong to a vulnerable group. At 40.4%, respondents who identify themselves as being on the political left report having been sexually harassed comparatively often in comparison to other vulnerable groups (see Figure 9). Seven out of ten respondents who report such victimisation suspect that prejudice was a motive behind the act. Sexual abuse is also reported comparatively frequently by this group, at 11.5%. 67.5% believe that their group affiliation played a role in the victimisation.

Figure 9: Victimization (left) and suspected prejudice motive for victimization (right) among respondents on the political left, differentiated by type of offence; †: percentage based on fewer than 20 cases



As can be seen in Figure 10, respondents with a chronic illness or disability are comparatively often "sexually harassed" (37.9%). At 15.5%, a comparatively large number of respondents with a chronic illness or disability have also experienced "sexual abuse". Other studies also show that people with chronic illnesses or disabilities are at increased risk of experiencing sexualised violence (Brunner et al., 2021).

Figure 10: Victimization (left) and presumed prejudice motive for victimization (right) among respondents with Chronic illness or disability differentiated by type of offence; †: Percentage based on fewer than 20 cases

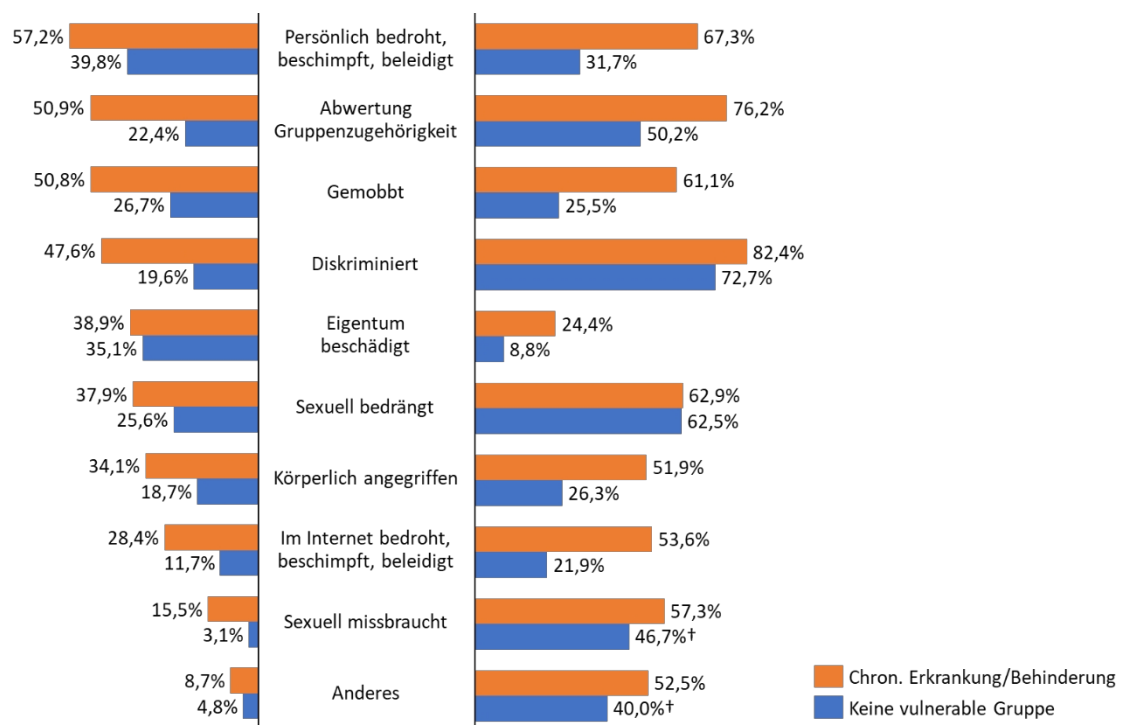
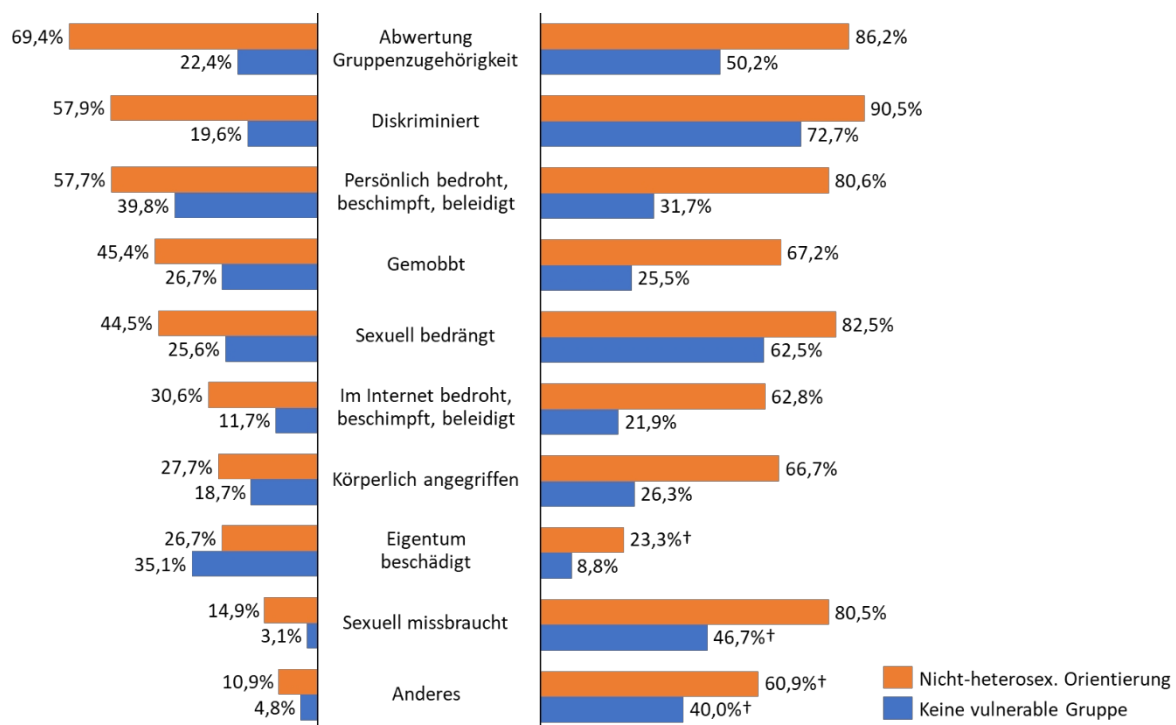


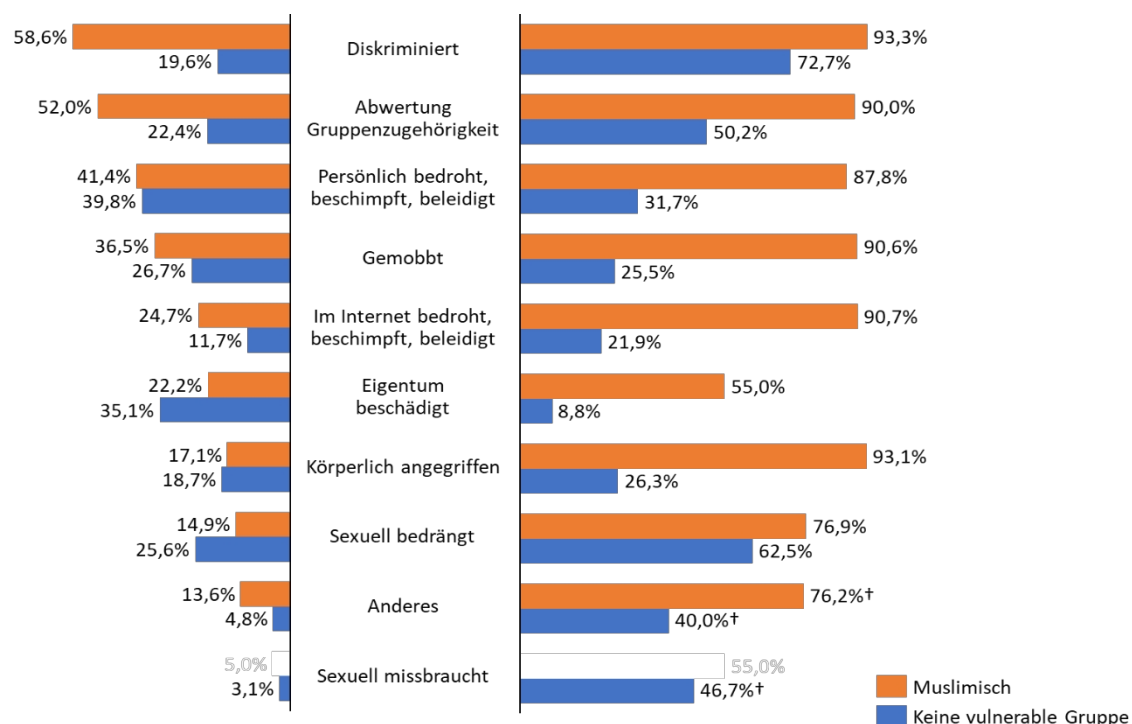
Figure 11 shows that almost every second respondent with a non-heterosexual orientation has been sexually harassed at least once. This is the second highest figure among the vulnerable groups. Of those who have been victimised in this way, more than 8 out of 10 suspect that they were targeted because of their group affiliation. These respondents also experience derogatory comments about their group affiliation relatively frequently, at 69.4%. Only respondents with a queer gender identity are affected by this more frequently. 86.2% of respondents with a non-heterosexual orientation who have experienced devaluation suspect that prejudice was the motive behind the crime. Nine out of ten respondents with a non-heterosexual orientation who have been discriminated against believe that this happened because of their group affiliation. This is also a high figure when compared to other vulnerable groups. Almost 15% of respondents with a non-heterosexual orientation report "sexual abuse", 80% of whom believe that they were affected by the act because of their group affiliation.

Figure 11: Victimization (left) and presumed prejudice motive for victimization (right) among respondents with Non-heterosexual orientation differentiated by acts; †: Percentage based on fewer than 20 cases



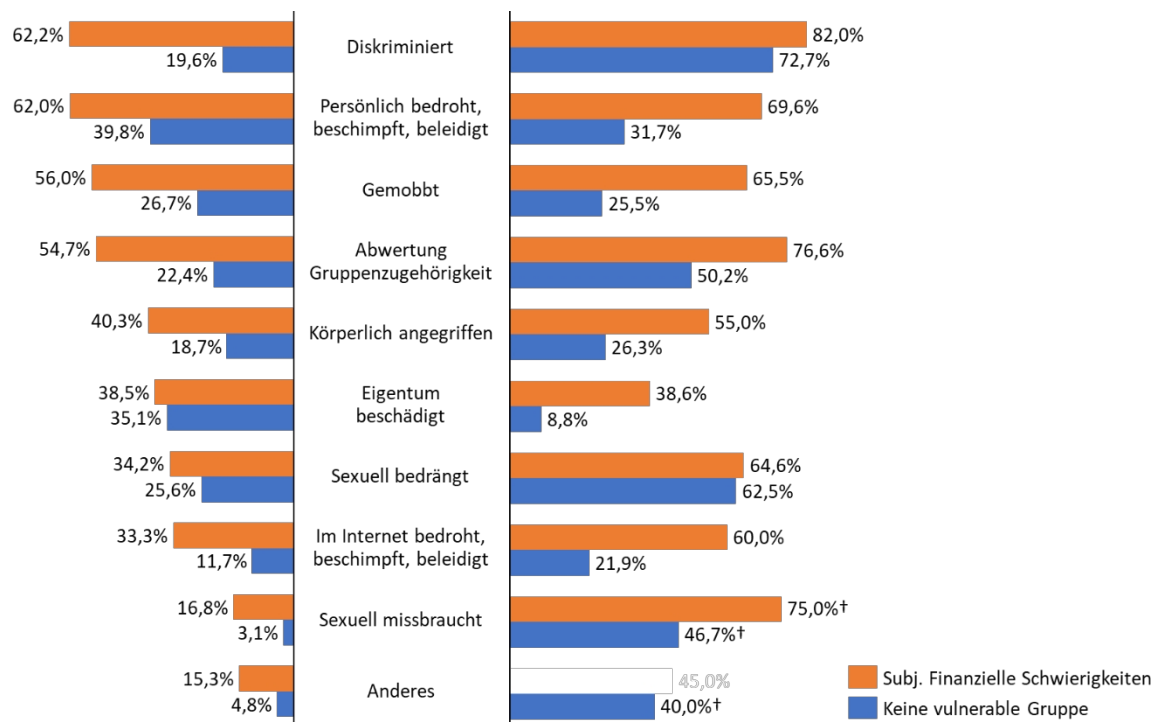
Almost 59% of respondents of the Muslim faith have experienced discrimination at some point, while significantly fewer people in the majority society (19.6%) report such experiences of discrimination (see Figure 12). More than half of the Muslims surveyed have also experienced "devaluation of group membership". In both cases, 9 out of 10 respondents suspect that they were affected because of their group membership. Muslims are not physically attacked more often than the majority society or other vulnerable groups. However, 93.1% of those who have experienced a physical attack suspect that prejudice may have been a motive for the attack. This is the highest figure in the survey.

Figure 12: Victimization (left) and suspected prejudice motive for victimization (right) among Muslim respondents, broken down by type of offence; †: percentage based on fewer than 20 cases; percentages and corresponding bars are hidden if the percentage is based on fewer than 10 cases.



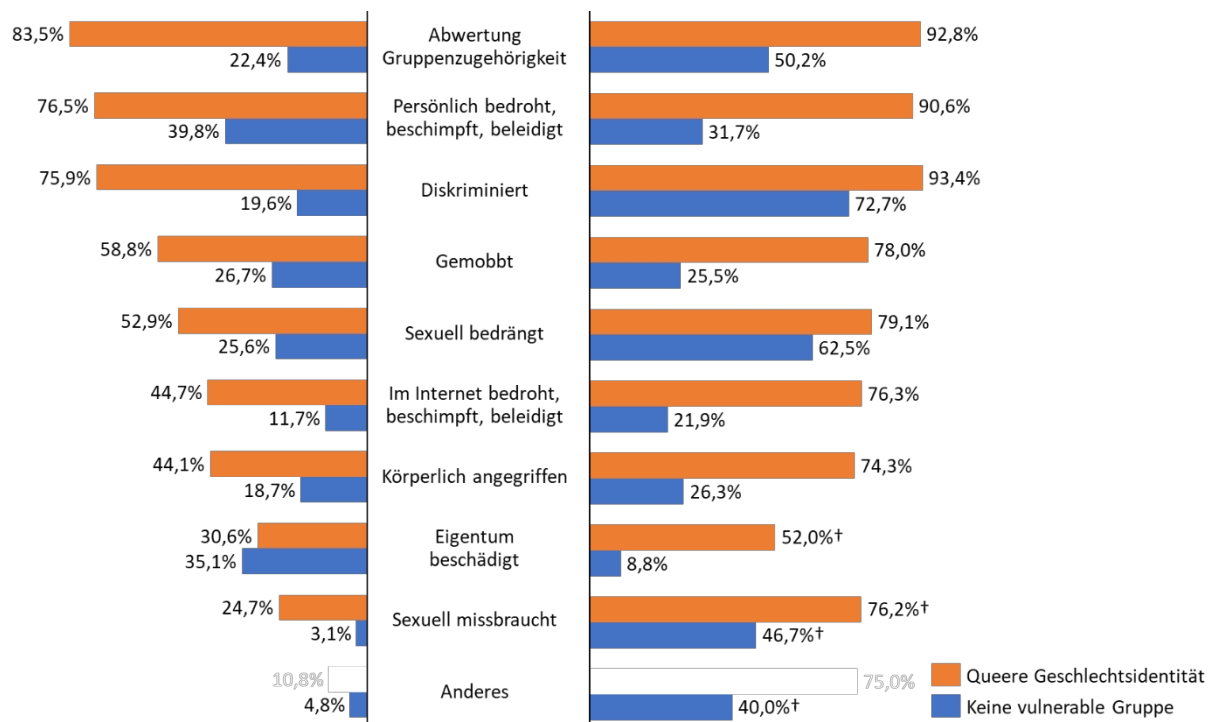
Respondents with subjective financial difficulties, i.e. those who, according to their own statements, only "poorly" or "very poorly" in financial terms, are often "personally threatened" or "verbally abused or insulted" (see Figure 13). 62% of respondents in this group have had such experiences. Of these, almost 7 out of 10 suspect that they were victims of prejudice. Respondents in this group also report comparatively often (40.3%) that they have been physically attacked.

Figure 13: Victimization (left) and presumed prejudice motive for victimization (right) among respondents with Subjective financial difficulties differentiated by type of offence; †: Percentage based on fewer than 20 cases; percentages and corresponding bars are hidden if the percentage is based on fewer than 10 cases.



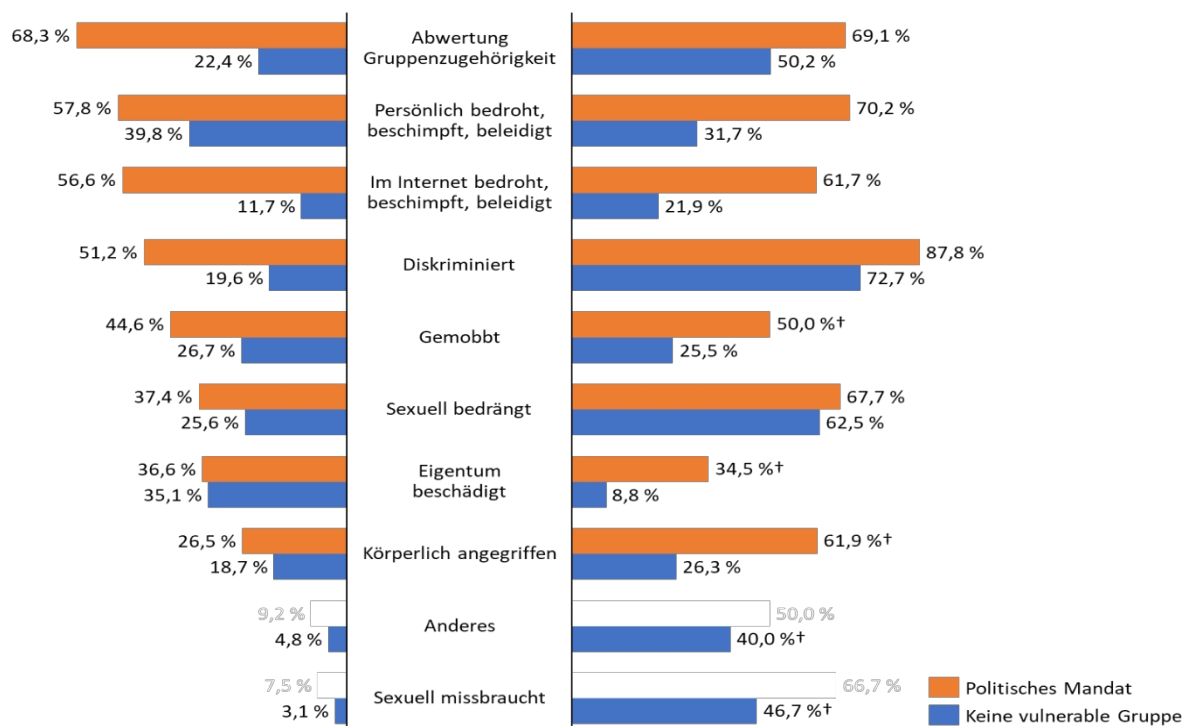
Respondents with queer gender identities report by far the highest incidence of negative perceptions of group membership (83.5%), personal threats, verbal abuse or insults (76.5%) and discrimination (75.9%) across all vulnerable groups (see Figure 14). In addition to this high level of concern, a particularly large number of those affected also suspect that they became victims because of their group membership: 92.8% in the case of devaluation of group membership, 90.6% in the case of personal threats, verbal abuse or insults, and 93.4% in the case of discrimination. These are the highest figures in the survey. More than half of people with a queer gender identity have been sexually harassed at least once. This is also the highest figure among the various vulnerable groups. Almost four out of five victims suspect that prejudice was the motive behind the sexual harassment. More than 44% of respondents with a queer gender identity have been attacked at least once. No other vulnerable group surveyed has a higher figure. More than 74% of those who have been physically assaulted believe that they were victimised because of their group affiliation. Almost a quarter of respondents with a queer gender identity report having been victims of sexual abuse at some point. This is the highest figure across all vulnerable groups considered here. 76% of those affected suspect that prejudice was a motive behind the crime.

Figure 14: Victimization (left) and presumed prejudice motive for victimization (right) among respondents with Queer gender identity differentiated by actions; †: Percentage based on fewer than 20 cases; percentages and corresponding bars are hidden if the percentage is based on fewer than 10 cases



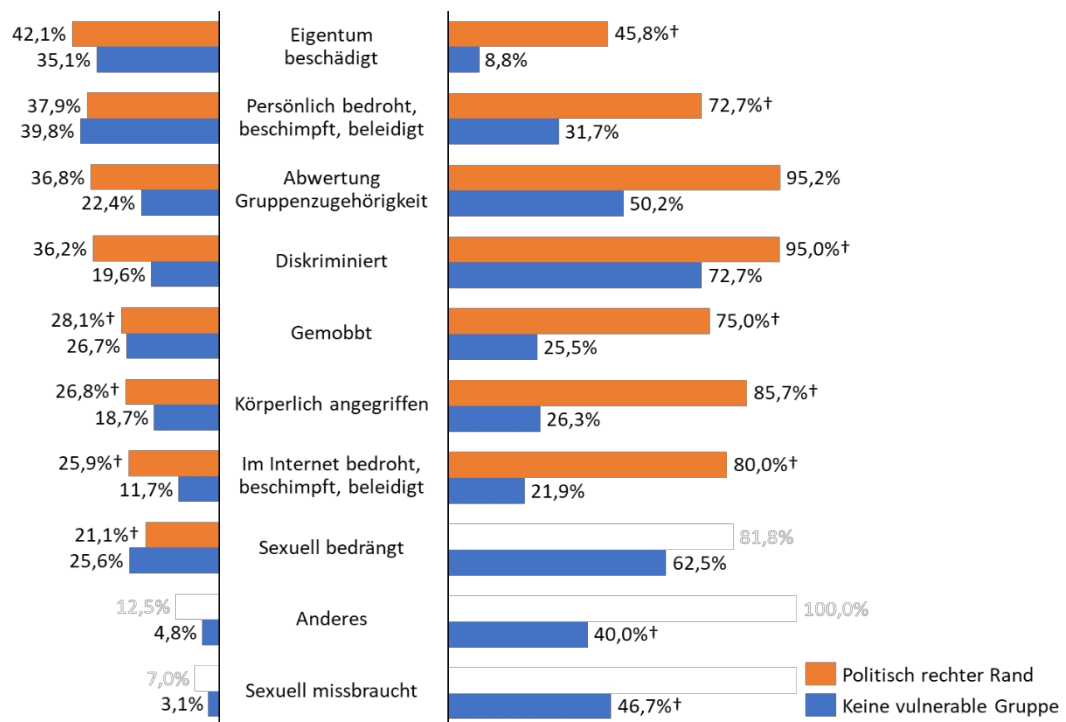
Compared to other vulnerable groups, elected officials are frequently threatened, abused or insulted on the internet (see Figure 15). Almost 57% of elected officials report this form of victimization, and more than 6 out of 10 victims suspect that prejudice was a motive behind the act or acts. Political office holders are also frequently exposed to personal threats, verbal abuse or insults (58%), compared to other vulnerable groups. Seven out of ten office holders who have been personally threatened, verbally abused or insulted believe that they were targeted because of their group affiliation.

Figure 15: Victimization (left) and presumed prejudice motive for victimization (right) among respondents with Political mandate differentiated by acts; †: Percentage based on fewer than 20 cases; percentages and corresponding bars are hidden if the percentage is based on fewer than 10 cases.



Looking at respondents who identify as being on the political right wing (see Figure 16), it is striking that, compared to the other groups, this group is frequently the victim of property damage. More than 4 out of 10 respondents on the political right wing report such victimisation. Almost 46% suspect that they were targeted because of their group affiliation. While respondents on the far right are not strongly affected by devaluation of group membership or discrimination (38.6% and 36.2% respectively) compared to the other vulnerable groups considered here, the figures for a presumed prejudice motive behind the offence are among the highest in this study. More than 9 out of 10 respondents believe that they were devalued or discriminated against because of their group membership.

Figure 16: Victimization (left) and presumed prejudice motive for victimisation (right) among respondents on the political right wing, differentiated by offence; †: percentage based on fewer than 20 cases; percentages and corresponding bars are hidden if the percentage is based on fewer than 10 cases



5.1.4. Personal characteristics that lead to prejudice-motivated victimisation

Respondents who suspected that they had been affected by the acts surveyed due to their group affiliation were presented with a list of 19 characteristics and asked whether they thought they had been victimised on the basis of these personal characteristics. Multiple answers were possible. The list was queried again for each reported offence. For the presentation in Figure 17, the responses were summarised across all 10 offences. 843 respondents, or 48.3%, stated at least once that they had been affected by the offence because of their gender. This makes gender the most frequently cited characteristic that, in the respondents' view, led to them becoming victims. 824 (47.2%) of respondents suspect that they were affected by a prejudice-motivated offence because of their appearance. 544 (31.2%) respondents cited nationality as a characteristic. The least frequently mentioned characteristics are gender identity with 77 (4.4%) and homelessness with 8 (0.5%) mentions. However, less frequent mentions in this presentation do not mean that the group itself cannot be disproportionately affected by prejudice-motivated crimes, which is the case, for example, for respondents who indicated a queer gender identity (see Table 4). The frequency of mentions here simply has something to do with the frequency of occurrence of the group characteristics in the sample. Accordingly, the few mentions of homelessness are probably also an artefact of the sampling from the population register. People who were homeless at the time of sampling had no chance of being included in the sample.

On average, respondents cited 3.4 characteristics on the basis of which they assumed they had been affected by the incident.

Figure 17: Frequency of mentions of personal characteristics that lead to prejudice-motivated victimisation; basis: all victims of prejudice-motivated crime (n = 1,745); multiple mentions possible

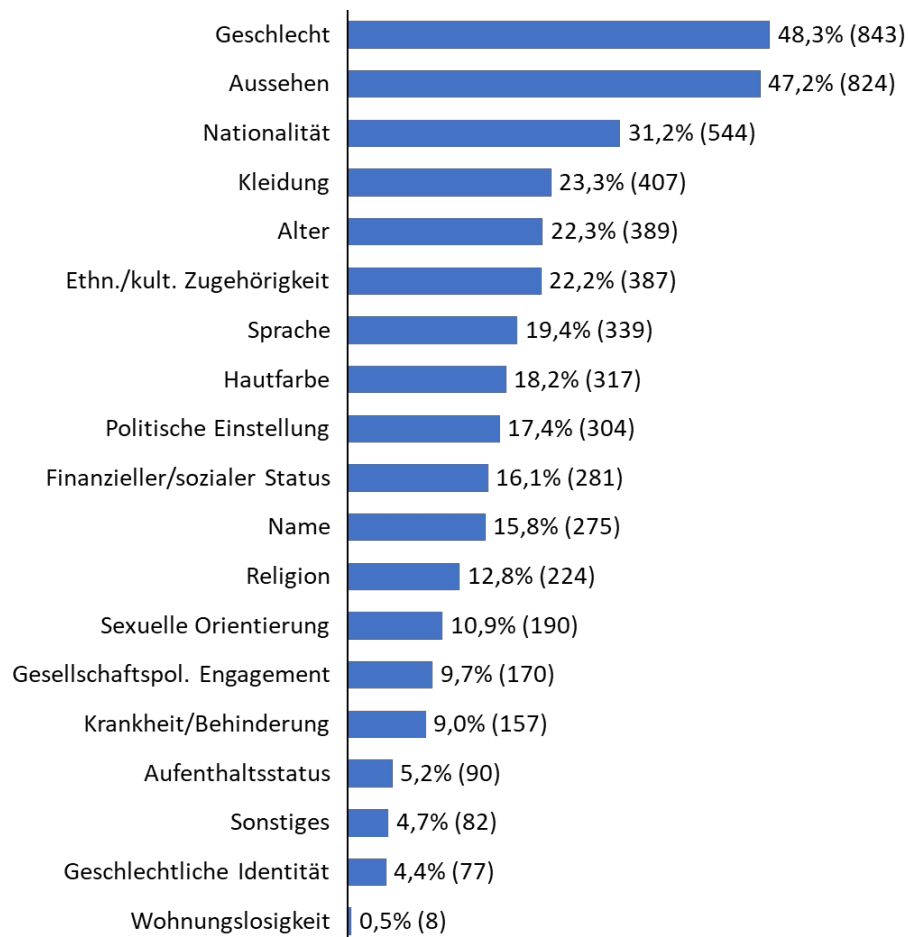


Table 3 shows the relative frequencies of characteristic mentions by prejudice-motivated offence. For example, 42.1% of respondents who were victims of prejudice-motivated discrimination suspect that they were affected because of their gender. Thirty-nine per cent stated that they were discriminated against on the basis of their appearance and 30.1 per cent that they were discriminated against on the basis of their nationality. As multiple answers were possible when asked about personal characteristics, the respective column totals add up to more than 100 per cent.

⁵ This highlights the importance of establishing alternative recruitment strategies, e.g. to include homeless people, who are often likely to be affected by prejudice-driven victimisation, or of conducting separate studies with this group.

Table 4 provides information on the significance of personal characteristics relevant to the offence in the various vulnerable groups. It reports the percentage of each vulnerable group who stated at least once that they had been affected by the offence because of the characteristic in question. For example, 64.3% of political office holders stated that they had been victims of a prejudice-motivated offence because of their political views. 53.6% of office holders cited gender and 39.3% cited socio-political engagement as a personal characteristic relevant to the offence. Table 4 does not show the corresponding data for the group of Sinti and Roma and people of Jewish faith due to the small number of cases. In both groups, all percentages would be based on single-digit case numbers and would therefore not be statistically reliable.

Table 3: Personal characteristics that led to prejudice-motivated victimisation, by prejudice-motivated victimisation; †: Percentage based on fewer than 20 cases; percentages are hidden if the percentage is based on fewer than 10 cases

Affected due to the following personal characteristics	Victimisation motivated by prejudice									
	Discriminated	Devaluation Group affiliation	Personally threatened, insulted, offended	Sexually harassed	Bullied	Physically attacked	Threatened, insulted, offended on the internet	Property damaged	Sexually abused	Other
	<i>n</i> = 1,007	<i>n</i> = 937	<i>n</i> = 869	<i>n</i> = 632	<i>n</i> = 581	<i>n</i> = 356	<i>n</i> = 306	<i>n</i> = 215	<i>n</i> = 126	<i>n</i> = 119
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Gender	42.1	29.4	36.1	88.2	25.1	38.2	33.1	11.6	78.6	61.6
Appearance	39.0	35.2	44.7	36.8	50.8	49.4	34.4	27.8	29.4	61.0
Nationality	30.1	32.8	27.3	3.2	24.3	24.2	29.7	28.8		56.3
Ethnic/cultural affiliation	23.5	26.0	22.2	4.4	22.0	18.8	25.4	17.7	7.9†	33.3
Clothing	13.9	15.7	18.8	15.2	23.6	26.1	9.9	11.6	11.1†	45.9
Age	12.0	7.5	13.4	25.5	11.5	11.5	9.2	7.0	41.3	37.5
Skin colour	21.8	18.8	18.3	4.8	15.8	18.3	16.5	15.8		49.3
Language	20.2	18.0	15.0	2.4	18.6	10.4	14.8	12.1		43.6
Political views	9.3	18.3	14.5		12.4	13.8	36.0	12.6		22.9
Name	18.6	15.3	8.5		18.8	5.6	18.1	16.3		26.4
Financial/social status	10.2	11.0	7.8	2.4	16.0	8.2	8.6	30.7		32.1
Religion	11.4	17.3	9.4		13.3	8.2	14.2	8.8		24.5
Sexual orientation	8.7	14.7	12	4.8	11.0	9.0	10.2	6.5†	8.7	
Social policy commitment	5.2	9	7.6		6.7	8.2	18.8	6.5†		21.7
Illness, disability	7.5	6.0	7.9		13.4	4.2	6.6			
Gender identity	3.3	3.5	4.5	4.3	4.3	3.4†	7.3	4.7†	7.9	
Residence status	5.5	4.1	2.5		4.1		3.6†			
Other	2.1	1.7			1.7			11.6		
Homelessness										

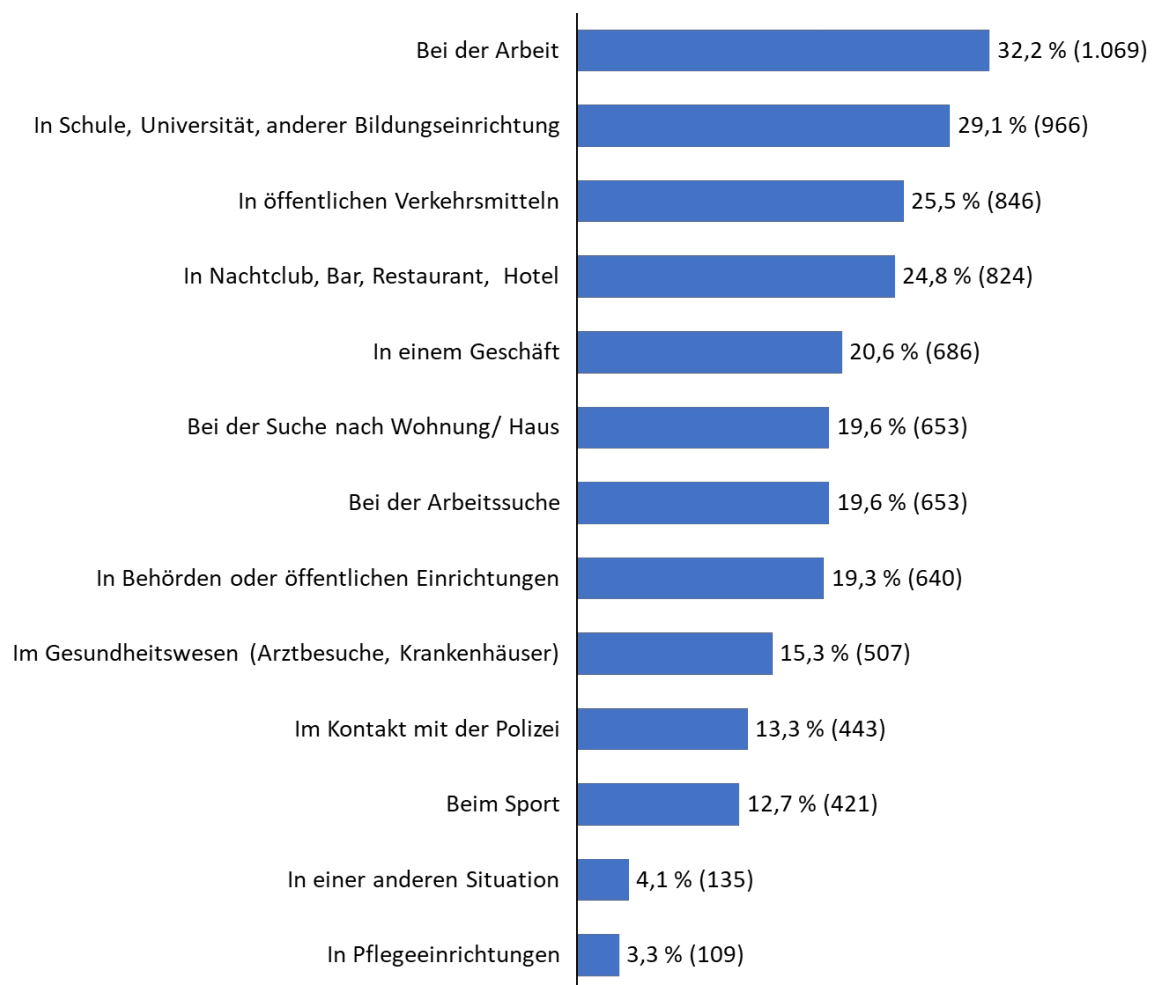
Table 4: Personal characteristics that led to prejudice-motivated victimisation, by vulnerable group victimised on the basis of prejudice; †: percentage based on fewer than 20 cases; percentages are hidden if the percentage is based on fewer than 10 cases

Affected due to the following personal characteristics	Vulnerable group victimised on the basis of prejudice											
	Migration background	Language other than German in public	Not "looking German"	Chronic illness/disability	Chronic illness/disability	Not a vulnerable group	Non-heterosexual orientation	Muslim	Subjective financial difficulties	Queer gender identity	Political mandate	Political right wing
	n = 686	n = 684	n = 565	n = 435	n = 348	n = 336	n = 229	n = 123	n = 103	n = 78	n = 56	n = 31
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Gender	37.5	40.1	35.8	53.6	51.2	59.5	48.0	20.3	37.9	55.1	53.6	
Appearance	53.9	52.9	61.1	50.6	53.5	36.6	47.6	60.2	61.2	56.4	32.1†	38.7
Nationality	51.2	48.4	51.9	23.5	28.2	18.5	21.8	60.2	42.7	16.7	35.7	54.8
Ethnic/cultural affiliation	43.3	37.0	47.4	21.2	20.7	7.4	16.6	60.2	28.2	18.0†	23.2	
Clothing	23.8	24.0	25.8	28.5	29.9	18.5	32.3	39.0	41.8	48.7		
Age	15.9	17.5	15.4	23.7	28.7	25.0	19.7	11.4	26.2	19.2	26.8	
Skin colour	32.5	27.9	38.6	19.1	15.5	7.1	14.0	39.0	28.2	14.1		
Language	38.5	37.0	39.3	15.9	16.7	5.1	11.4	40.7	29.1	15.4	21.4	41.9
Political views	14.7	17.4	15.8	28.5	23.9	9.5	21.8	14.6	30.1	32.1	64.3	35.5
Name	33.2	27.9	33.3	15.6	16.7	3.6	11.8	42.3	25.2	12.8		
Financial/social status	15.2	16.4	17.2	15.4	23.0	15.5	13.1	16.3	36.9	18.0†	21.4	
Religion	21.4	20.0	22.3	9.0	12.6	7.7	6.1	71.5	13.6			
Sexual orientation	6.6	10.4	8.1	15.6	14.9		62.5		16.5	69.2		
Social policy commitment	7.4	9.5	7.4	15.6	13.8	6.9	10.5		16.5†	23.1	39.3	
Illness/disability	5.1	6.6	5.8	10.1	34.8		11.4		25.2	16.7		
Gender identity	3.8	5.1	3.9	7.8	7.5		14.0		9.7	37.2		
Residence status	12.2	11.6	13.5	4.1	4.6		5.2	12.2				
Other		3.4	2.5	3.0	5.8	7.7						
Homelessness												

5.1.5. Experiences of discrimination

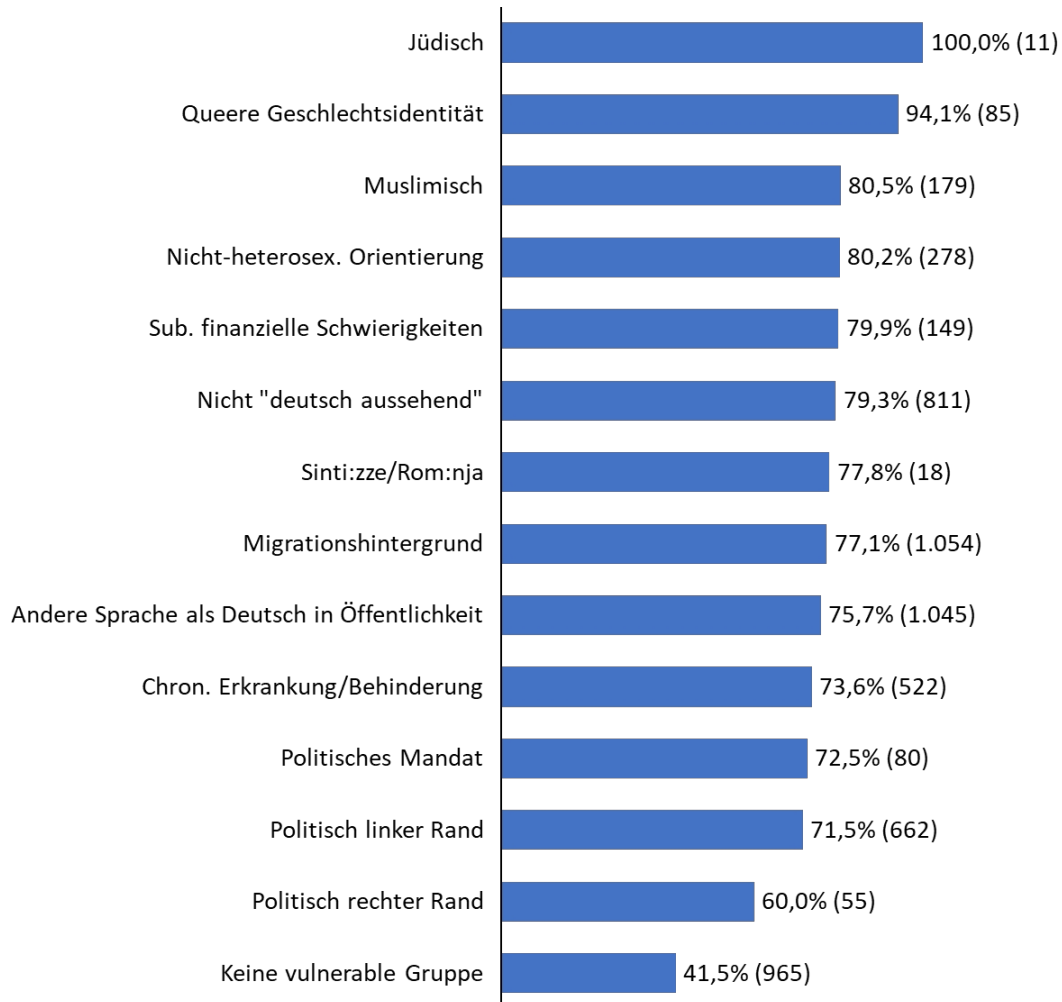
Prejudiced attitudes often manifest themselves in everyday life through discriminatory verbal, non-verbal or physical actions. 35.2% of respondents have experienced discrimination at some point (see Figure 3 in Section 5.1.1). In order to identify the situations in which discrimination occurs, the questionnaire asked about experiences of discrimination in specific situations. Respondents were presented with a list of 19 situations and asked whether they had ever felt discriminated against in their lives in the respective situations. As can be seen in Figure 18, experiences of discrimination at work are most prevalent, at 32.2%. This is followed by experiences of discrimination at school, university or other educational institutions (29.1%) and experiences of discrimination on public transport (25.5%). 13.3% of respondents report experiences of situational discrimination in contact with the police.

Figure 18: Experiences of situational discrimination in per cent; basis: all respondents (n = 3,324); multiple answers possible



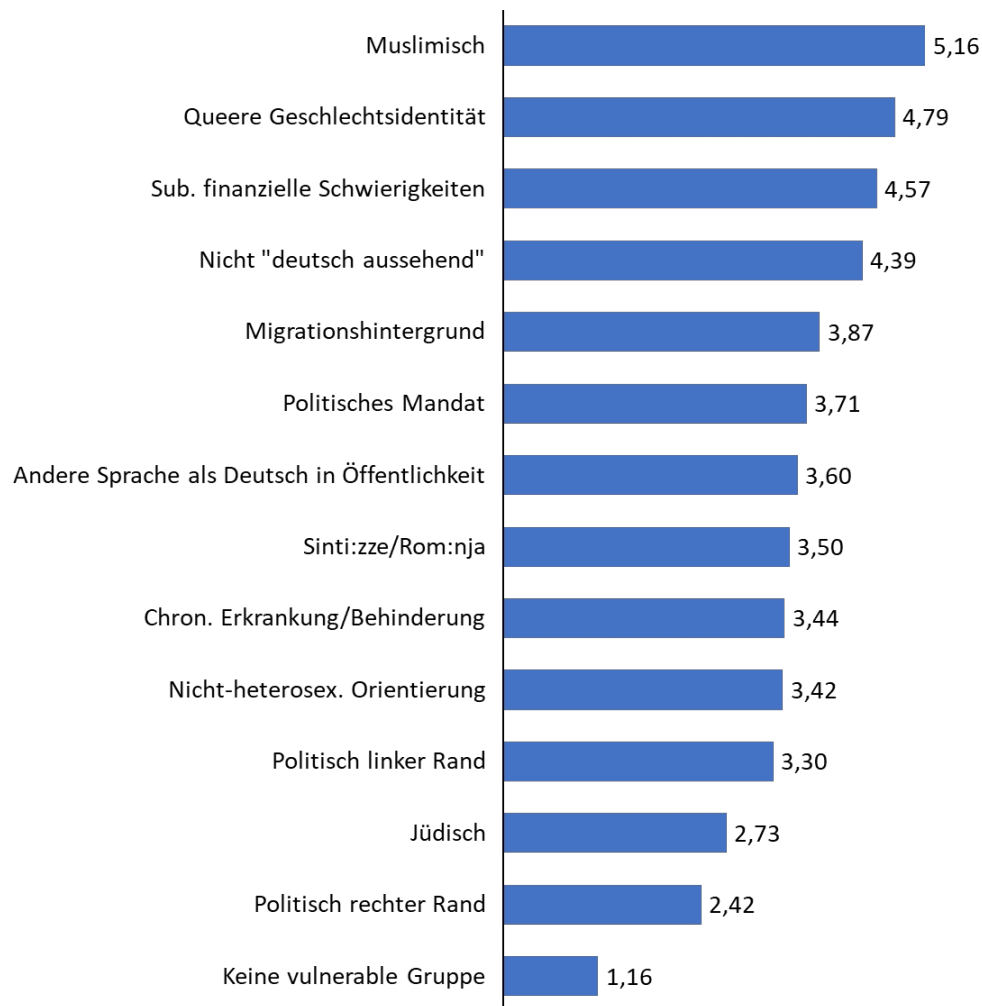
A comparison of the different groups according to their experiences of discrimination reveals clear differences between members of the "majority population" (non-vulnerable group) and the respective vulnerable groups (Figure 19). The proportion among Jews cannot be generalised due to the low number of cases.

Figure 19: Percentage of respondents who have experienced discriminatory situations (explicitly asked situations plus open responses) by vulnerable group; percentage basis in brackets



Looking at the average number of discriminatory situations experienced by respondents in the groups, the differences are once again clearly evident (Figure 20). For example, Muslims report almost five times as many discriminatory situations as respondents from the "majority population". Respondents who do not "look German", those with subjective financial difficulties and those with queer gender identities are also affected, with an average of more than four reported situations. According to the percentage distribution (Figure 19), the most affected groups are also Muslim respondents and those with queer gender identities, but also those who reported a non-heterosexual orientation or subjective financial difficulties, or who do not "look German". The figures for respondents of the Jewish faith cannot be generalised due to the small number of cases.

Figure 20: Average number of reported situations in which respondents felt discriminated against (explicitly asked situations plus open responses) by vulnerable groups



5.1.6. Discrimination by the police

Looking at experiences of situational discrimination in contact with the police among vulnerable groups (see Figure 21), it becomes clear that the experiences of different groups in contact with the police vary significantly. For example, 40.3% of respondents of the Muslim faith report having experienced situational discrimination in contact with the police at some point in their lives. Accordingly, such experiences occur more than seven times as often in this group than among respondents from the "majority society" (non-vulnerable group). Among respondents with a queer gender identity, 35.5% have experienced discriminatory situations in contact with the police, as have 28.3% of respondents who say they do not "look German".

Figure 21: Experiences of situational discrimination in contact with the police according to vulnerable groups

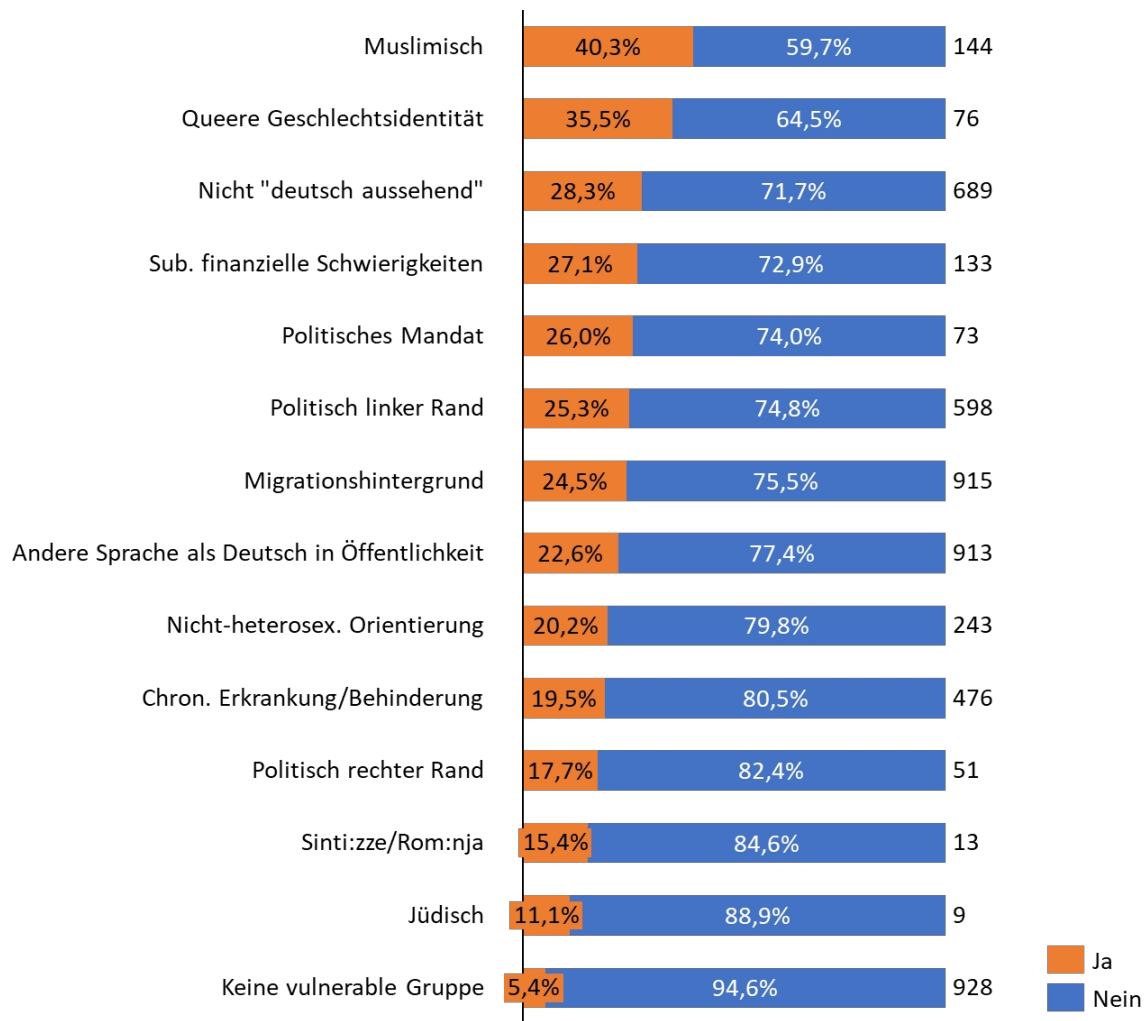
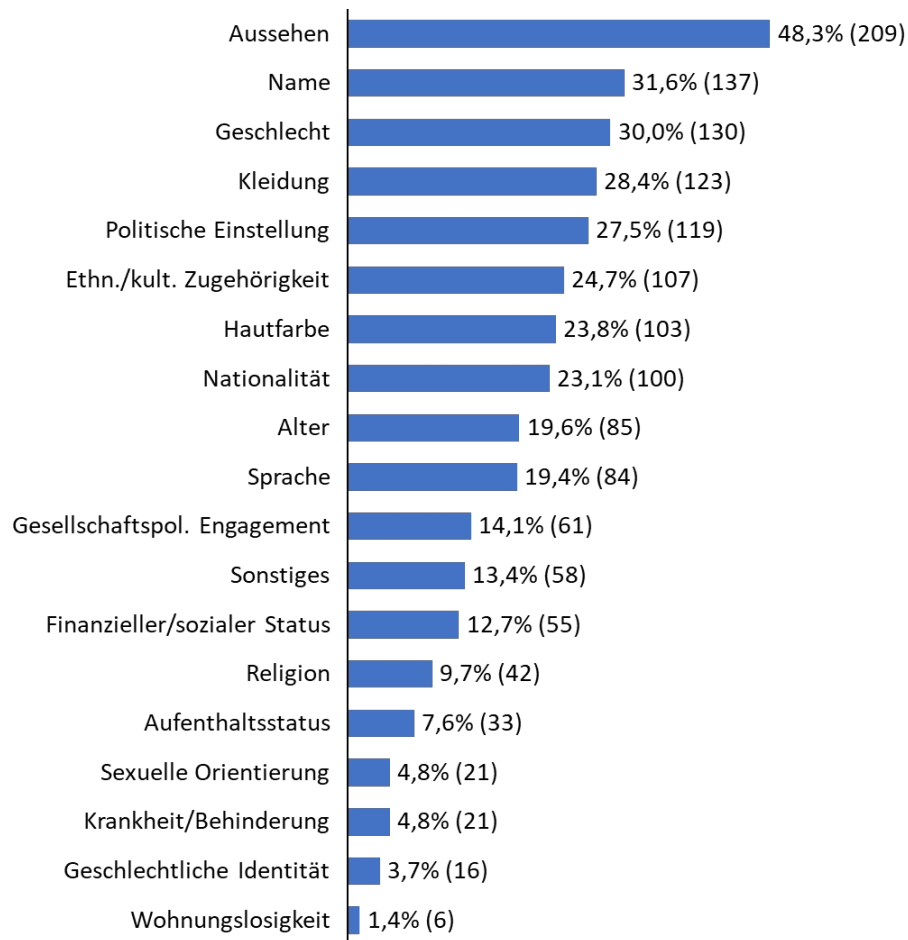


Figure 22 shows which personal characteristics, in the opinion of the respondents, influenced the fact that they were treated in a discriminatory manner by the police. Of those who experienced situational discrimination in contact with the police, 48.3% reported that they were treated discriminatorily by the police because of their appearance. 31.6% believe it was because of their name and 30% stated that their gender had an influence.

Figure 22: Frequency of mentions of personal characteristics that led to experiences of situational discrimination in contact with the police; basis: all those who reported experiences of situational discrimination in contact with the police (n = 433); multiple answers possible



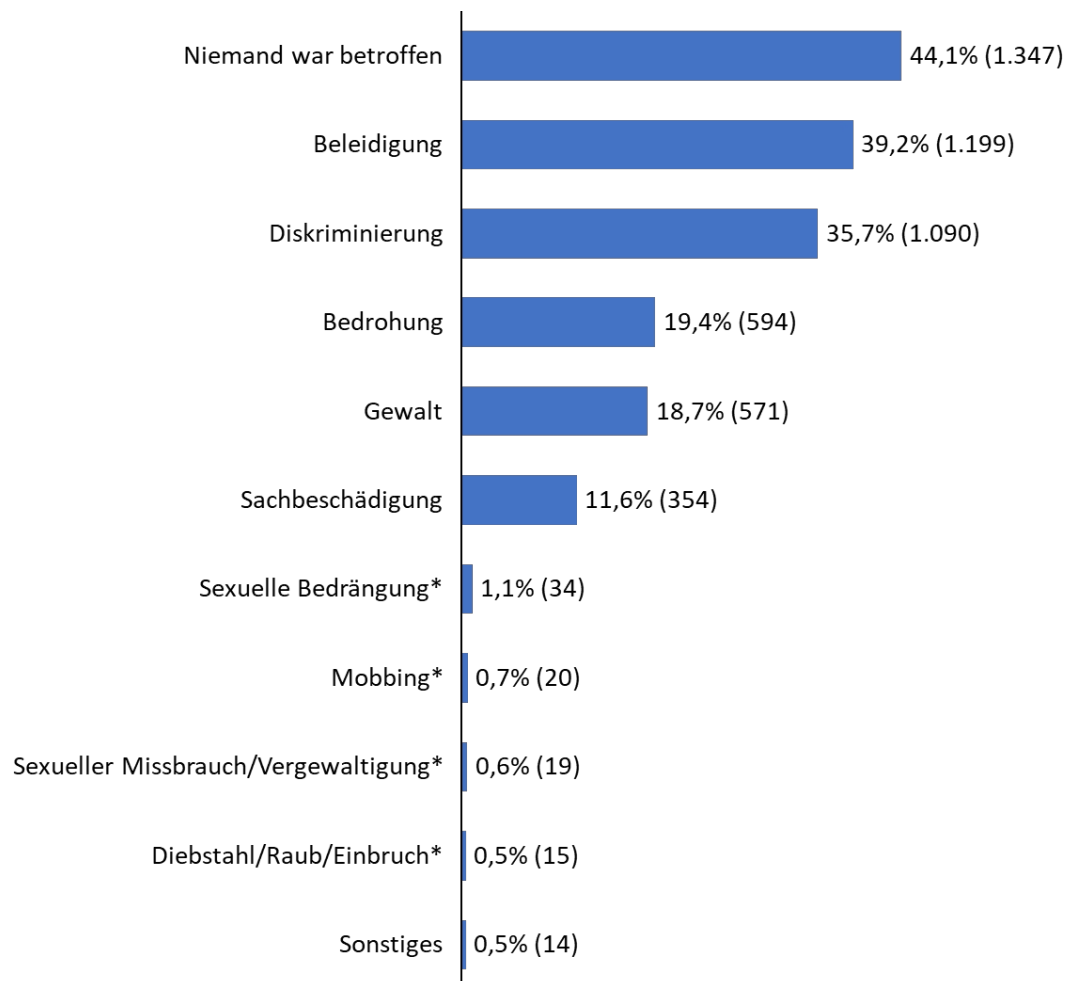
5.2. Prejudice-motivated victimisation within family and friends

Prejudice-motivated acts are not only directed at the respective victim, but also send a message to all members of the social group. Accordingly, prejudice-motivated victimisation of the respondents also affects those who share the corresponding identity-forming characteristics. Based on the concept of indirect victimisation, it can also be assumed that victimisation of people from the respondents' immediate social circle or family and friends also affects the respondents themselves to a particular degree.

As can be seen in Figure 23, more than half ($100\% - 44.1\% = 55.9\%$) of respondents report that people in their family and circle of friends have been victims of prejudice-driven acts at some point. The most frequently reported acts are insults (39.2%) and discrimination (35.7%).

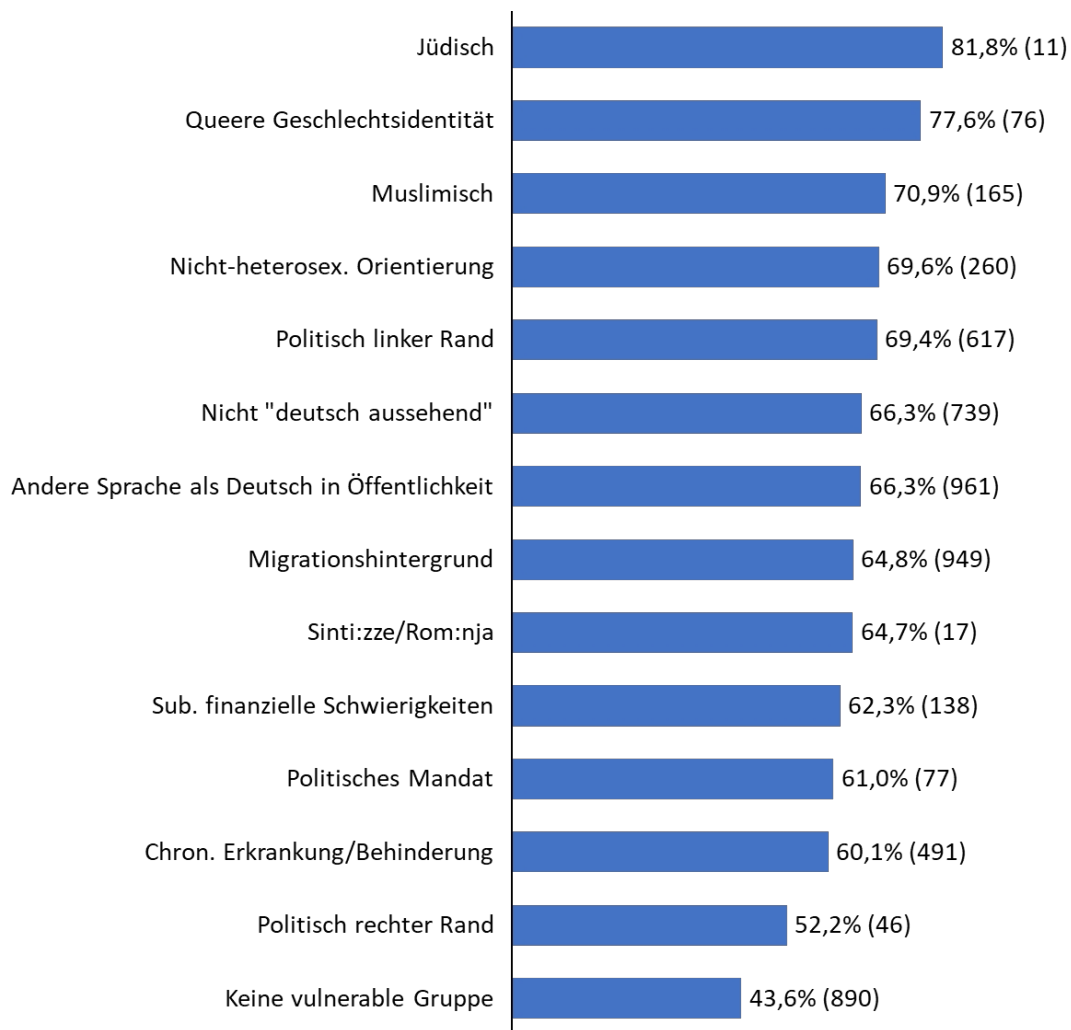
⁽⁶⁾Studies have consistently shown that indirect victimisation typically has a more significant effect on feelings of insecurity related to crime than direct victimisation (e.g. Häfele, 2013).

Figure 23: Prejudice-motivated victimisation of family and friends; basis: all respondents (n = 3,055); multiple answers possible



In Figure 24 below, a distinction is made between vulnerable groups based on whether individuals from their family and circle of friends have ever been victims of prejudice-motivated acts; i.e., for reasons of complexity reduction, no phenomenon-specific differentiation is made here. 81.8% of respondents of the Jewish faith report that people from their own family and circle of friends have been victims of prejudice-motivated acts at least once. Of the respondents with a queer gender identity, 77.6% report that such acts have occurred in their family and circle of friends. These indirect acts of victimisation are significantly less common among respondents from the political right wing and among members of the majority society (not a vulnerable group). Here, only 52.2% and 43.6% respectively report prejudice-motivated incidents affecting their own family and friends.

Figure 24: Prejudice-motivated concern among family and friends by vulnerable group; percentage basis in brackets



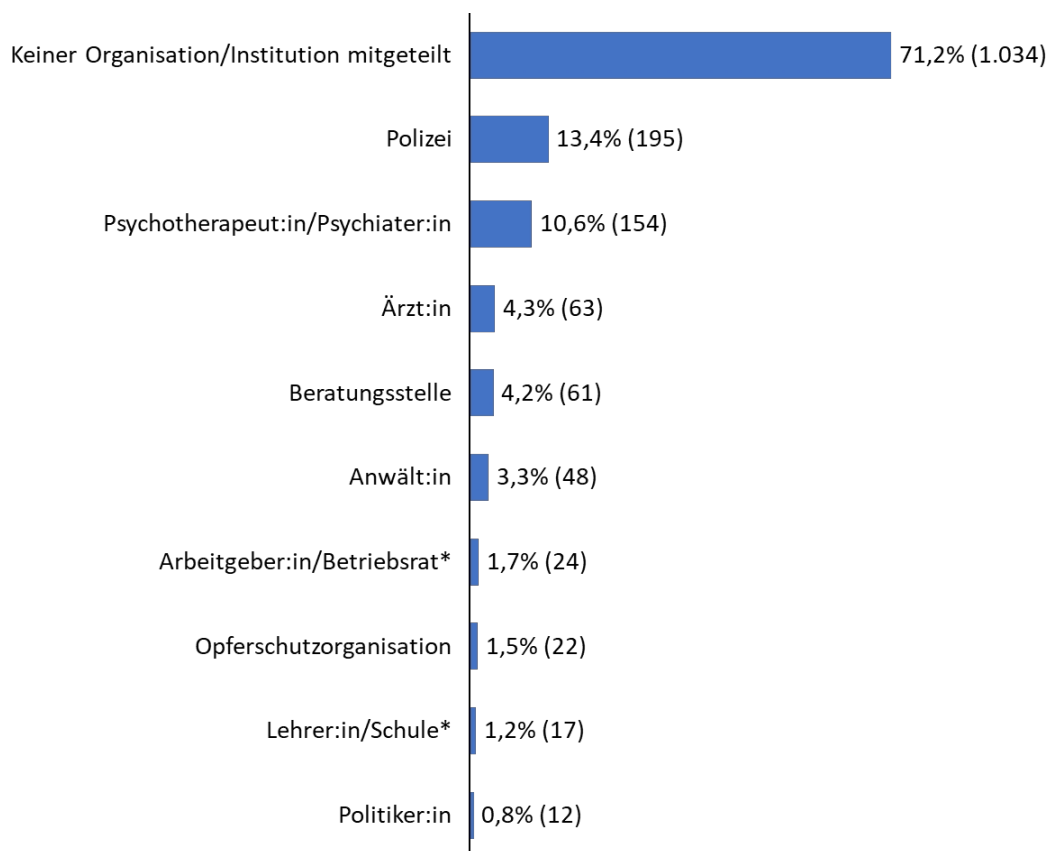
5.3. Reporting behaviour

In order to shed light on the dark field of criminally relevant acts, these must be brought to the attention of the prosecuting authorities. Since approximately 95% of officially registered crimes result from reports made by the public, a description of the reporting behaviour of those affected is particularly informative, not least in order to draw conclusions about the validity of the reported figures and to be able to assess them correctly. The questionnaire therefore asked which institutions or organisations the offences were reported to, how many of the victims reported the offences to the police, and what reasons there were for reporting or not reporting them. As the focus of this study is on prejudice-motivated offences, these questions were only asked of respondents who suspected that the offence was motivated by prejudice. This was also intended to reduce the burden of questions for all respondents.

5.3.1. Organisation to which the offence was reported

Victimisation can be reported to various institutions or organisations. Figure 25 shows which institutions or organisations the respondents confided in. At 71.2%, the vast majority of those who were victims of one or more prejudice-motivated crimes did not report them to any organisation or institution. This means that a large proportion of prejudice-motivated crime remains unreported, i.e. in the dark field. Respondents who did report the victimisation they experienced did so to an average of 1.5 institutions or organisations. At 13.4%, victims of prejudice-motivated acts most frequently turned to the police. 10.6% contacted psychotherapists or psychiatrists and 4.3% approached doctors. Only 1.5%, a negligible proportion of those victimised on the basis of prejudice, turned to a victim protection organisation.

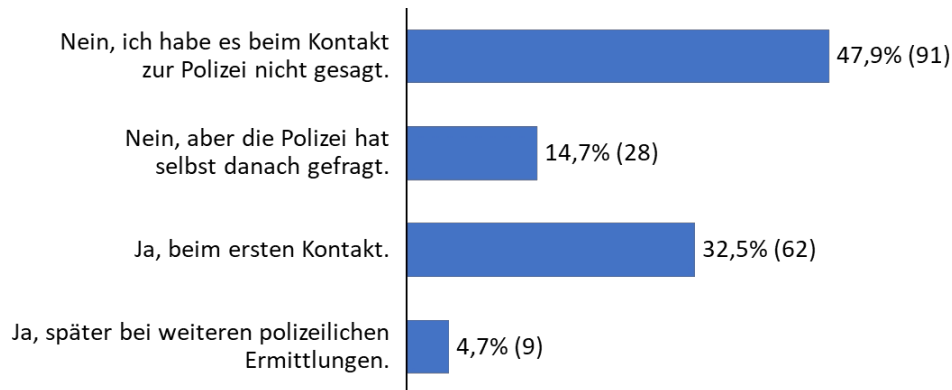
Figure 25: Who was told about the incident? Basis: all victims of prejudice-motivated crime ($n = 1,453$); multiple responses possible; * Coded from open-ended question ("I reported it to another organisation/institution, namely")



Respondents who contacted the police after the incident were asked whether they had told the police that they felt they had been targeted because of their personal characteristics – in other words, that there was a perceived motive of prejudice. Figure 26 shows that almost half (47.9%) of respondents made this assumption to the police.

did not mention this to the police. 14.7% report that the police asked them of their own accord whether the offence might have been motivated by prejudice. The remaining 37.4% communicated their suspicion that prejudice might have been a motive either during initial contact (32.5%) or in the course of the police investigation (4.7%).

Figure 26: Was it communicated to the police that the offence was probably motivated by prejudice? Basis: all victims of prejudice who reported the offence to the police (n = 190)



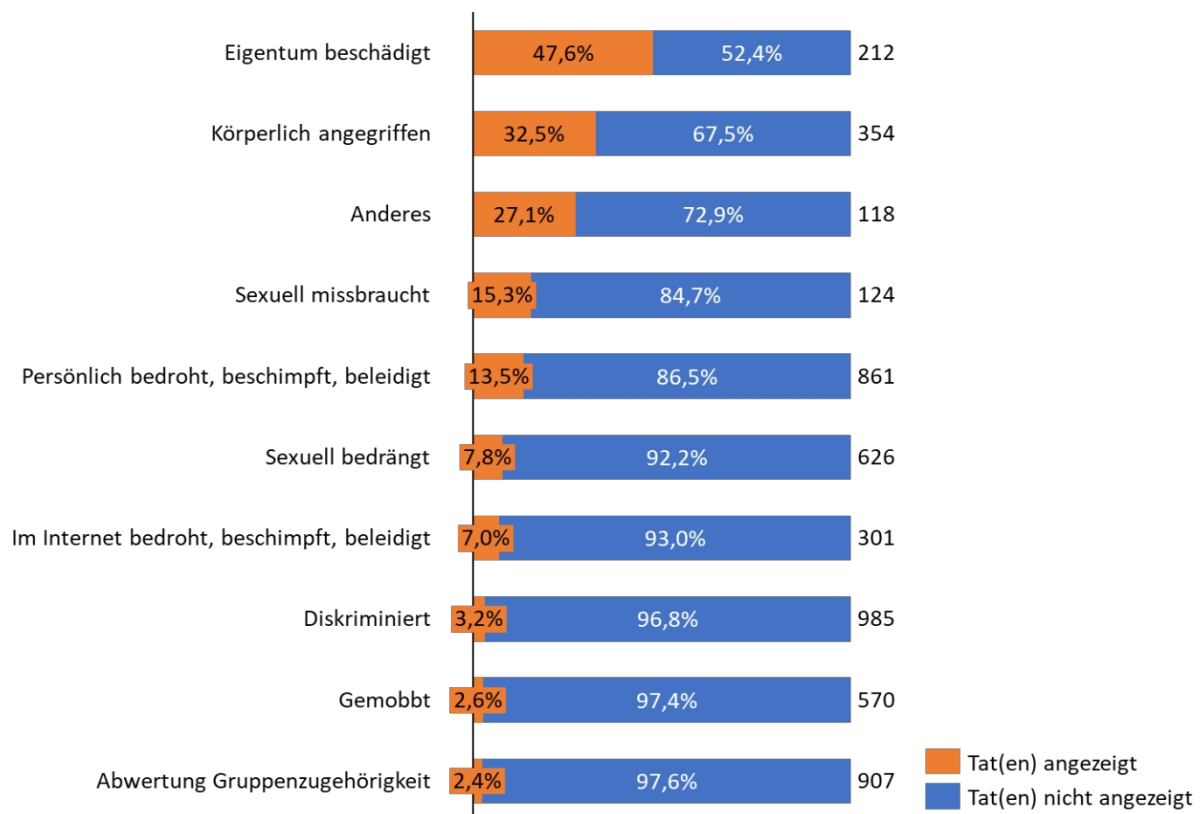
5.3.2. Reporting rates

The reporting rate among victims of prejudice-motivated crimes across all offences is 19.6%. The offence-specific reporting rates⁷ vary between 47.6% for damage to property and 2.4% for derogatory or disparaging comments about the group⁸ to which the respondents belong (see Fig. 27). It can be seen here that offences that are relatively low-level in comparison, such as discrimination, bullying and disparagement, but which are typical of prejudice-motivated offences, are very rarely reported.

⁷ We deliberately do not refer to a reporting rate here, as the data does not allow for the calculation of a reporting rate in the narrower sense. The reporting rate here indicates whether the respondents reported at least one of the reported acts per category of act.

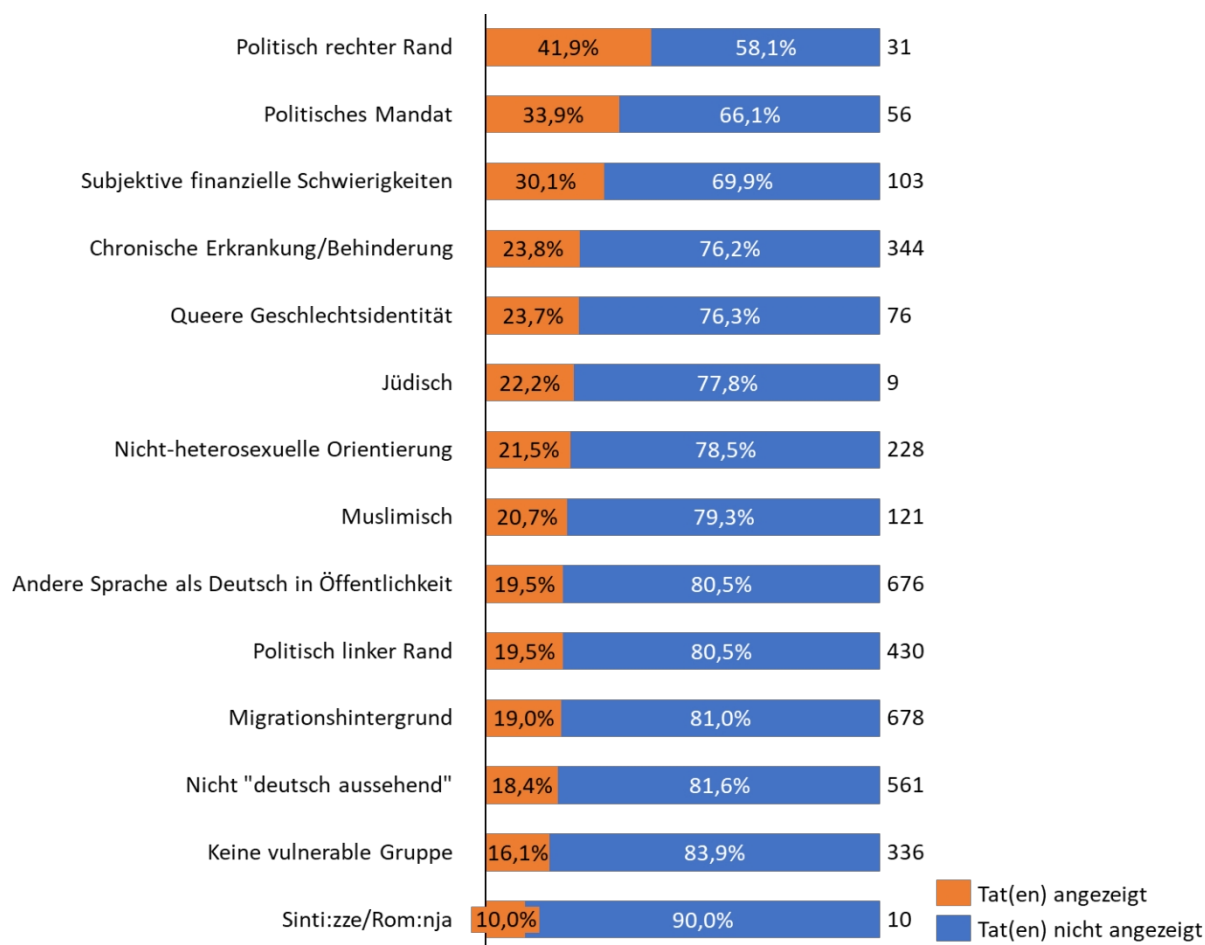
⁸ Such statements can be reported if they constitute offences such as insult, defamation or slander.

Figure 27: Fact-specific display rates



The reporting behaviour differs significantly between the various vulnerable groups. The reporting rate is highest among people with right-wing political views, at 41.9% (see Figure 28). Elected politicians also have a comparatively high reporting rate among vulnerable groups, at 33.9%. Respondents with a migrant background and respondents who do not "look German" have a significantly lower reporting rate of 19% and 18.4% respectively. Sinti and Roma have the lowest reporting rate among vulnerable groups, although caution should be exercised when interpreting the figures in this case due to the small number of cases.

Figure 28: Display rate by vulnerable group



5.3.3. Reasons for reporting

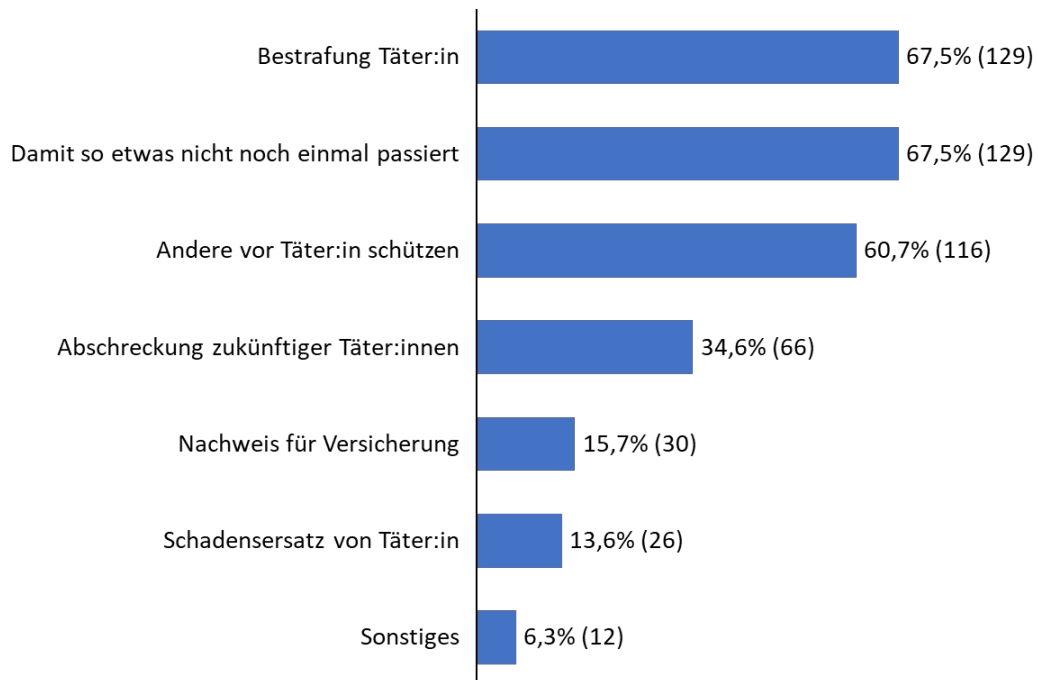
Respondents who reported at least one incident of victimisation motivated by prejudice were asked about their reasons for reporting it. On average, respondents cited 2.7 reasons for reporting. The three most common reasons for reporting were "the desire to see the perpetrator punished" and "the hope that reporting the incident would prevent it from happening again", each at 67.5%, and the aim of "protecting others from the perpetrator" at 60.7% (see Figure 29).

In 10 of the 13 vulnerable groups, these are the three most frequently cited reasons for reporting (not shown).⁹ There are therefore hardly any differences between the vulnerable groups in this respect. Even when distinguishing between offences, there is a high degree of consistency in the frequency with which the reasons for reporting are cited. For all 10 offences explicitly asked about, these are the three most frequently cited reasons for reporting.

In contrast, claims for damages play a rather minor role among the reasons for reporting, at 13.6%.

⁹ In the case of the Jewish group and the Sinti and Roma, the number of cases was so small that it was not possible to evaluate them. In the "right-wing political fringe" group, "proof of insurance" is listed among the three most frequently cited reasons instead of "protecting others from the perpetrator".

Figure 29: Reasons for reporting; basis: all victims of prejudice who reported at least one offence (n = 191); multiple answers possible

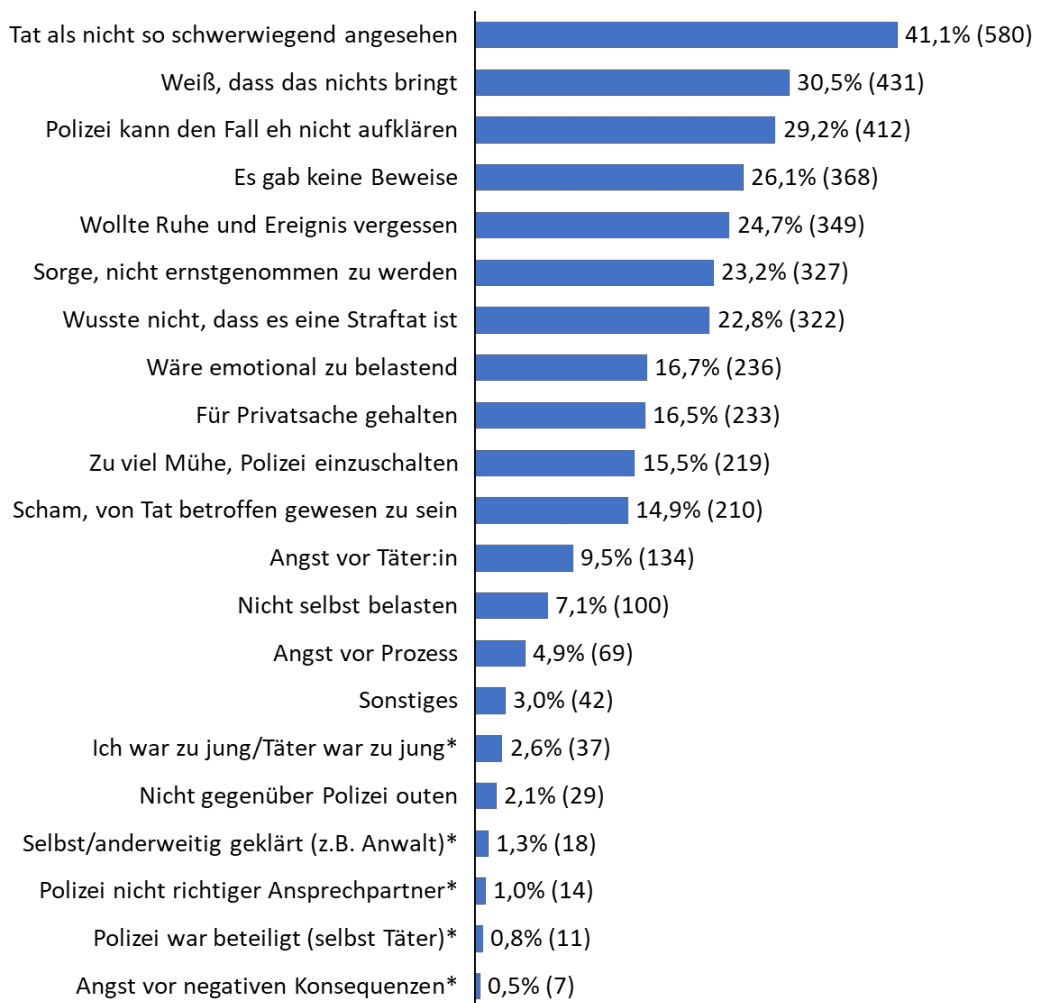


5.3.4. Reasons for not reporting

Respondents who had experienced at least one prejudice-motivated crime but had not reported it were also asked about their reasons for not reporting it. On average, respondents cited 2.9 reasons for not reporting.

At 41.1%, the most frequently cited reason for not reporting was that respondents did not consider the offence to be serious (see Figure 30). In second place, at 30.5%, was the reason "Because I know from experience that it won't help". The third most common reason, at 29.2%, was the assumption that "the police would probably not be able to solve the case anyway". The latter two reasons for not reporting reflect a pessimistic view of the effectiveness of police work on the part of those surveyed.

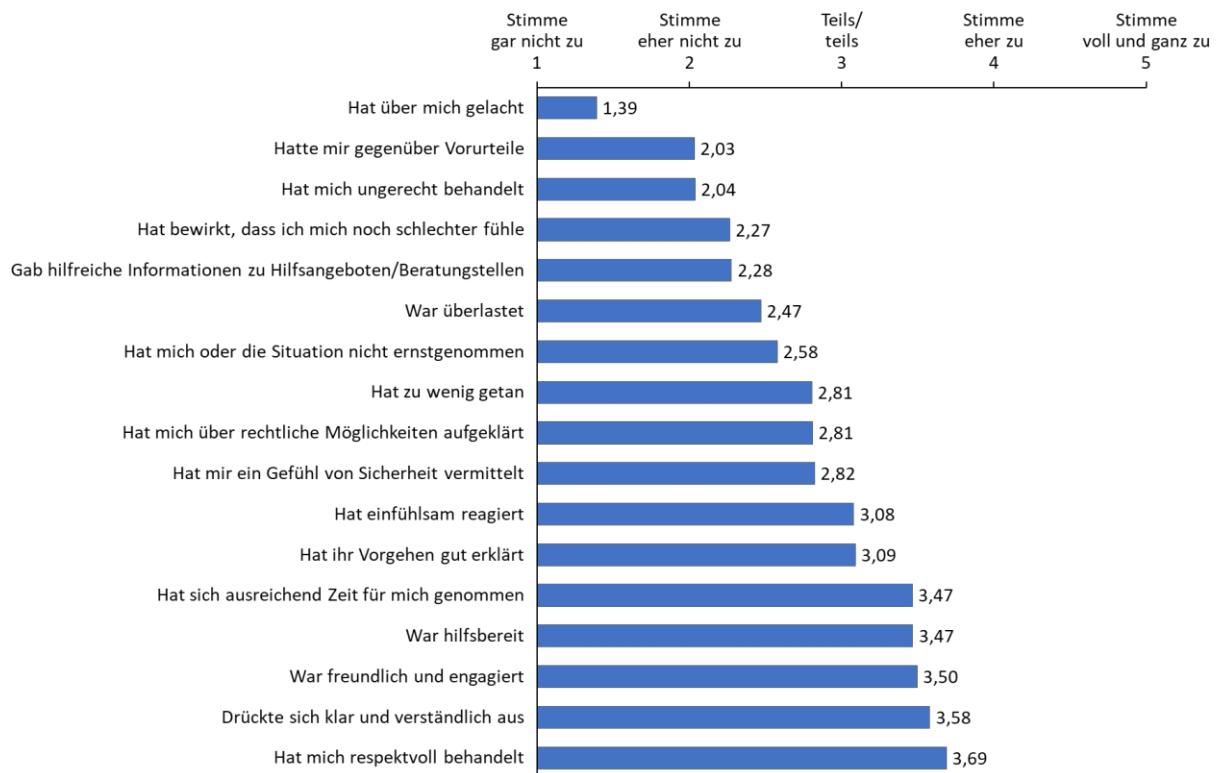
Figure 30: Reasons for not reporting; basis: all victims of prejudice who did not report the offence (n = 1,411); multiple answers possible; * coded from open-ended question ("For another reason, namely")



5.3.5. Assessment of the police

Respondents who reported their victimisation to the police (see section 5.3.1) were asked to evaluate the behaviour of the police on the basis of 17 different statements. The average rating for each statement can be found in Figure 31. The items that received the most approval were "Took enough time for me" (3.47), "Was helpful" (3.47), "Was friendly and committed" (3.50), "Expressed themselves clearly and comprehensibly" (3.58) and "Treated me with respect" (3.69). Negative ratings such as "Laughed at me" (1.39), "Was prejudiced against me" (2.03) or "Treated me unfairly" (2.04) received significantly less approval.

Figure 31: Assessment of the police by respondents who contacted the police after the crime; mean values of respondent assessments (n = 176–187)



An item analysis for these 17 statements revealed that the following 10 items form a dimension:

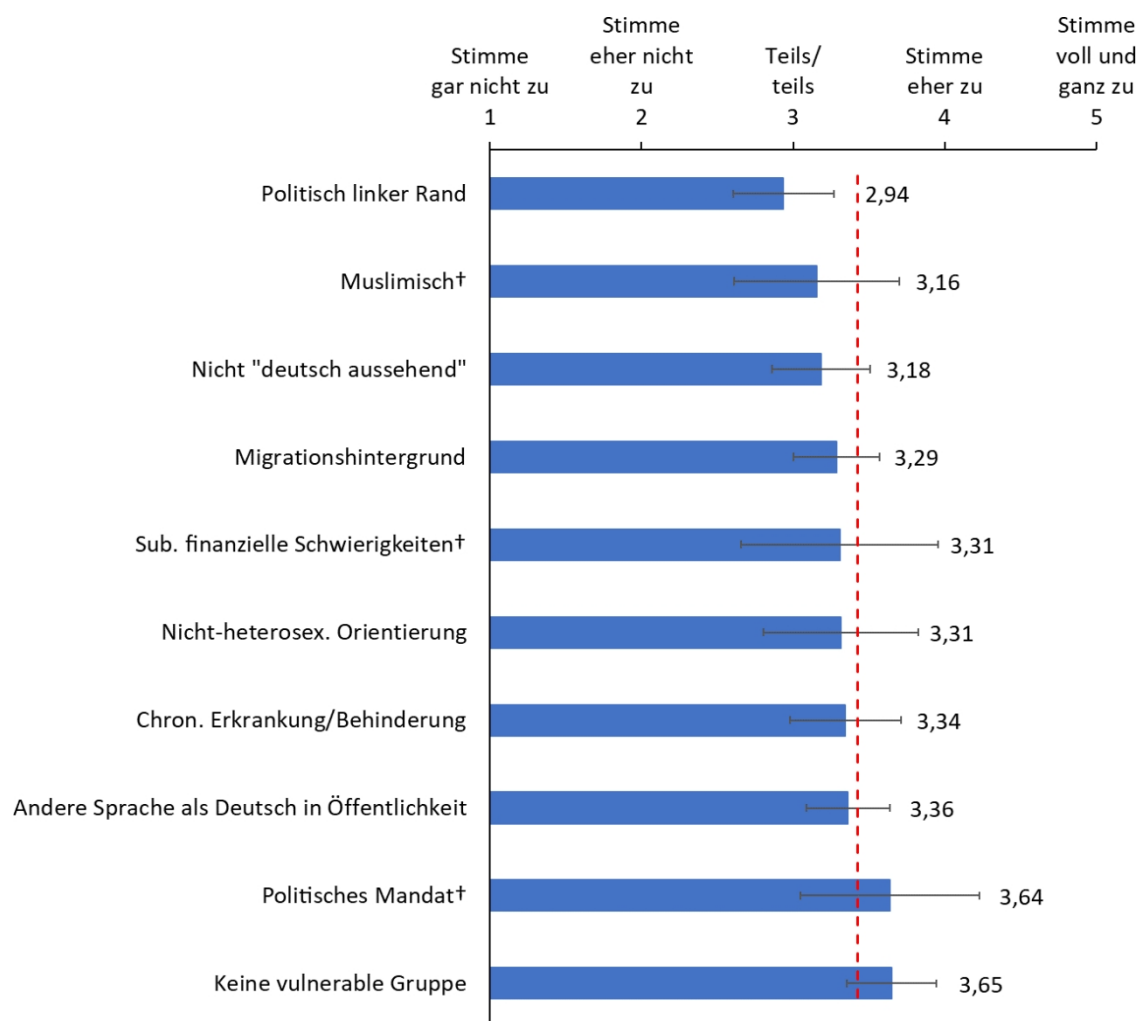
- Was helpful
- Treated me unfairly (-)
- Was friendly and committed
- Made me feel even worse (-)
- Took enough time for me
- Responded empathetically
- Made me feel safe
- Explained their approach well
- Expressed themselves clearly and understandably
- Treated me with respect.

Accordingly, a mean scale was formed for each respondent from these items (Cronbach's alpha is 0.95). The remaining items would have reduced the reliability of the scale and are not taken into account in the following analysis. All 10 selected items are included in the mean scale in such a way that a high numerical value implies a positive assessment of the police. Accordingly, the two negatively worded items "Treated me unfairly" and "Made me feel even worse" were reversed before the scale was formed.

The scale mean for the total sample is 3.43. A comparison of the vulnerable groups shows that respondents who identify themselves as being on the political left, with a scale mean of 2.94, Muslim respondents with a mean of 3.16, and respondents who consider themselves to be "non-German-looking" with a mean of 3.18 express the least positive assessment of the police (see Figure 32). In contrast, the police receive the most positive ratings from the group of elected politicians (3.64) and from respondents who do not belong to a vulnerable group (3.65).

Due to single-digit case numbers, no mean values are shown in Figures 31 for Sinti/Roma, respondents of the Jewish faith, respondents with queer gender identities and respondents from the political right wing. Statistical indicators based on such a small number of cases are not reliable.

Figure 32: Differences between vulnerable groups in their assessment of the police according to victim experience reports; scale mean values including 95% confidence intervals by vulnerable group (n = 13–65); †: fewer than 20 cases; groups with fewer than 10 cases are hidden; red dotted line = overall mean value

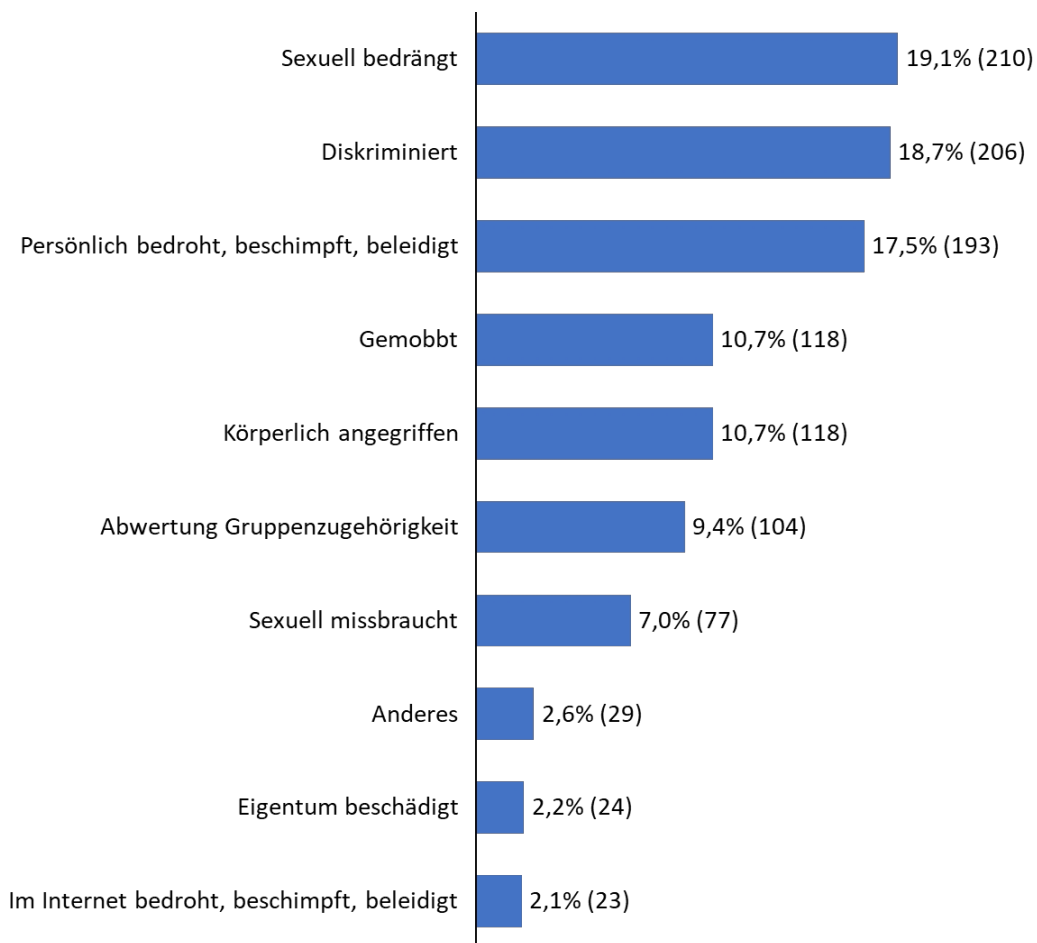


5.4. Context and consequences of the offence

5.4.1. Most serious offence

When asked about the circumstances of the offence, respondents were asked to refer exclusively to the prejudice-motivated act they experienced that they considered to be the most serious. Figure 33 shows that 19.1% of respondents who answered this question selected prejudice-motivated sexual harassment as the most serious offence. For a further 18.7% of respondents, prejudice-motivated discrimination was the most serious offence. 17.5% considered being personally threatened, verbally abused or insulted on the basis of prejudice to be the most serious offence.

Figure 33: Frequency of the most serious prejudice-motivated act experienced, in per cent; basis: all victims of prejudice-motivated acts ($n = 1,102$)



¹⁰No distinction is made here between multiple and single victims. Therefore, it is not possible to establish a ranking in the sense that, for example, people who reported sexual harassment necessarily had the worst experience compared to other victims. It could also have been the only act they experienced.

5.4.2. Scene of the crime and context of the crime

Figure 34 provides information about the environments and contexts in which prejudice-motivated crimes occur. 24.9% of respondents stated that the crime took place in another district of Hamburg. 23.7% were victimised outside Hamburg and 21.6% stated that the crime took place at their workplace. On average, respondents indicated 2.1 locations or contexts.

Table 5 shows the typical locations and contexts of prejudice-motivated victimisation. For example, 59.8% of respondents who experienced bullying as the worst prejudice-motivated act experienced it in an educational institution. Forty-eight per cent of those who said that discrimination was the worst prejudice-motivated crime for them cited the workplace as the location. Prejudice-motivated sexual harassment is particularly common on public transport or at stops, as well as in shops, cafés, restaurants, pubs and clubs. As multiple answers were possible when asked about the locations or contexts of the offences, the respective column totals sometimes add up to more than 100 per cent.

*Figure 34: Scene of the crime or context of the crime of the most serious prejudice-motivated crime experienced; basis: all victims of prejudice-motivated crime (n = 1,613); multiple answers possible; * coded from open-ended question ("Other location, namely?")*



Table 5: Locations and contexts of the worst prejudice-motivated victimisation; †: percentage based on fewer than 20 cases; percentages are hidden if the percentage is based on fewer than 10 cases; * coded from open-ended question ("Other location, namely?")

Crime scene or context	Worst victimisation with prejudice motive									
	Threatened on the internet, verbally abused, insulted <i>n</i> = 22	Personally threatened, insulted, insulted <i>n</i> = 192	Bullied <i>n</i> = 117	Discriminated against <i>n</i> = 204	Devaluation Group affiliation <i>n</i> = 104	Physically attacked <i>n</i> = 118	Sexually harassed <i>n</i> = 209	Sexually abused <i>n</i> = 77	Property damaged <i>n</i> = 24	Other <i>n</i> = 29
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
In another district of Hamburg		31.8	11.1	32.4	32.7	26.3	23.4	15.6		34.5
Outside Hamburg, but within Germany		28.7	22.2	27.5	18.3	23.7	25.4	36.4		
In my neighbourhood		28.1		22.1	19.2	22.0	9.1			
In public transport or at a stop stops		26.0	8.6†	21.6	21.2	18.6	33.0			
In my immediate neighbourhood/living environment environment		22.4		13.2	11.5†	15.3	9.1			
In a shop, café, restaurant, pub, club		19.8		23.0	13.5		30.6			
At work		18.2	34.2	48.0	29.8		12			
In an educational institution		10.4	59.8	26.5	30.8	8.5				
In a green space/park		8.9		8.8	14.4	10.2	9.6			
At a public event		6.8		12.3	11.5	9.3	8.1			
On the internet/social media	86.4	5.7		9.3	12.5					
At home in my flat/house					10.6		6.2	35.1		
Abroad			9.4	14.2		9.3	13.9	13		
In a medical facility				16.7						
Street/other public places*										
At a government office/authority				26.0	11.5					
In a care facility										
Other location				4.9						
Leisure/sports facility*										

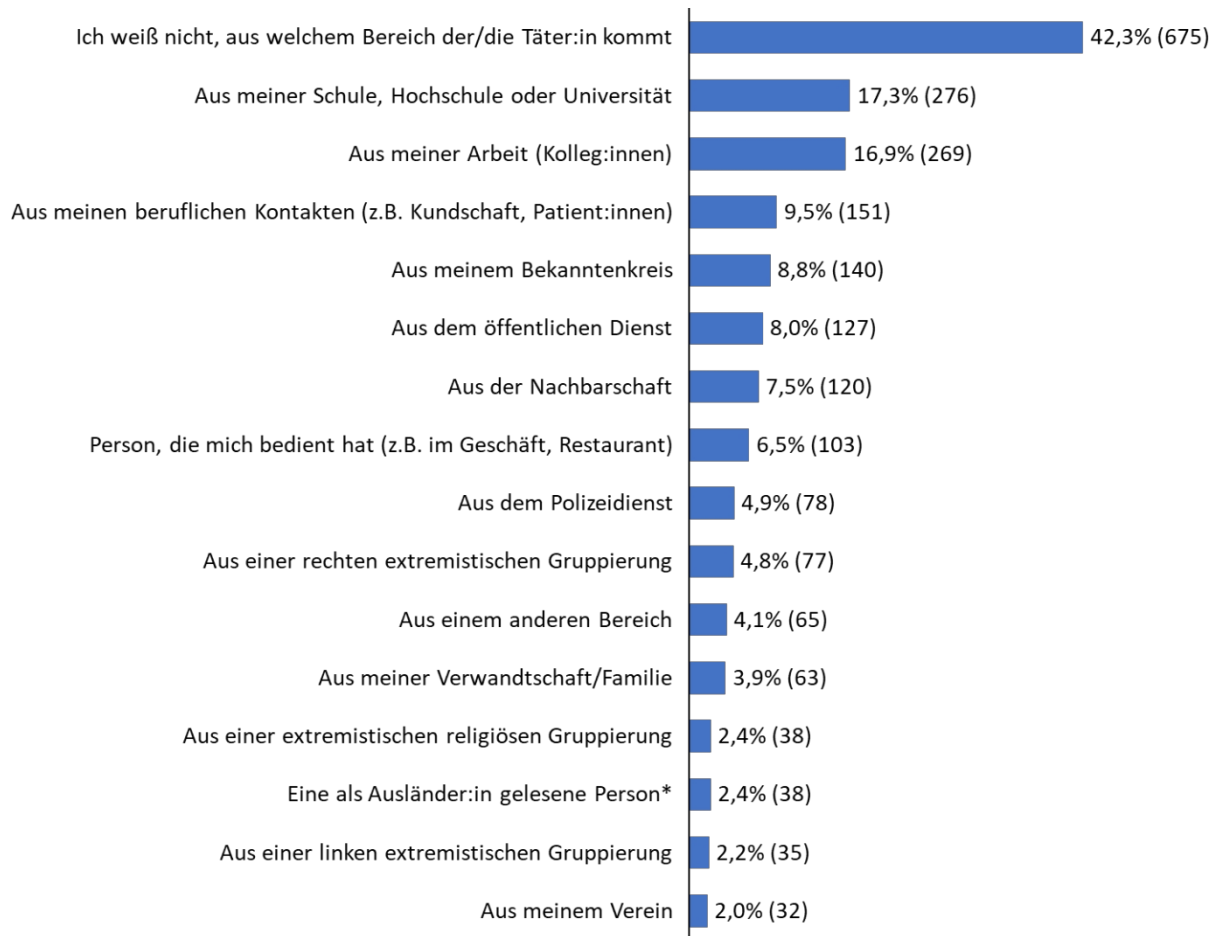
5.4.3. Perpetrators

50.1% (801) stated that the worst prejudice-motivated crime was committed by *one* person. 43.5% (695) stated that more than one person was involved in the crime. The remaining 6.4% (103) were unable to provide any information on this as they did not see the perpetrators.

In 70.1% (1,052) of cases, the perpetrators were male, while in 19.6% (293) of cases, the perpetrators were of different genders. 8.2% (122) of the offences were committed by women and 0.7% (11) by persons who were classified as "other" by the respondents. 1.1% were unable to provide information about the gender of the perpetrators because they did not see them.

Figure 35 shows that 42.3% cannot provide any further information about the main perpetrator beyond their gender. 17.3% state that the main perpetrator comes from the respondent's school, college or university. 16.9% stated that the main perpetrator came from their circle of colleagues at work, while 9.5% named professional contacts such as customers or patients. It is worth noting at this point that just under 5% (78) of respondents said that the main perpetrator came from the police force. Slightly fewer respondents reported perpetrators from a right-wing group (4.8%, 77 people), and significantly fewer reported foreign or religious extremist perpetrators (2.4% each, 38 respondents).

Figure 35: Areas from which the main perpetrator of the most serious prejudice-motivated crime came; basis: all victims of prejudice-motivated crime (n = 1,596); multiple answers possible; * coded from open-ended question ("From another area, namely?")

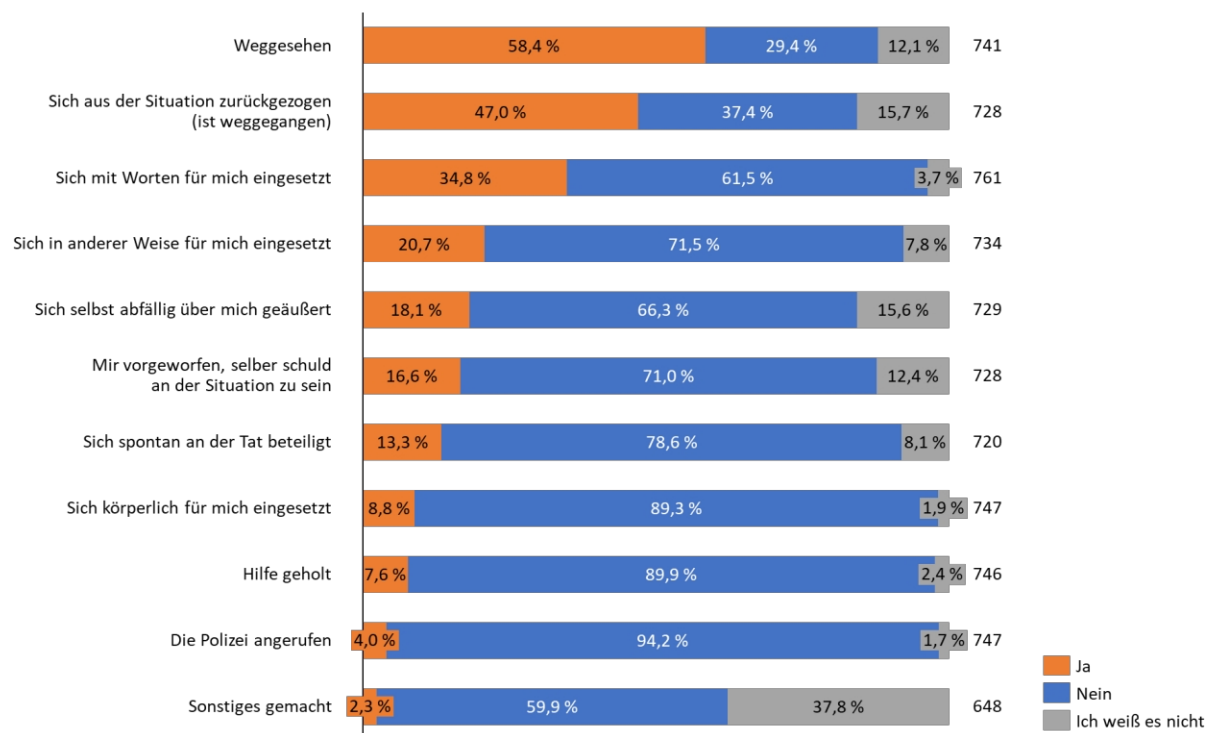


5.4.4. Behaviour of third parties during the offence

With regard to the worst prejudice-motivated experience, 41.3% (661) of respondents stated that several other people who were not involved in the incident were present and observed what happened. 7.9% (126) reported that *one* other person was present during the incident. 31.1% (498) of respondents stated that no uninvolved persons were present during the incident. 19.8% did not know whether uninvolved persons were present.

With regard to the behaviour of these uninvolved third parties, respondents report that looking away and walking away are the most frequently observed behaviours, at 58.4% and 47% respectively (see Figure 36). Significantly fewer, namely 34.8% of respondents, stated that the third parties present at the incident had spoken up for them. 20.7% said that the third parties had stood up for them in other ways. Only 4% of respondents reported that these individuals had called the police.

Figure 36: Behaviour of uninvolved persons present during the worst prejudice-motivated incident



5.4.5. Consequences of the incident

The experience of being the victim of prejudice-motivated acts typically has serious consequences for those affected (e.g. Iganski, 2001). In order to empirically investigate these findings from existing research in the present study, respondents were asked to agree or disagree with 13 different statements about the consequences of the most serious prejudice-motivated crime they had experienced on a 5-point response scale with the options "strongly disagree", "disagree", "neither agree nor disagree", "Somewhat agree" and "Strongly agree". Figure 37 shows the percentage of respondents who answered the respective statements with "Somewhat agree" or "Strongly agree". For example, 17.5% of respondents agreed with the statement

"After the incident, I was afraid to go out or visit certain places" with "I somewhat agree" or "I completely agree". This descriptive analysis of the individual items shows that those affected primarily agree with the statements that address the psychological or emotional consequences of the incident.

An item analysis revealed that these 13 statements cover three different dimensions. The first dimension reflects the psychological and emotional consequences and includes the following statements:

- I have often felt afraid since the crime
- I find it difficult to process the consequences of the crime
- I am still suffering psychologically (mentally, emotionally) from the consequences of the crime
- After the incident, I was afraid to go out or visit certain places.
- I had to seek medical or psychological treatment because of the incident

- Since the incident, I have had problems trusting others.

A mean scale for *psychological stress* was formed from these six items for each respondent (Cronbach's alpha = 0.89).

The second dimension consists of items that address social isolation and inability to work:

- Some people no longer want to be seen with me since the incident
- Since the incident, people have distanced themselves from me
- After the incident, I was unable to work for a long time or stopped working
- I suffered significant financial damage as a result of the offence.

These four statements were used to form a mean scale for *social isolation and incapacity to work* (Cronbach's alpha = 0.76).

The third dimension consists of the following two items:

- I wanted to leave Germany
- I wanted to move away from Hamburg after the incident.

Here, thoughts of escape as a reaction to the worst prejudice-motivated act are addressed. For these two items, the mean scale *Thoughts of escape* was created (Cronbach's alpha = 0.81).¹¹

The consequences of the offences are now examined on the basis of these three dimensions, whereby, as in Figure 37, the proportion of respondents who answered the respective statements on average with "I tend to agree" or "I completely agree" is also shown.¹² The focus is first on differences between the various vulnerable groups. Next, we examine whether the various prejudice-motivated acts have different effects on the victims' state of mind.

Figure 38 shows that respondents who do not belong to a vulnerable group experience the least psychological stress, with a percentage value of 2.5. Respondents of the Jewish faith also express comparatively low agreement with items indicating psychological stress, with a percentage value of 10. One reason for this could be that respondents of the Jewish faith are somewhat accustomed to prejudice-motivated acts due to their high level of exposure to them (see Figure 5 in Section 5.1.2). However, it must be pointed out once again that the group of Jewish respondents in this survey is very small and therefore a few atypical respondents can have a major influence on the results. For this reason, the results for Sinti:zze

¹¹ The item "I am still suffering physically from the consequences of the crime" was not included because it showed substantial cross-loadings with both the *psychological stress* dimension and the *social isolation and incapacity to work* dimension. Items that measure several dimensions at the same time make it difficult to interpret scales and are therefore usually excluded.

¹² The three mean scales formed have a more or less continuous value range from 1 to 5. Values below 3.5 correspond to the responses "Strongly disagree", "Somewhat disagree" and "Neither agree nor disagree". Values of 3.5 and above correspond to the responses "Somewhat agree" and "Strongly agree". Figures 38 to 43 show the percentage of respondents who have values of 3.5 and above on the respective mean scales.

and Roma are not shown in this figure, as the percentage would be based on only a single-digit number of cases. In contrast, high levels of psychological stress as a result of the offence are found among respondents with subjective financial difficulties (32.3%), respondents from the political right wing (28.6%), respondents with chronic illnesses or disabilities (27.2%) and respondents with queer gender identities (23.3%).

Figure 37: Consequences of the worst prejudice-motivated crime; percentage of responses "Agree somewhat" and "Agree completely" (n = 1,563 - 1,591)



Figure 39 shows that social isolation and inability to work as consequences of victimisation are comparatively more pronounced among respondents with subjective financial difficulties (9.8%), respondents with chronic illness or disability (7.1%) and political office holders (5.8%). Respondents of the Jewish faith (0.0%), respondents who do not belong to a vulnerable group (0.6%) and those with a non-heterosexual orientation (1.9%) perceive these burdens of social isolation and inability to work as significantly less severe. Due to the small number of cases, the result for respondents of the Jewish faith is subject to a high degree of uncertainty. This

figure does not show the results for Sinti and Roma, as the percentage would be based on only a single-digit number of cases.

Figure 38: Consequences of the worst prejudice-motivated act: psychological stress by vulnerable group; percentage of responses "agree somewhat" and "agree completely"; percentage basis in brackets

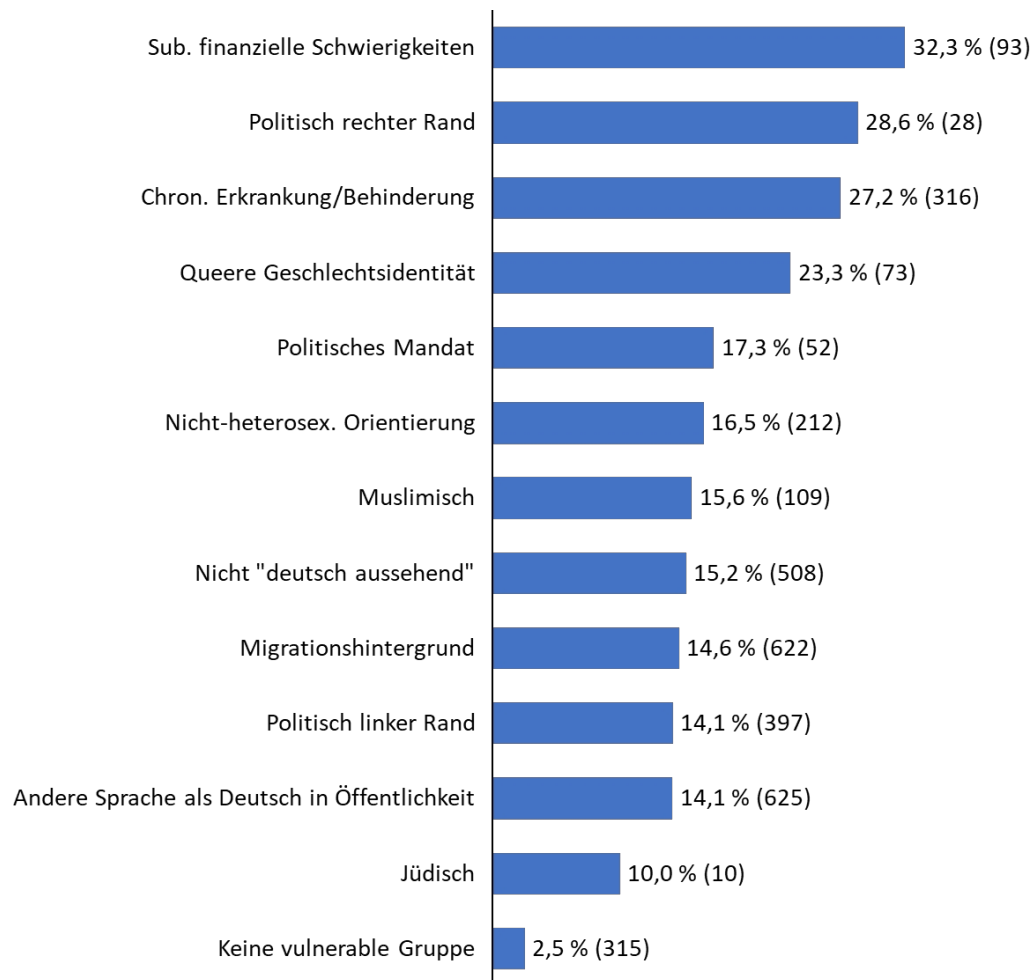


Figure 39: Consequences of the worst prejudice-motivated crime: social isolation and inability to work by vulnerable group; percentage of responses "somewhat agree" and "strongly agree"; percentage basis in brackets

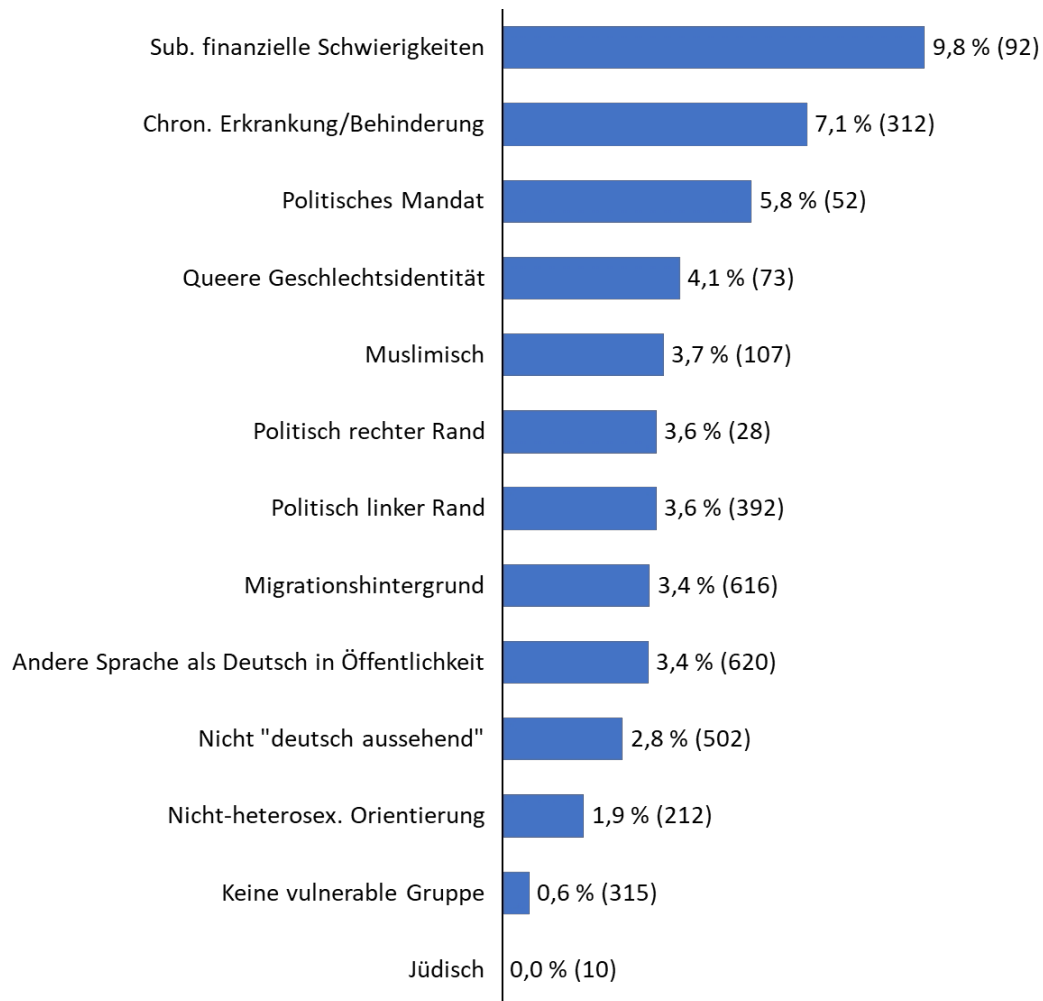
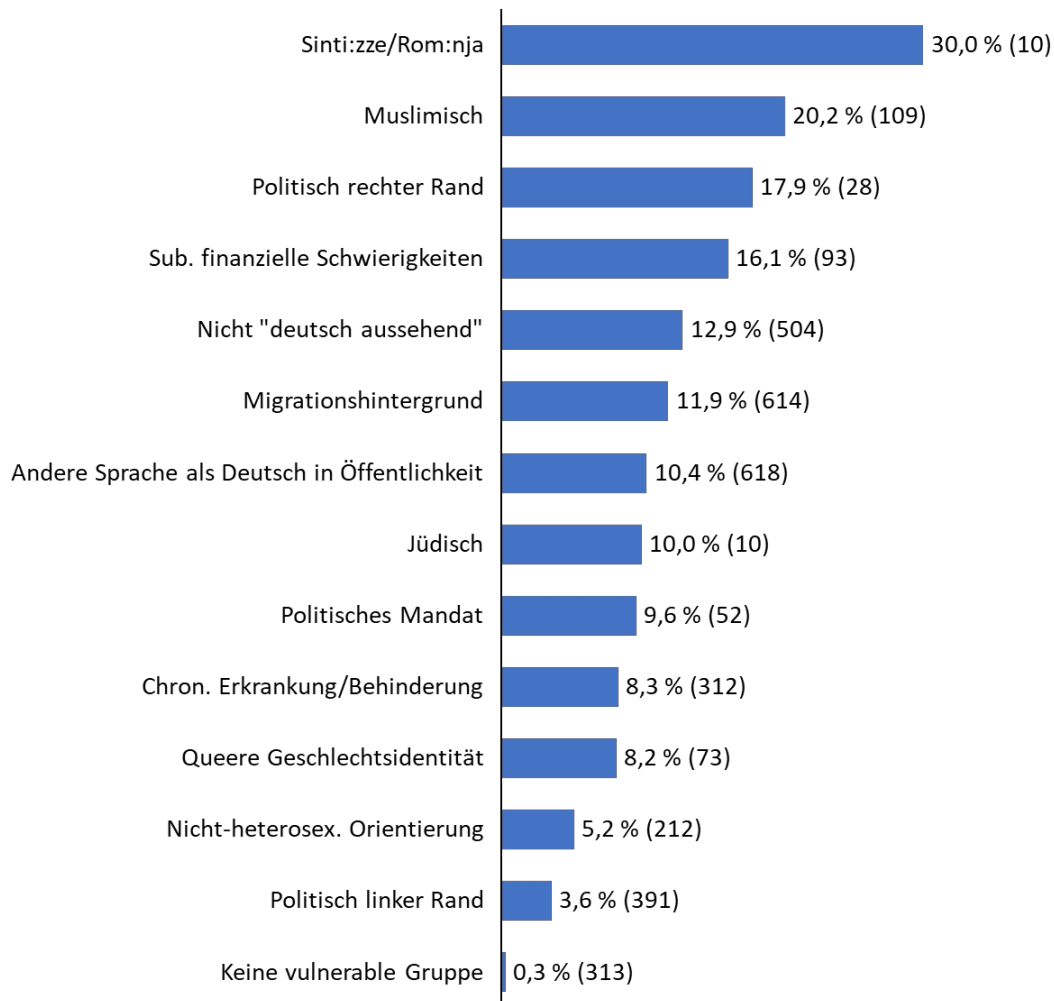


Figure 40 shows that thoughts of fleeing as a result of prejudice-motivated victimisation are particularly prevalent among Sinti and Roma (30.0%), respondents of the Muslim faith (20.2%) and respondents who identify themselves as being on the political right (17.9%). The lowest level of agreement with thoughts of fleeing as a reaction to the act is expressed by respondents who do not belong to a vulnerable group (0.3%), respondents on the political left (3.6%) and respondents with a non-heterosexual orientation (5.2%).

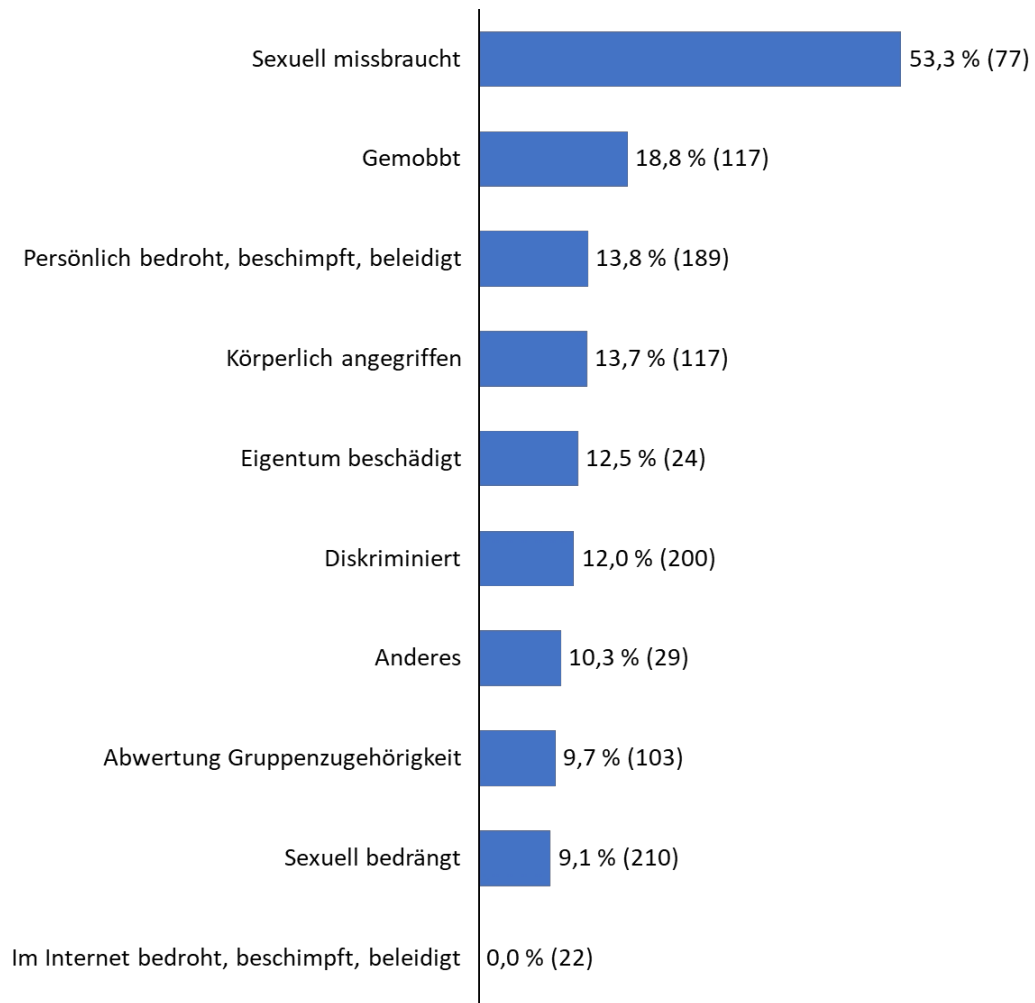
Figure 40: Consequences of the worst prejudice-motivated act: thoughts of fleeing by vulnerable group; percentage of responses "agree somewhat" and "agree completely"; percentage basis in brackets



Looking at these three dimensions of the consequences of the most serious prejudice-motivated crime experienced by the respondents, Figure 41 shows that psychological stress occurs primarily after sexual abuse, bullying, and personal threats, verbal abuse and insults.

Comparatively high scores on the dimensions of social isolation and inability to work as a result of victimisation occur in particular after acts that cannot be assigned to any of the nine acts explicitly asked about (see Figure 42). Respondents therefore selected the category "Other" when asked about victimisation. Respondents who provided information in the subsequent open-ended question specifically mentioned offences from the categories "theft, robbery and burglary" and "stalking and persecution" (see Figure 3 in Section 5.1.1). Victims of sexual abuse and respondents who cited damage to property as the most serious prejudice-motivated offence also more frequently agree with statements that address social isolation and inability to work.

Figure 41: Consequences of the most serious prejudice-motivated offence: psychological stress; percentage of responses "agree somewhat" and "agree completely"; percentage basis in brackets



Thoughts of escape (moving away from Hamburg or leaving Germany) as a consequence of becoming a victim of prejudice are most pronounced after acts that cannot be explicitly classified as one of the nine acts asked about, after experiences of discrimination and after damage to property (see Figure 43).

Figure 42: Consequences of the worst prejudice-motivated act: social isolation and inability to work; percentage of responses “Somewhat agree” and “Strongly agree”; percentage basis in brackets

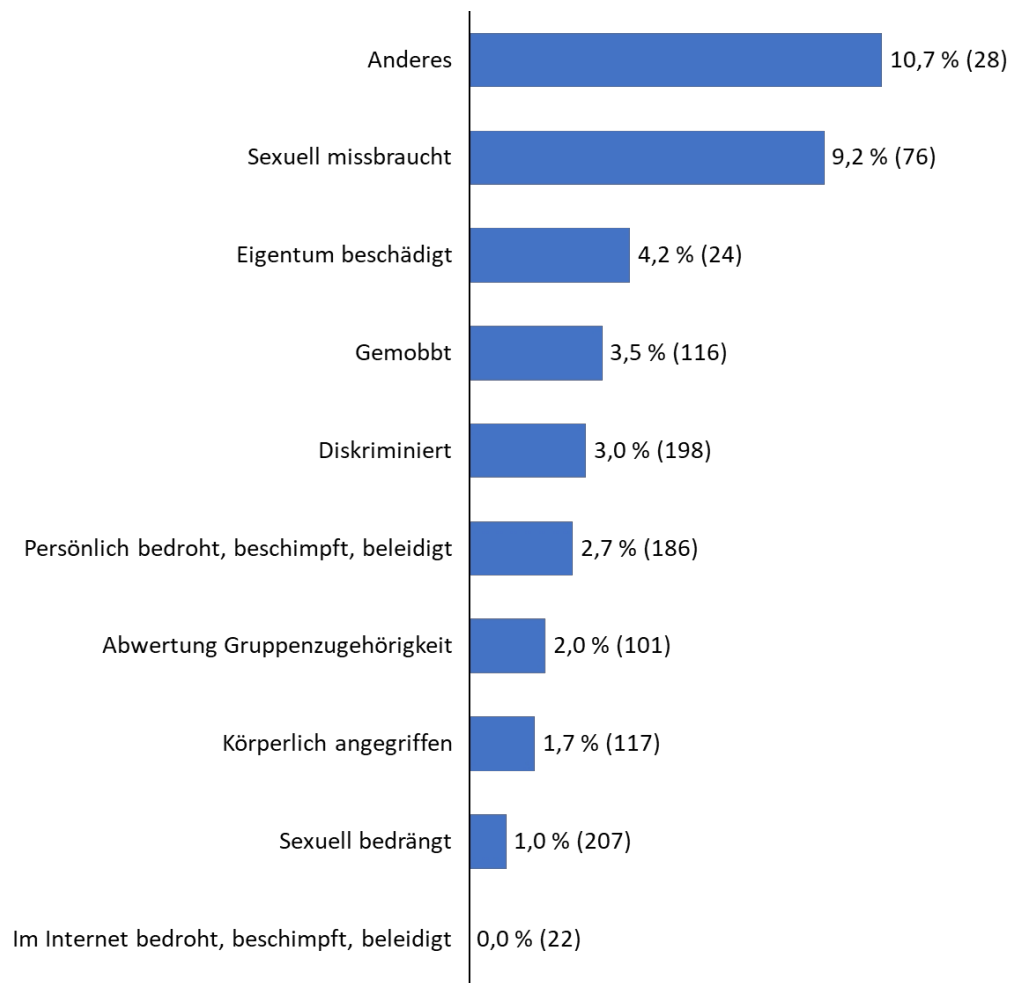
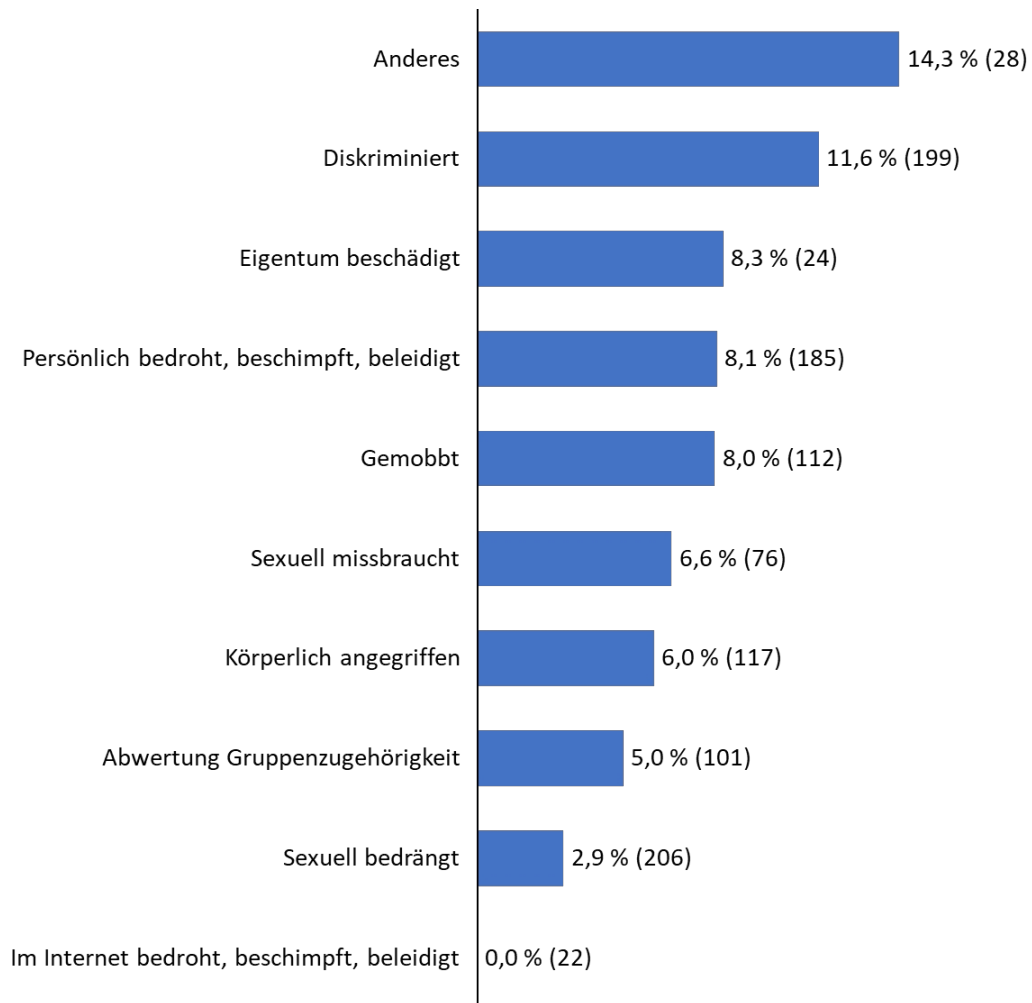


Figure 43: Consequences of the worst prejudice-motivated act: thoughts of escape; percentage of responses "somewhat agree" and "strongly agree"; percentage basis in brackets

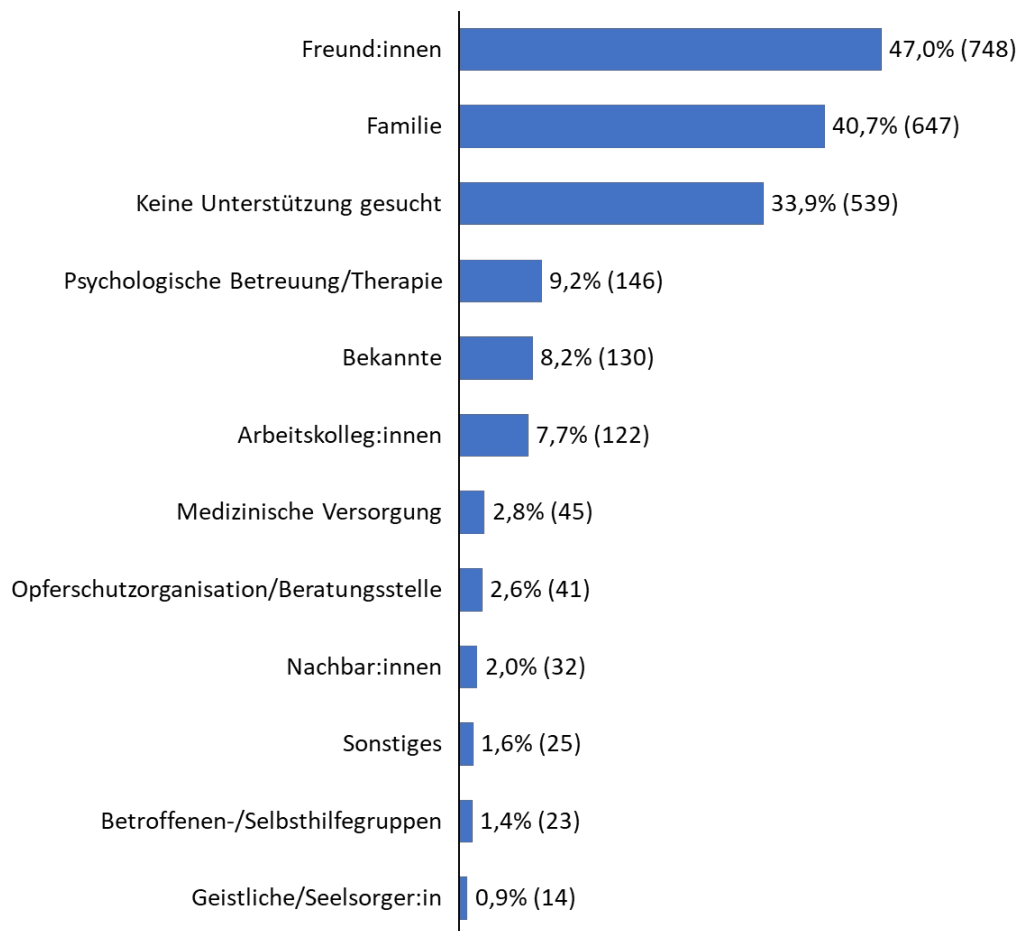


5.4.6. Seeking support

Private and professional support can be sought to help victims cope with prejudice-motivated victimisation. Respondents were also asked about their search for such support services. Most frequently, respondents reported seeking support from friends (47%) or family (40.7%) (see Figure 44). Approximately one in three did not seek support after the incident.

In contrast, significantly fewer respondents turned to professional services in their search for support: 9.2% sought psychological counselling/therapy and 2.8% sought medical care. Only 2.6% sought support from victim protection organisations or counselling centres, 1.4% from support and self-help groups, and 0.9% from clergy or pastoral carers.

Figure 44: Seeking support after the offence; basis: all victims of prejudice (n = 1,590); multiple answers possible

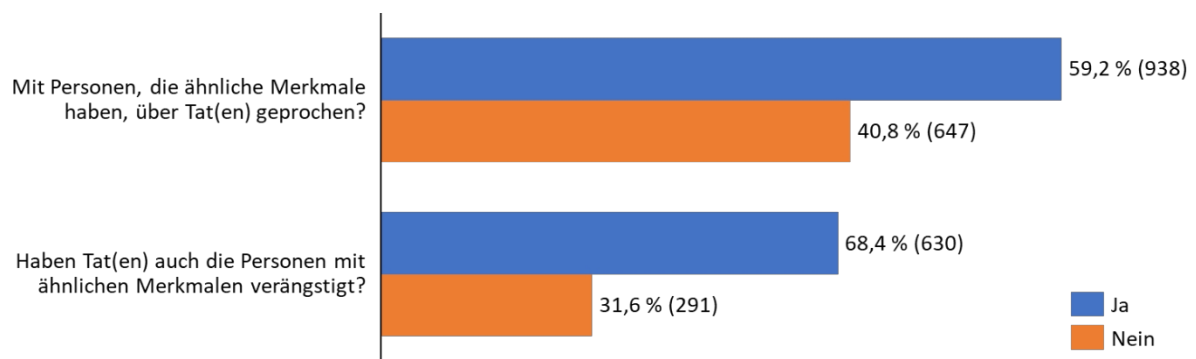


5.4.7. Collective victimisation

Due to the assumed message character of prejudice-motivated offences, those affected were also asked whether they had spoken to people with similar characteristics to themselves about the offence or offences. Six out of ten victims of prejudice-motivated offences answered this question with yes (see Figure 45).

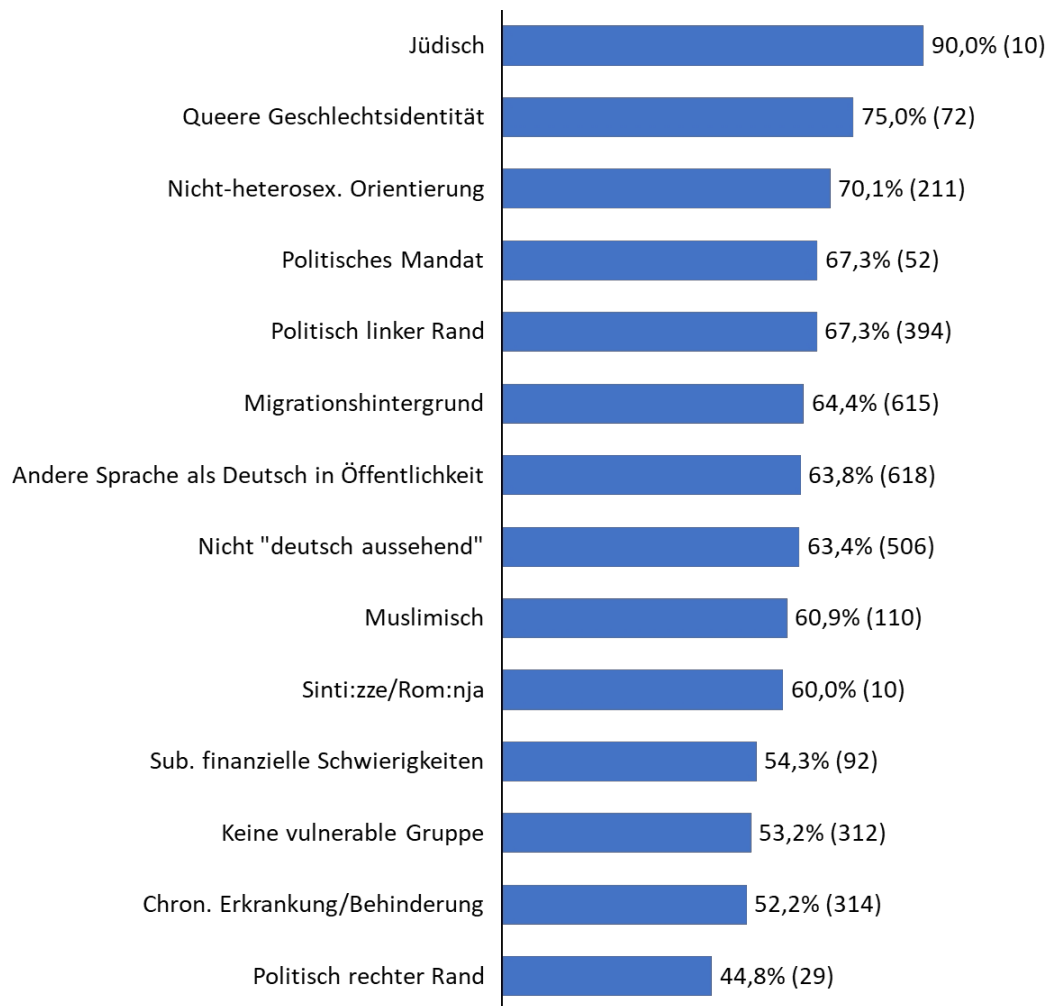
Respondents who answered yes to this question were then asked to indicate whether they felt that this act also frightened people with similar characteristics to themselves. Here, almost 7 out of 10 respondents expressed the assumption that the offence also frightens people who have similar characteristics (see Figure 45), which empirically underscores the assumption that prejudice-motivated offences send a message.

Figure 45: Collective victimisation; basis: all victims of prejudice-motivated crime



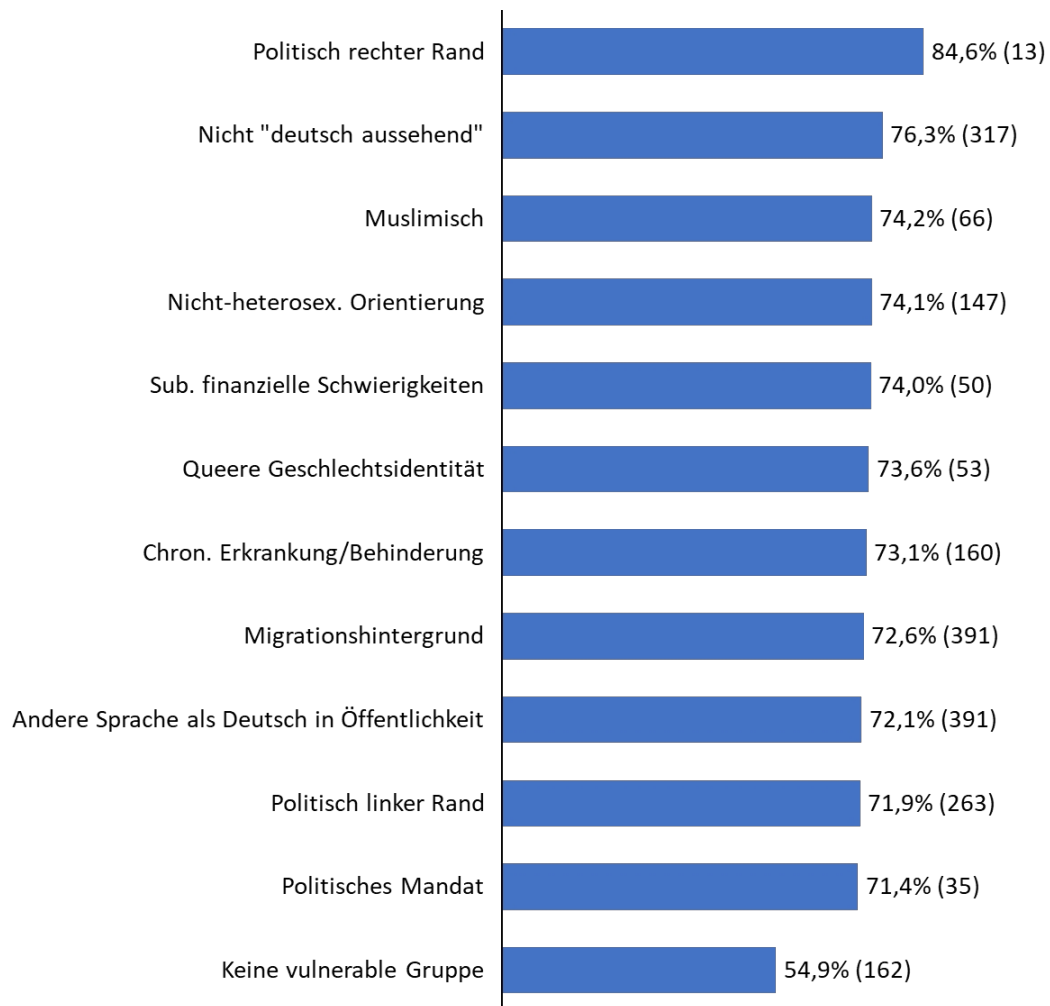
The proportion of respondents who have discussed the crime or crimes with people who have similar characteristics to themselves differs significantly between the various vulnerable groups (see Figure 46). While 44.8% of respondents who identify themselves as being on the political right wing have spoken to similar people about the crime, this percentage is 90% among respondents of the Jewish faith.

Figure 46: Proportion of respondents who have spoken to people about the act or acts who have similar characteristics to the respondents themselves, by vulnerable group; percentage basis in brackets



The proportion of respondents who suspect that the crime also frightens people who have similar characteristics to themselves also varies between vulnerable groups (see Figure 47). Of the respondents who do not belong to a vulnerable group, 54.9% suspect that their victimisation frightens other people with similar characteristics. Among respondents from the political right wing, 84.6% express this assumption. Since the number of cases is in the single digits for both Sinti and Roma and Jewish respondents, the corresponding figures for these two vulnerable groups are not shown in Figure 47.

Figure 47: Respondents who suspect that the crime also frightens people who have similar characteristics to themselves, by vulnerable group; percentage basis in brackets



5.5. Fear of crime and personal attitudes towards crime

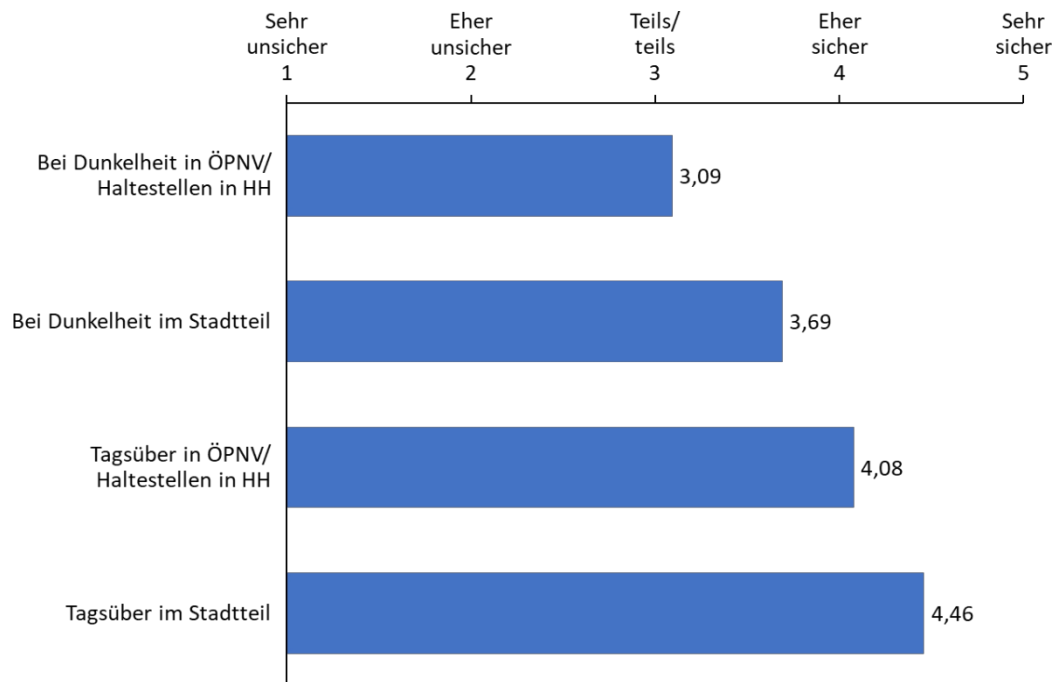
Previous studies have shown that victimisation, with or without prejudice, has an impact on subjective feelings of safety, fear of crime and personal attitudes towards crime (e.g. Groß, Dreißigacker, Riesner, 2019). In research, these are usually distinguished in three dimensions: the affective dimension (spatial and offence-specific fear of crime), the cognitive dimension (risk perception) and the conative dimension (protective and avoidance behaviour). In the following, these three dimensions of fear and attitudes towards crime are examined to determine whether there are differences between different forms of victimisation and whether the various vulnerable groups differ in these dimensions.

5.5.1. Spatial sense of security

The sense of safety in public spaces measures respondents' sense of safety or insecurity in their neighbourhood and on public transport

and at public transport stops in Hamburg.¹³ As can be seen in Figure 48, the average sense of spatial safety in the dark on public transport and at public transport stops in Hamburg is lowest, with a value of 3.09. The highest average sense of spatial safety, with a value of 4.46, is felt by respondents during the day in their respective neighbourhoods.

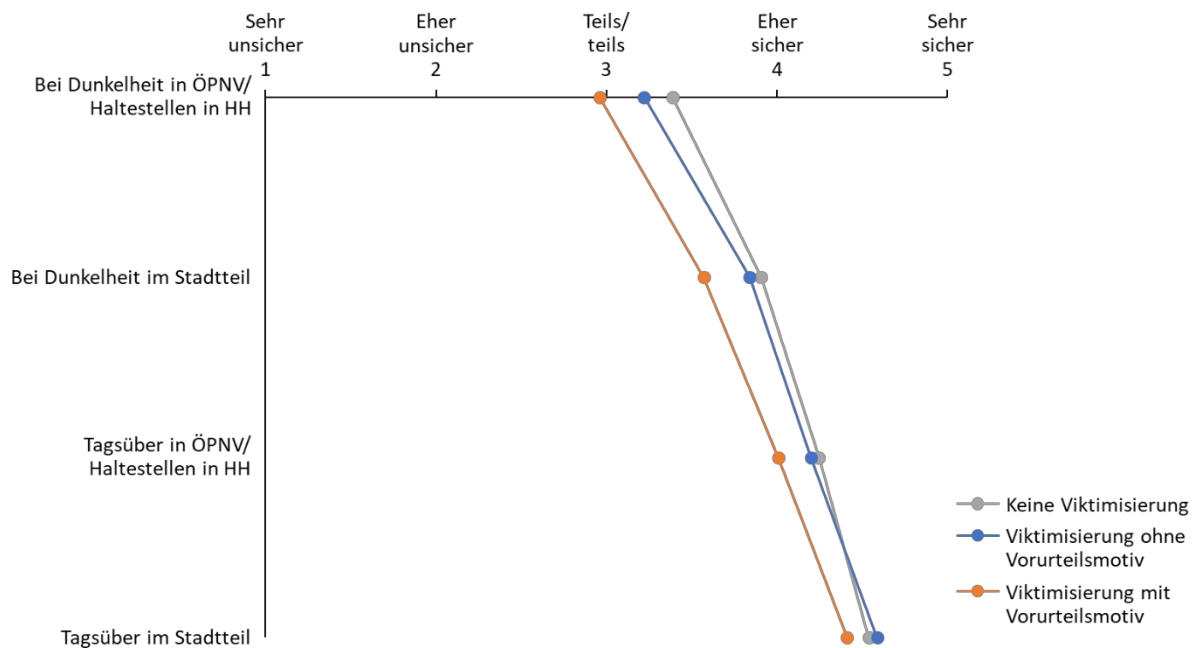
Figure 48: Sense of spatial safety; mean values of respondents' assessments (n = 3,471 - 3,610)



If we distinguish between respondents who have not yet been victims of crime, respondents who have been victims of a crime without a prejudicial motive, and respondents who have been victims of a crime with a prejudicial motive, we see that victimisation with a prejudicial motive in particular has a negative impact on subjective safety in all four areas surveyed (see Figure 49). The biggest difference is found between respondents who have not been victimised and the group who have been victimised for prejudicial reasons in terms of the average sense of spatial safety in the dark on public transport and at stops in Hamburg. Victimisation based on prejudice reduces the sense of spatial safety by an average of 0.43 units. The smallest difference in mean values between these two groups is 0.13 units in the sense of spatial safety during the day in the respondents' respective neighbourhoods.

¹³ The question about the sense of spatial safety was introduced with the following words: "How safe do you feel outside your home...".

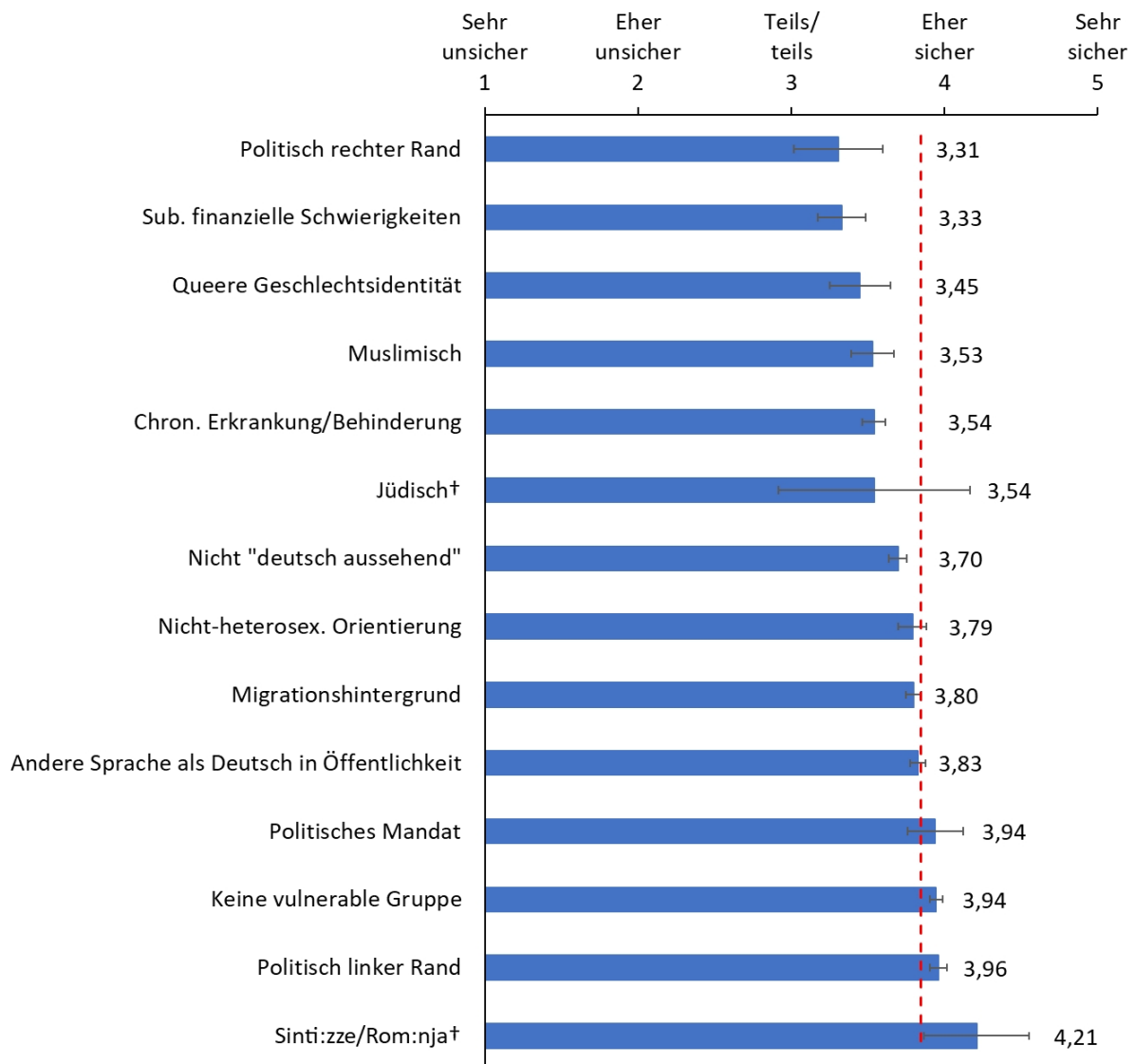
Figure 49: Sense of safety in relation to space; mean values according to victimisation status ($n = 688 - 1,940$)



For the following presentation, a mean scale was formed from the four individual items (Cronbach's alpha is 0.85). The mean for the total sample is 3.84.

When looking at the sense of safety in relation to space among vulnerable groups, it is striking that the political right wing feels the least safe, with a scale average of 3.31 (see Figure 50). In contrast, the political left feels comparatively safe with a value of 3.96. The highest average subjective sense of safety, at 4.21, is expressed by the Sinti and Roma group, although this value is subject to a high degree of uncertainty due to the small number of cases ($n = 18$).

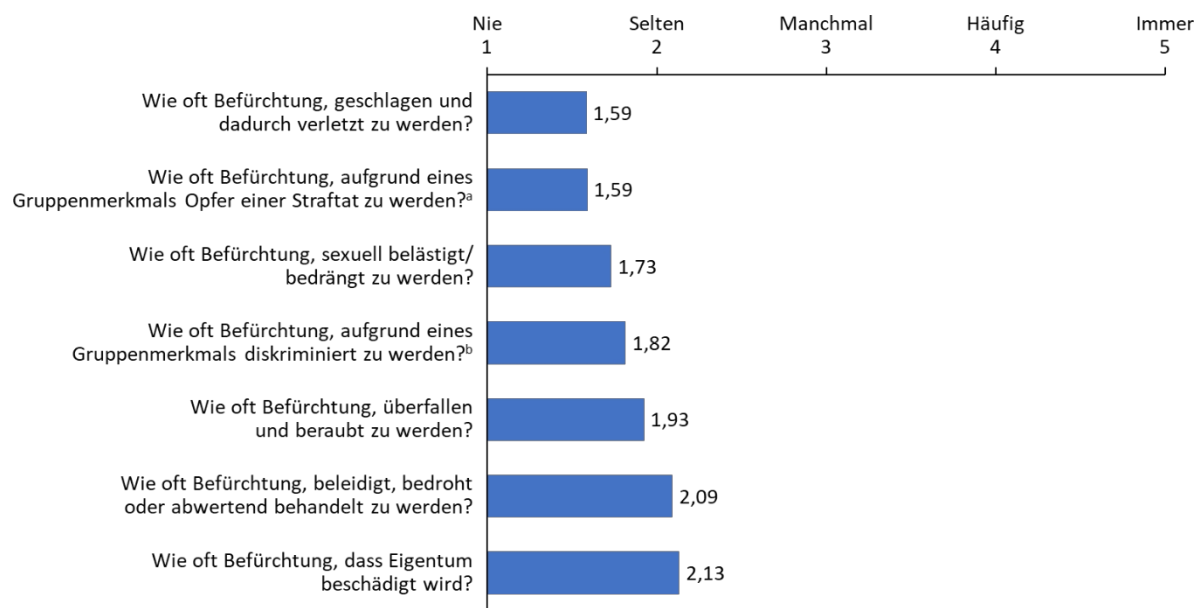
Figure 50: Spatial sense of safety by vulnerable group; scale mean values including 95% confidence intervals by vulnerable group (n = 12 - 1,133); †: fewer than 20 cases; red dotted line = overall mean value



5.5.2. Offence-specific fear of crime

Fear of crime specific to certain offences is expressed in the frequency with which respondents fear becoming victims of a (criminal) offence. The survey asked about seven offences in relation to these fears. Figure 51 shows that the fear of being beaten and injured is the least common, with an average value of 1.59. In contrast, the fear that respondents' property will be damaged is more common, with a value of 2.13.

Figure 51: Affective fear of crime; mean values of respondents' assessments (n = 3,593 - 3,605)

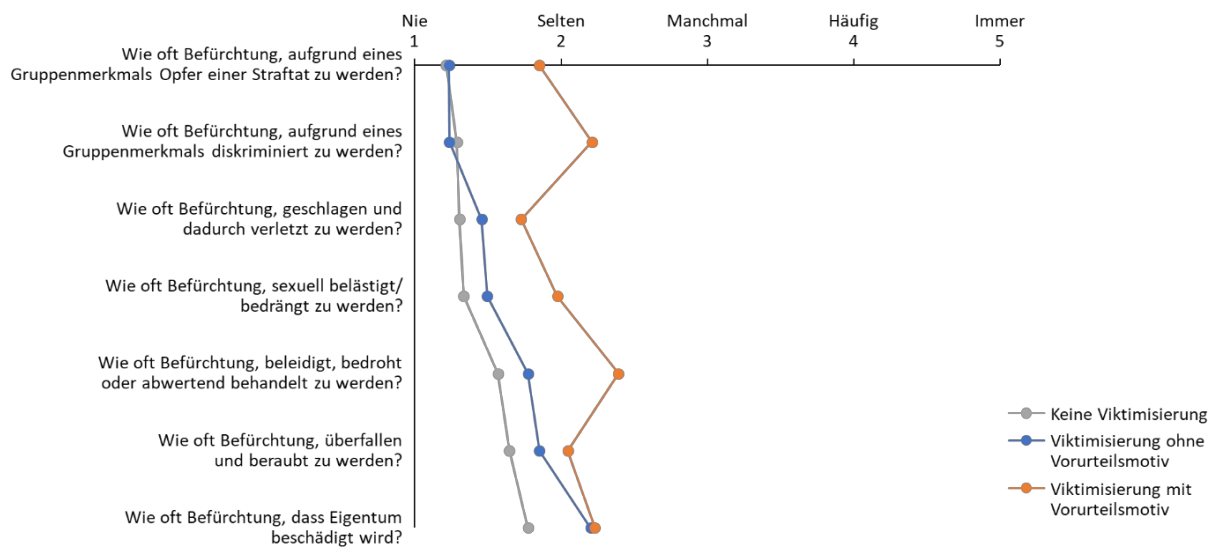


^a The question was: "How often do you fear that you will be discriminated against because of a characteristic that indicates that you belong to a particular social group (e.g. your religion, sexual orientation, skin colour, gender identity, origin, social status, age or disability)?"

^b The question was: "How often do you fear that you will be the victim of a crime because of a characteristic that indicates that you belong to a particular social group (e.g. your religion, sexual orientation, skin colour, gender identity, origin, social status, age or disability)?"

A differentiation between respondents without victimisation experience, respondents who have been victims of a crime without a prejudicial motive, and respondents who have been victims of a crime with a prejudicial motive clearly shows that victimisation with a prejudicial motive in particular increases fear of crime specific to that offence (see Figure 52). Compared to respondents who have not been victimised to date, victimisation motivated by prejudice increases the fear of being discriminated against on the basis of a characteristic that indicates that the respondents belong to a particular social group. Here, the difference between the mean values is 0.92 units. The fear of being insulted, threatened or treated in a derogatory manner is also significantly higher in the group of victims of prejudice, with a mean difference of 0.82 units compared to respondents without victimisation experience.

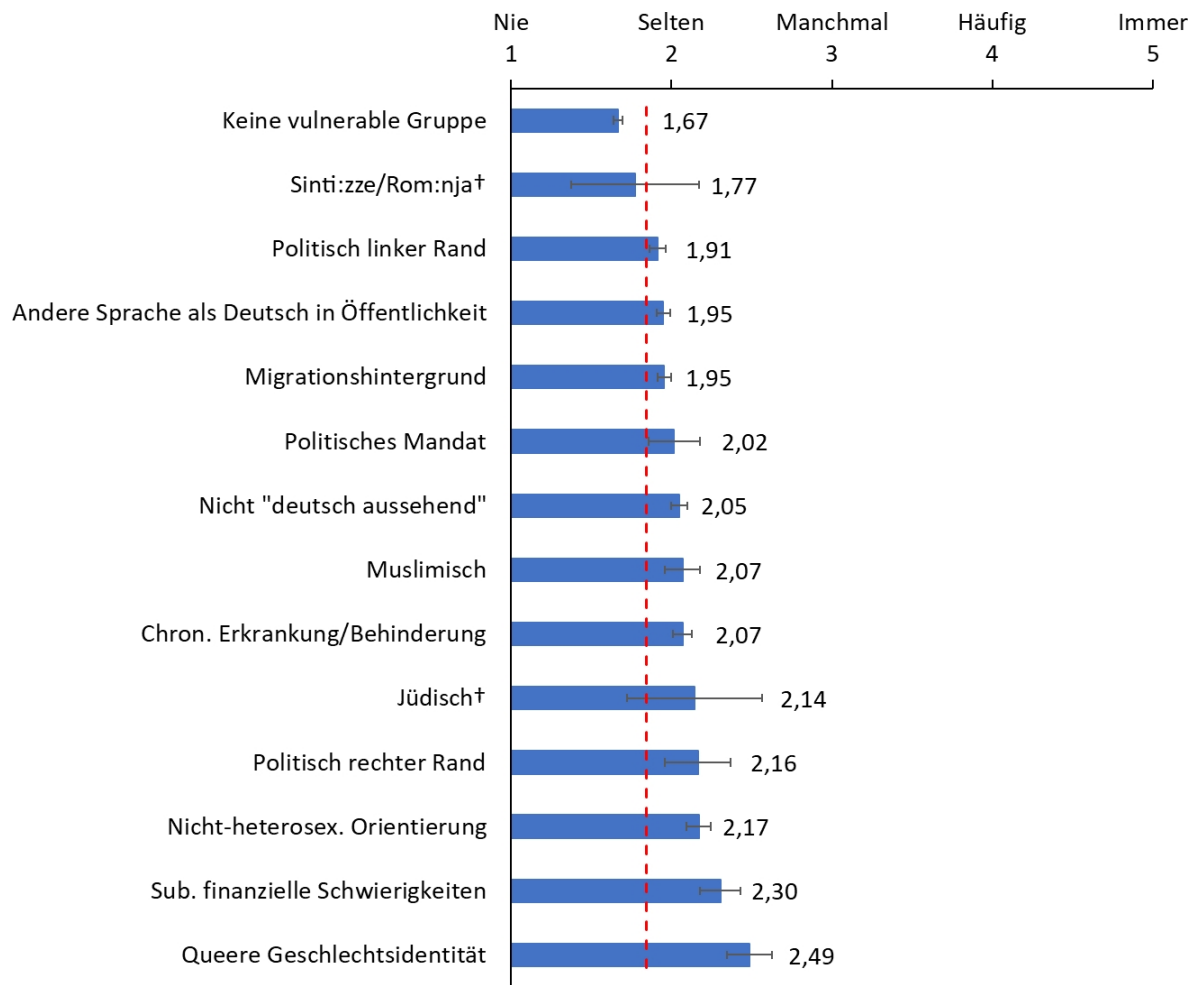
Figure 52: Crime-specific fear of crime; mean values according to victimisation status (n = 726 - 1,940)



For the following analysis, a mean scale was formed from the seven individual items for the offence-specific recording of fear of crime (Cronbach's alpha is 0.84). The mean value for the total sample is 1.84.

Looking at crime-specific fear of crime by vulnerable groups, it becomes clear that respondents with queer gender identity, with a scale average of 2.49, are most likely to fear becoming victims of one of the crimes surveyed (see Figure 53). Respondents with subjective financial difficulties and respondents with non-heterosexual orientation also have a comparatively high fear of crime specific to certain offences. Respondents who do not belong to any of the 13 vulnerable groups, on the other hand, have a below-average fear of crime specific to certain offences, with a scale average of 1.67.

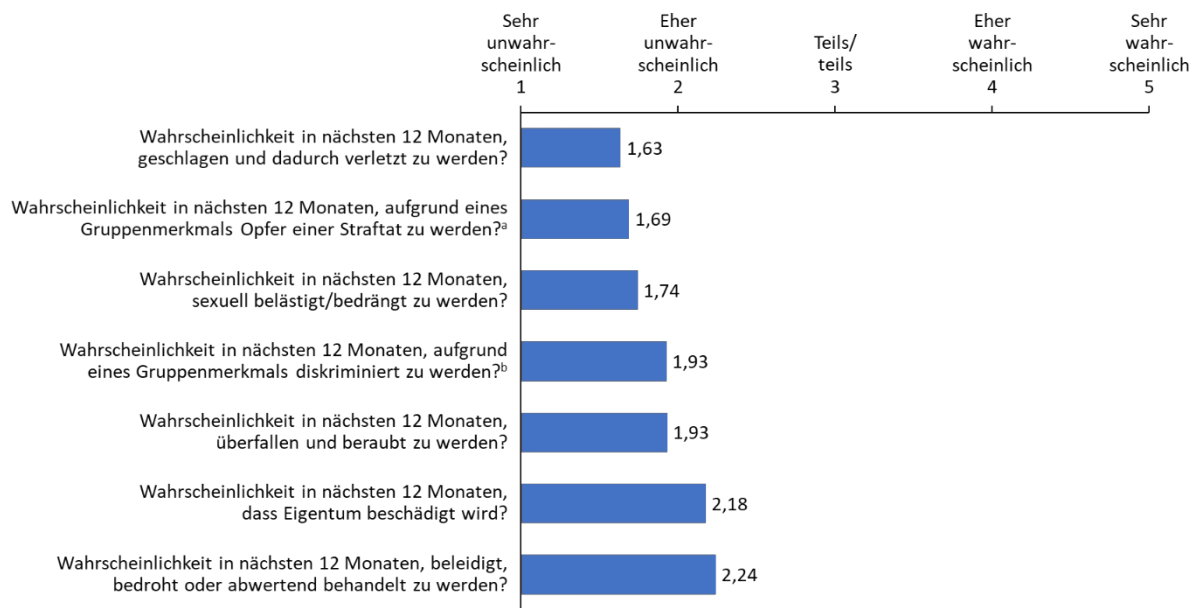
Figure 53: Fear of crime specific to certain offences by vulnerable group; scale mean values including 95% confidence intervals by vulnerable group (n = 12 - 1,133); †: fewer than 20 cases; red dotted line = overall mean value



5.5.3. Risk perception

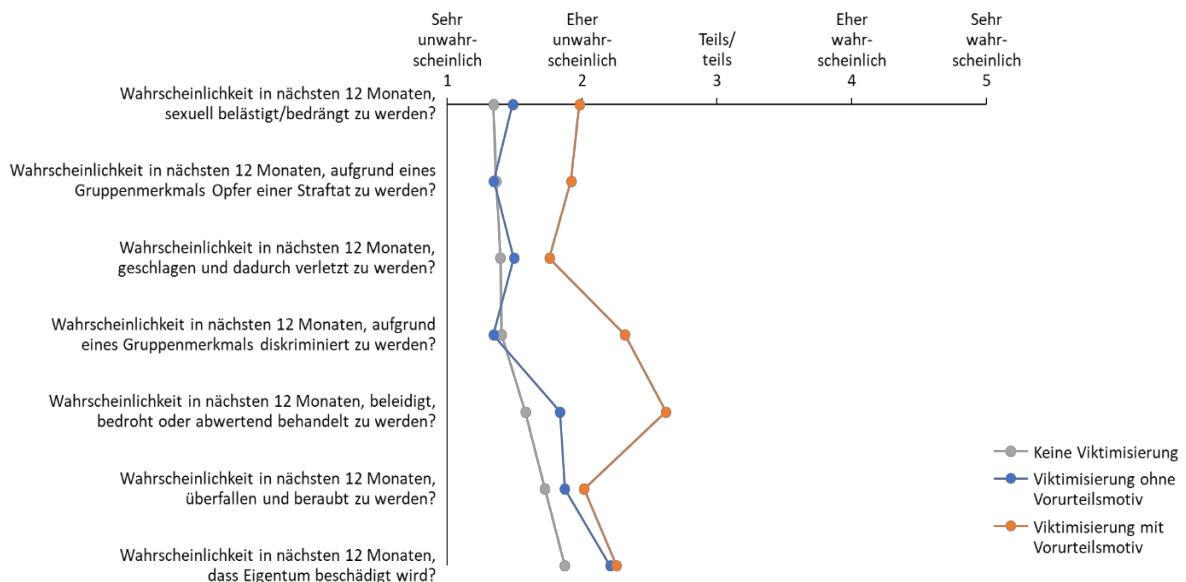
A person's perception of crime-related risk (cognitive dimension) encompasses their personal assessment of the risk of becoming a victim of crime in the next twelve months. Respondents were asked to assess their risk perception using the same seven offences as those used to measure offence-specific fear of crime (see Section 5.5.2). On average, respondents rated the probability of being beaten and injured as the lowest, with a value of 1.63 (see Figure 54). In contrast, the probability of being insulted, threatened or treated in a derogatory manner in the next 12 months was rated as the highest, with a value of 2.24.

Figure 54: Crime-specific risk perception; mean values of respondents' assessments (n = 3,586 - 3,599)



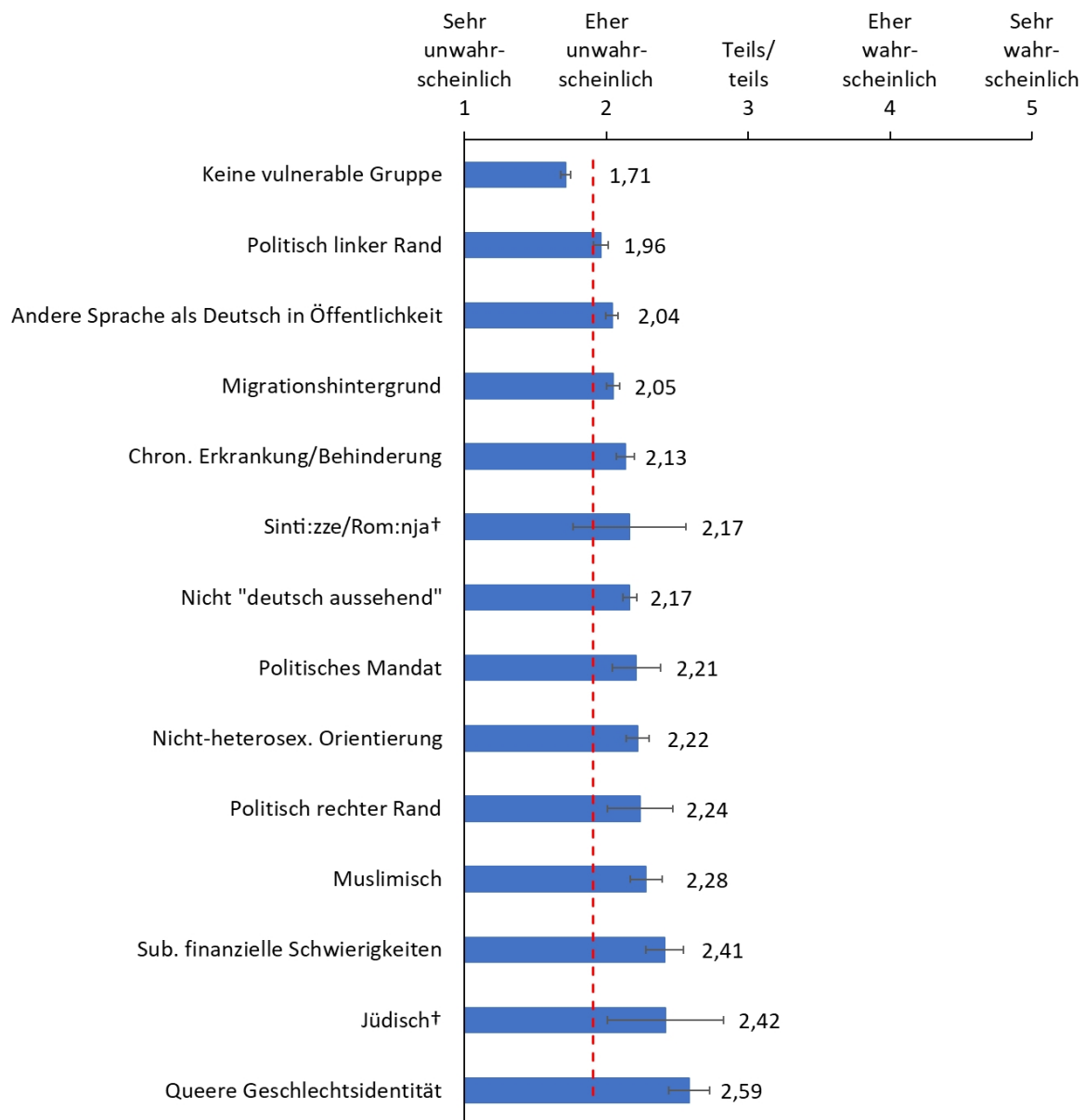
A distinction between risk perception according to crime type again shows the familiar pattern (see Figure 55). Respondents who have not yet experienced victimisation and those who have been victims of crime but do not classify it as prejudice-motivated estimate the probability of becoming a victim of one of the crimes surveyed in the next 12 months to be significantly lower than respondents who classify their victimisation experiences as prejudice-motivated.

Figure 55: Cognitive fear of crime; mean values according to victimisation status (n = 727 - 1,939)



Similar to the approach used for spatial sense of security and offence-specific fear of crime, a mean scale was formed from the seven individual items used to measure offence-specific risk perception (Cronbach's alpha is 0.86). The mean value for the total sample is 1.91. On this dimension of fear of crime, respondents with queer gender identities and persons of the Jewish faith stand out with particularly high levels of fear (see Figure 56). Persons from the autochthonous majority population report below-average and the lowest levels of fear.

Figure 56: Cognitive fear of crime by vulnerable group; scale means including 95% confidence intervals by vulnerable group (n = 12 - 1,128); †: fewer than 20 cases; red dotted line = overall mean

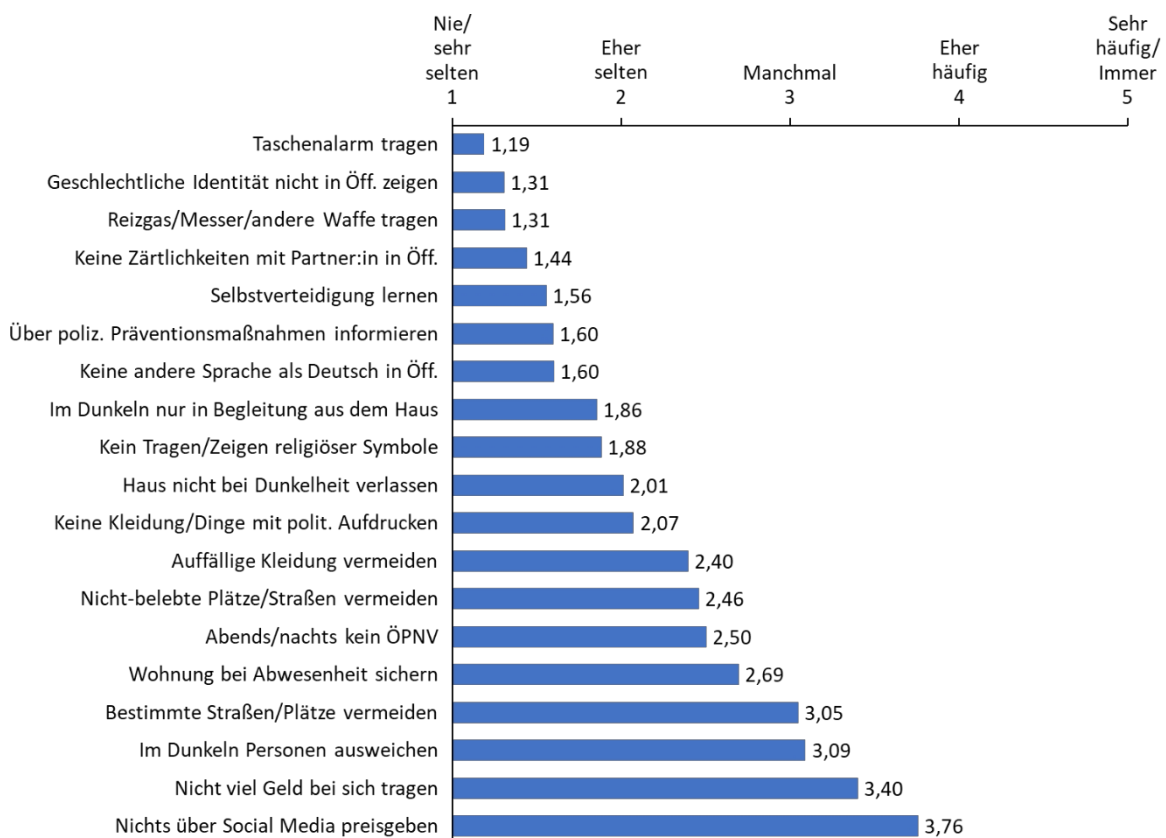


5.6. Protective and avoidance behaviour

To measure protective and avoidance behaviour (conative dimension), several items were collected which, based on the relevant state of research, can be attributed to protective or avoidance behaviour. Avoidance behaviour is characterised by people consciously avoiding certain places and situations in their everyday lives in order to feel safer. The participants were presented with statements such as "I avoid leaving the house after dark" or "I avoid wearing or displaying religious symbols in public" (see Figure 57). While avoidance behaviour tends to be passive, protective behaviour involves actively taking measures such as arming oneself or securing one's home with technical measures such as alarm systems. Protective behaviour includes items such as "I carry pepper spray, a knife or another weapon with me so that I can defend myself" or "I carry a personal alarm with me".

Figure 57 shows how often the various forms of protective and avoidance behaviour occur among respondents. Most frequently, respondents avoid certain places (3.05), avoid people in the dark (3.09), avoid carrying a lot of money with them (3.4) and avoid revealing information about themselves on social media (3.76).

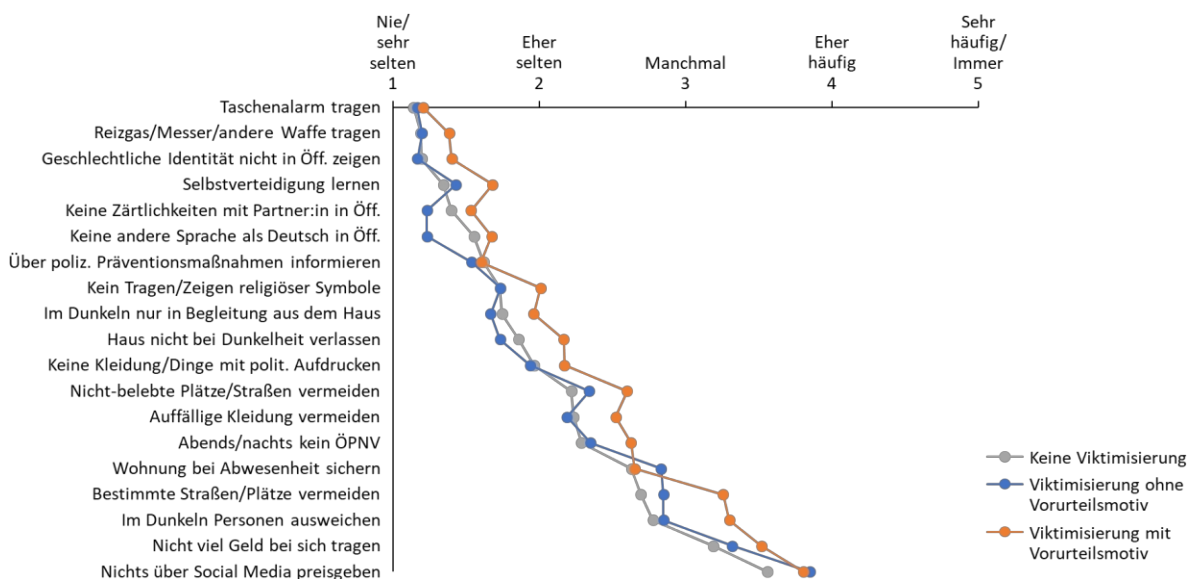
Figure 57: Protective and avoidance behaviour; mean values of respondents' assessments (n = 1,104 - 3,576)



Looking at protective and avoidance behaviour according to victimisation status (see Figure 58), it is striking that respondents who have experienced prejudice-motivated victimisation report the most protective and avoidance actions. The greatest differences in protective and avoidance behaviour between respondents without victimisation experience and those with prejudice-motivated victimisation can be found in "I avoid visiting certain streets, squares, neighbourhoods or parks" (mean difference of 0.56 units), "I avoid people I encounter in the dark whenever possible" (mean difference of 0.52 units) and "I avoid uncrowded places or streets" with a difference in means of 0.38 units. This shows a clear effect of prejudice-motivated victimisation experiences on the behaviour of those affected in public spaces – they tend to be avoided. It can be assumed that people then tend to withdraw.

The differences between respondents who were victimised without prejudice and respondents without victimisation experience are less clear. Some of the behaviours surveyed, such as "I avoid revealing things about myself on social media," were more likely to be mentioned by respondents who were victimised without prejudice (mean difference of 0.29 units). Other measures, such as "I avoid speaking a language other than English in public," are reported significantly more often by respondents who have not experienced victimisation (mean difference of -0.32 units).

Figure 58: Protective and avoidance behaviour; mean values according to victimisation status (n = 130 - 1,929)



An item analysis revealed that these 19 items cover three dimensions. The results for only two dimensions are reported below, as the third dimension does not meet the usual reliability thresholds (Cronbach's alpha is only 0.42) and therefore does not reliably capture inter-individual differences.

The first dimension consists of the following six items:

- I avoid leaving the house after dark
- I avoid visiting certain streets, squares, neighbourhoods or parks
- I avoid using public transport in the evening/at night
- I avoid people I encounter in the dark whenever possible
- I only leave the house after dark if accompanied by someone else
- I do not avoid busy places or streets.

A mean scale was formed from these six individual items (Cronbach's alpha is 0.89). The mean for the total sample is 2.50. The common core content of this dimension is the avoidance of certain places or people in public spaces or on public transport. Accordingly, this dimension is referred to as *space-related avoidance behaviour*.

The second dimension consists of the following six items:

- I avoid wearing or displaying religious symbols in public
- I avoid speaking a language other than English in public
- I avoid showing my gender identity in public
- I avoid kissing or holding hands with my partner in public
- I avoid wearing clothes with prints or carrying items that reflect my political views
- I avoid wearing attention-grabbing clothing.

A mean scale was also formed from these individual items (Cronbach's alpha is 0.78). The mean for the total sample is 1.82. These items capture behaviours that avoid revealing one's identity in public. Therefore, this dimension is called *identity-related avoidance behaviour*.

Spatial avoidance behaviour is particularly common among respondents on the political right (2.84), people with queer gender identities (2.84), respondents with chronic illnesses or disabilities (2.82) and people with subjective financial difficulties (2.81) (see Figure 59). Spatial avoidance behaviour is rather rare among Sinti:zze and Rom:nja (2.04), respondents on the political left (2.34) and people who do not belong to a vulnerable group (2.39).

Identity-related avoidance behaviour is particularly evident among people of the Jewish faith (2.78), people with queer gender identities (2.57) and non-heterosexual orientations (2.32) (see Figure 60). This behaviour is rather rare among respondents from the "majority society" (no vulnerable group, 1.67), among Sinti:zze and Rom:nja (1.68) and among respondents who identify themselves as being on the political left (1.77).

Figure 59: Spatial avoidance behaviour by vulnerable group; scale mean values including 95% confidence intervals by vulnerable group (n = 12 - 1,130); †: fewer than 20 cases; red dotted line = overall mean

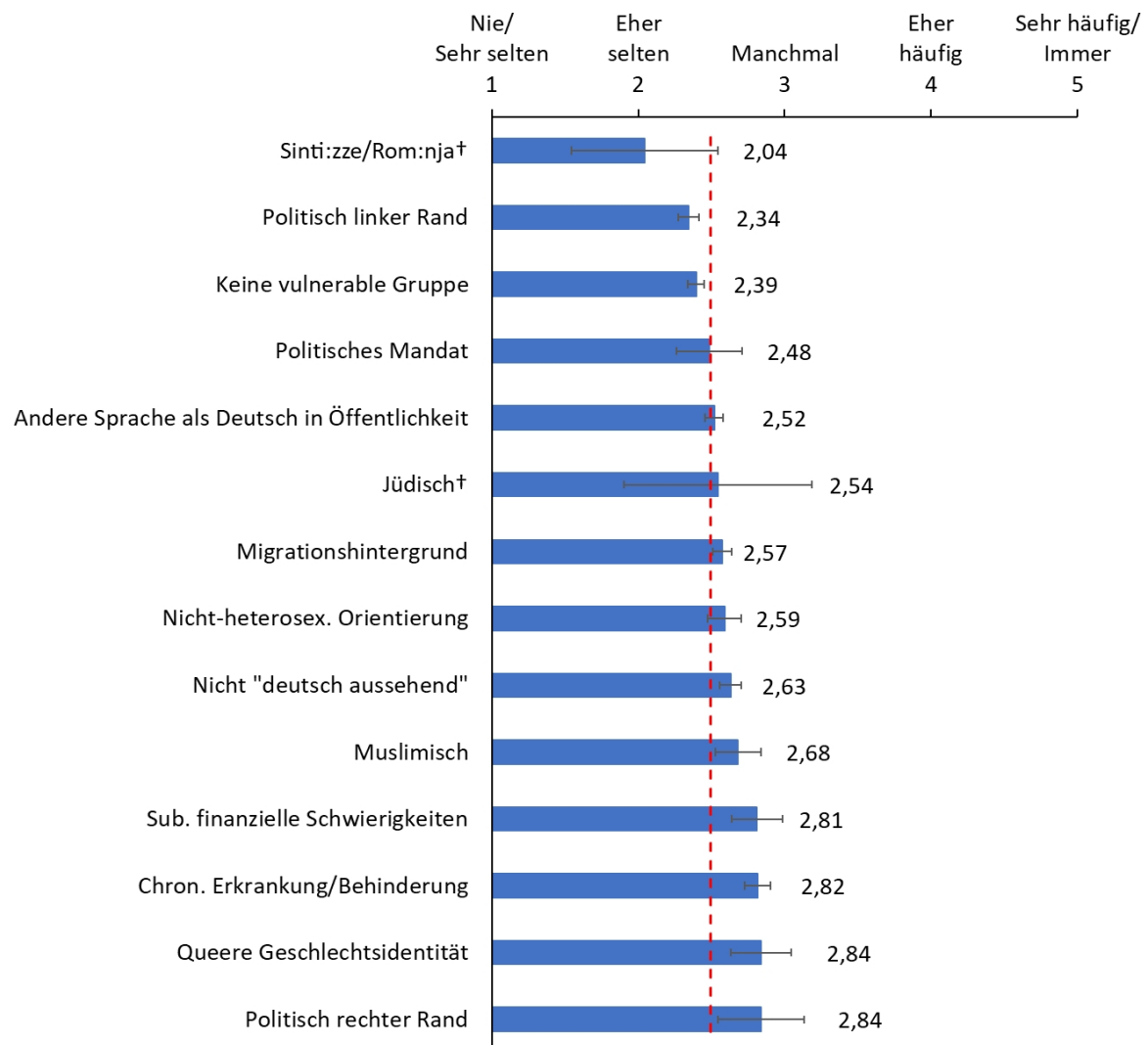
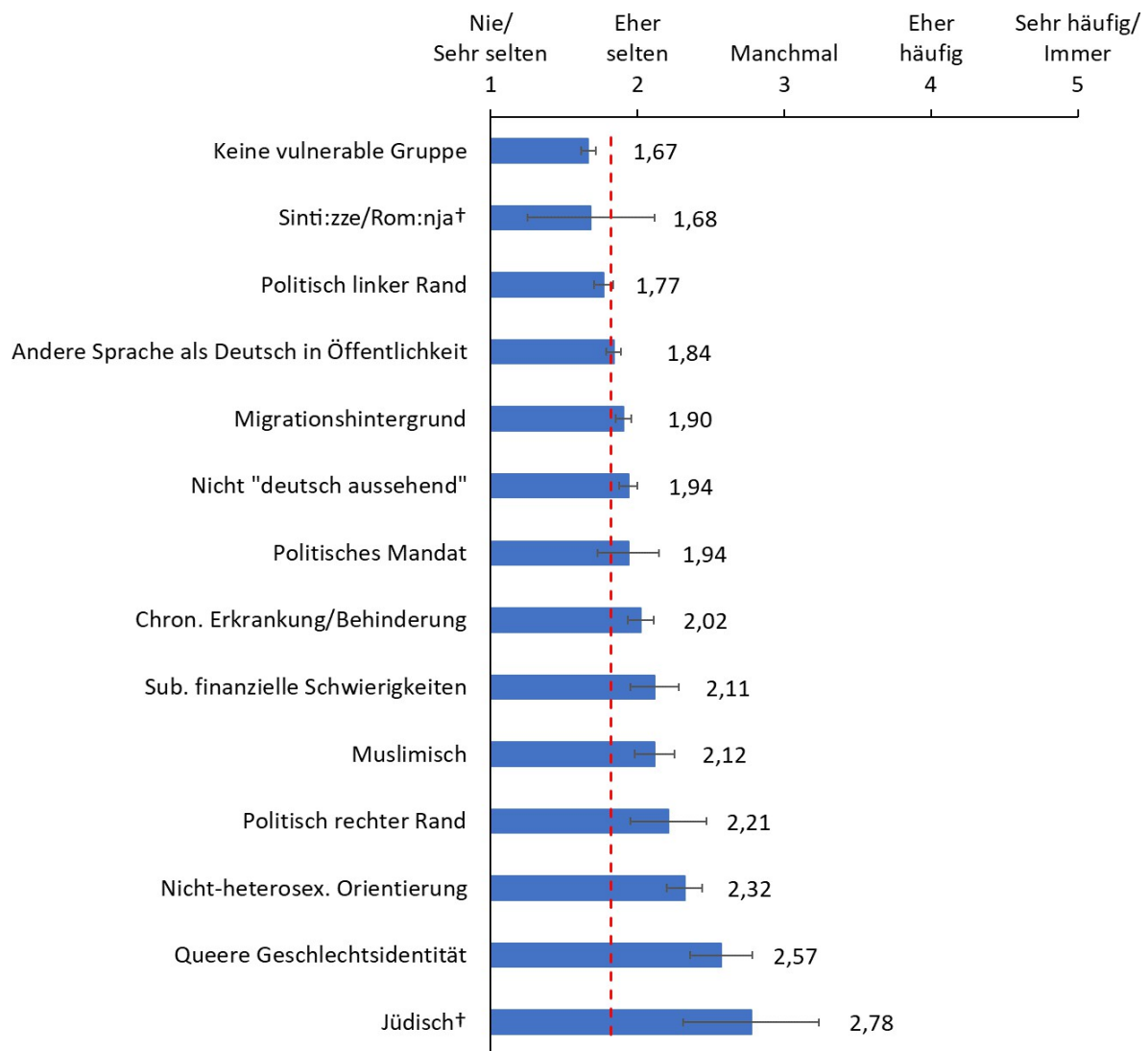


Figure 60: Identity-related avoidance behaviour by vulnerable group; scale mean values including 95% confidence intervals by vulnerable group (n = 12 - 1,126); †: fewer than 20 cases; red dotted line = Overall average

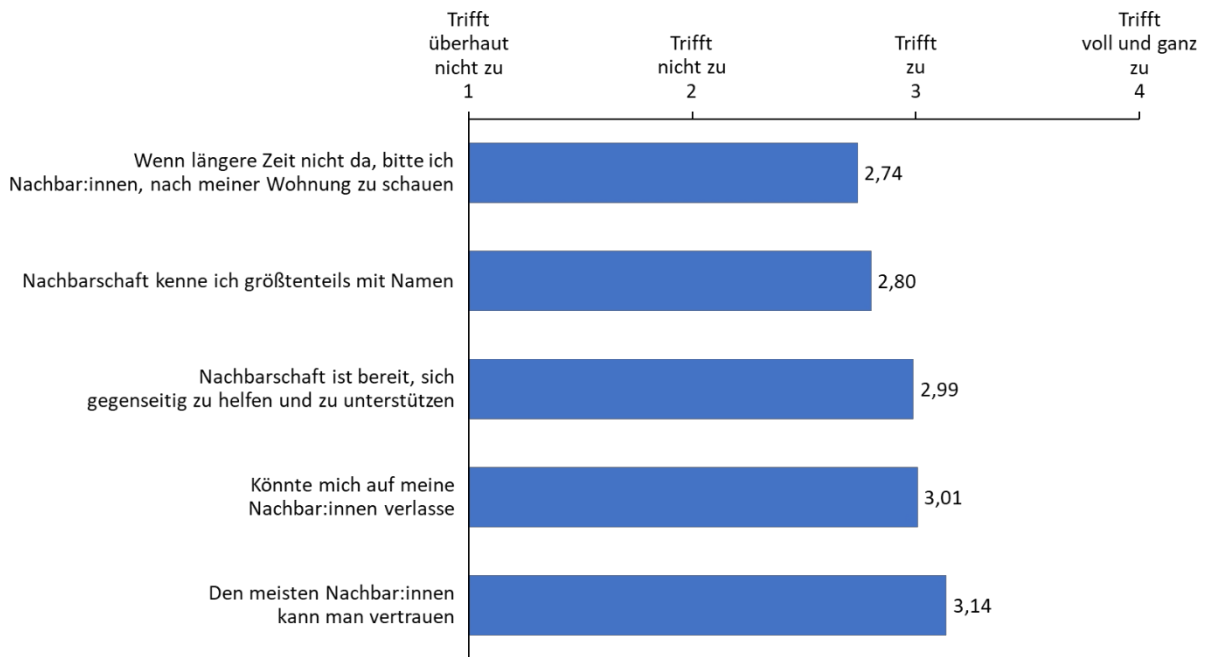


5.7. Assessment of the neighbourhood

Experiences of victimisation and belonging to a vulnerable group can affect the assessment of the neighbourhood. However, the degree of perceived cohesion and familiarity in the neighbourhood can also have an impact on vulnerabilities and thus produce a counteracting effect. An empirical correlation is therefore to be expected. In this survey, five statements were used to assess social aspects in particular, such as interest in neighbours, mutual understanding and assistance. These aspects of interpersonal trust and neighbourhood contacts can be subsumed under local social capital (e.g. Häfele, 2013).

The statement that received the least agreement, with a mean value of 2.74, was "When I am away for a long time, I ask my neighbours to check on my flat" (see Figure 61). In contrast, the statement "Most neighbours here can be trusted" received the most agreement among respondents, with a mean value of 3.14.

Figure 61: Assessment of the neighbourhood; mean values of respondents' assessments ($n = 3,559 - 3,588$)



The group comparison between respondents who have never been victims, those who have experienced victimisation but do not classify it as prejudice-motivated, and those respondents who have experienced prejudice-motivated victimisation reveals the suspected correlation (see Figure 62). In the comparison between those who have been victims of prejudice and those who have not, lower scores in the area of local social capital are systematically evident across all items among respondents who reported attacks based on identity-forming characteristics. Respondents who were victimised without prejudice, on the other hand, rate their neighbourhood more positively than non-victims. One possible explanation for this result could be that these respondents received support from their neighbourhood after the victimisation, whereas victims of prejudice-motivated acts may have been victimised by their neighbourhood.

A mean scale was formed for each respondent from these five individual items (Cronbach's alpha is 0.87). The mean for the total sample is 2.93.

Respondents who do not belong to a vulnerable group (3.13) and elected politicians (2.95) rate neighbourhood cohesion as highest (see Figure 63). Respondents of the Jewish faith (2.38), respondents of the Muslim faith (2.44) and respondents with subjective financial difficulties (2.46) experience less intense neighbourhood cohesion.

Figure 62: Assessment of the neighbourhood; mean values by victimisation status (n = 728 - 1,937)

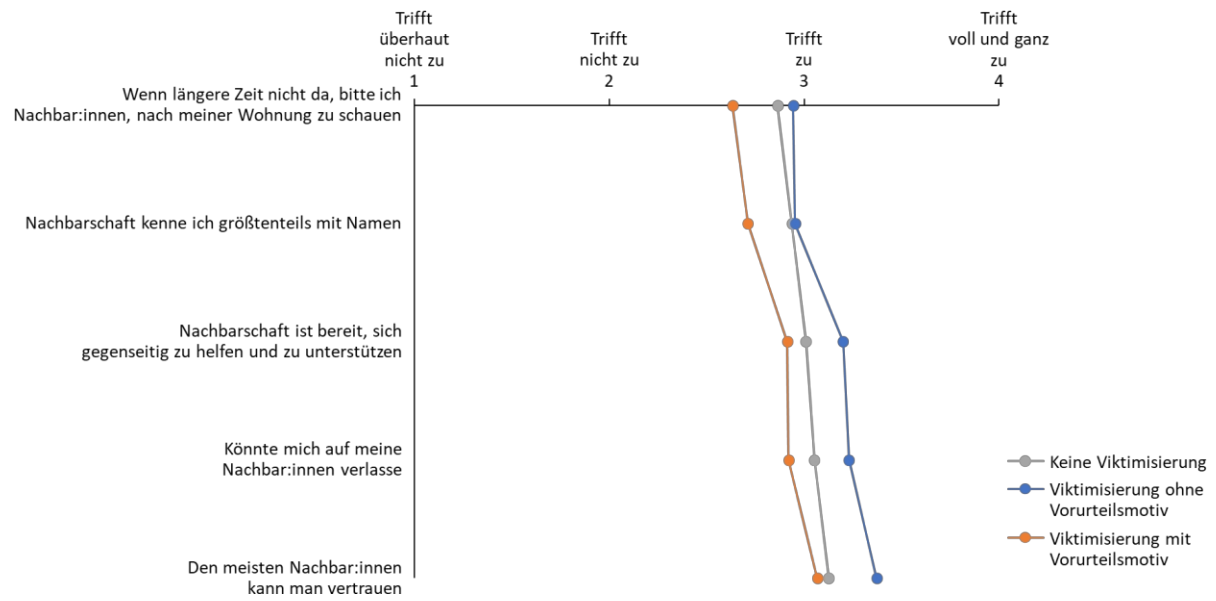
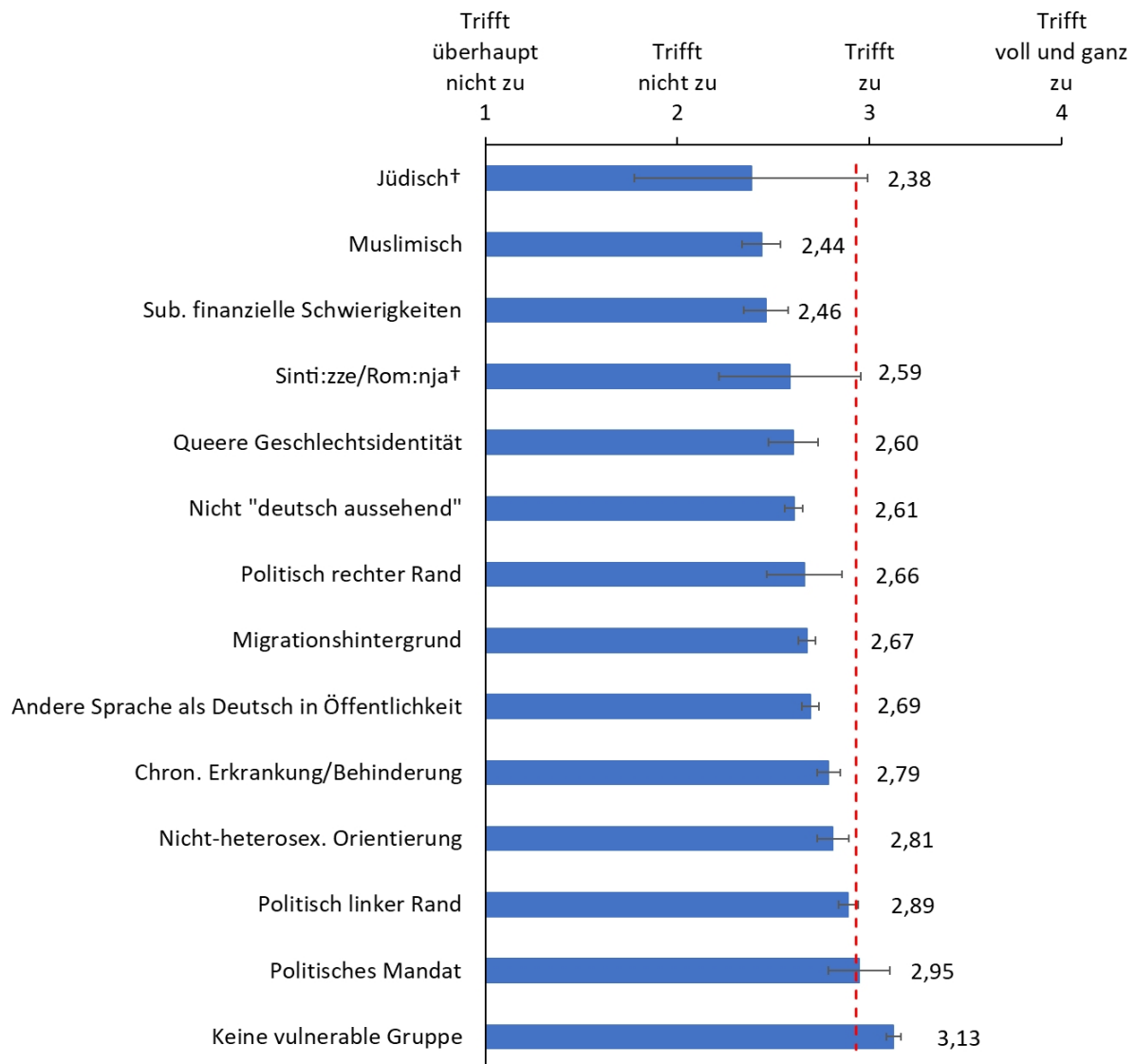


Figure 63: Assessment of the neighbourhood by vulnerable group; scale mean values including 95% confidence intervals by vulnerable group (n = 10 - 988); †: fewer than 20 cases; red dotted line = overall mean value

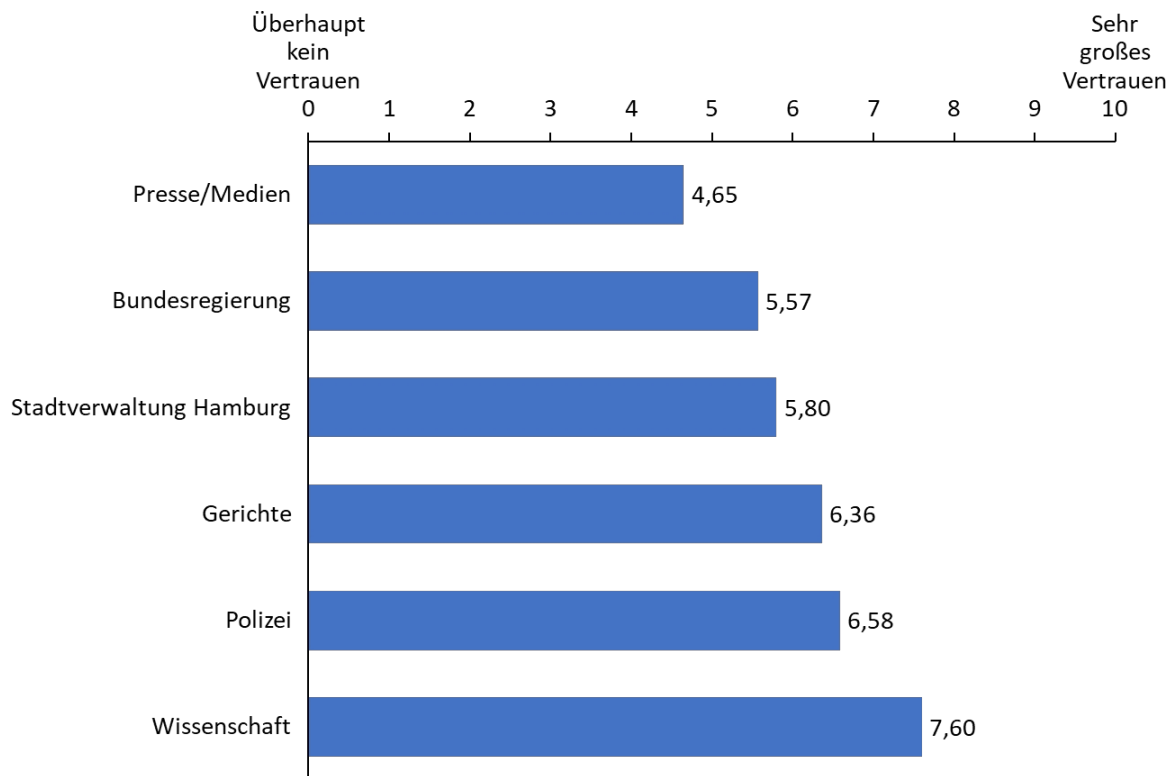


5.8. Trust in institutions

Becoming a victim has further, more far-reaching consequences beyond the direct immediate consequences of the crime. The following section describes the effects on trust in various institutions (federal government, Hamburg city administration, courts, police, press/media and academia) depending on different forms of victimisation. Respondents were asked to rate their level of trust in the respective institutions on a scale from 0 (no trust at all) to 10 (very high trust).

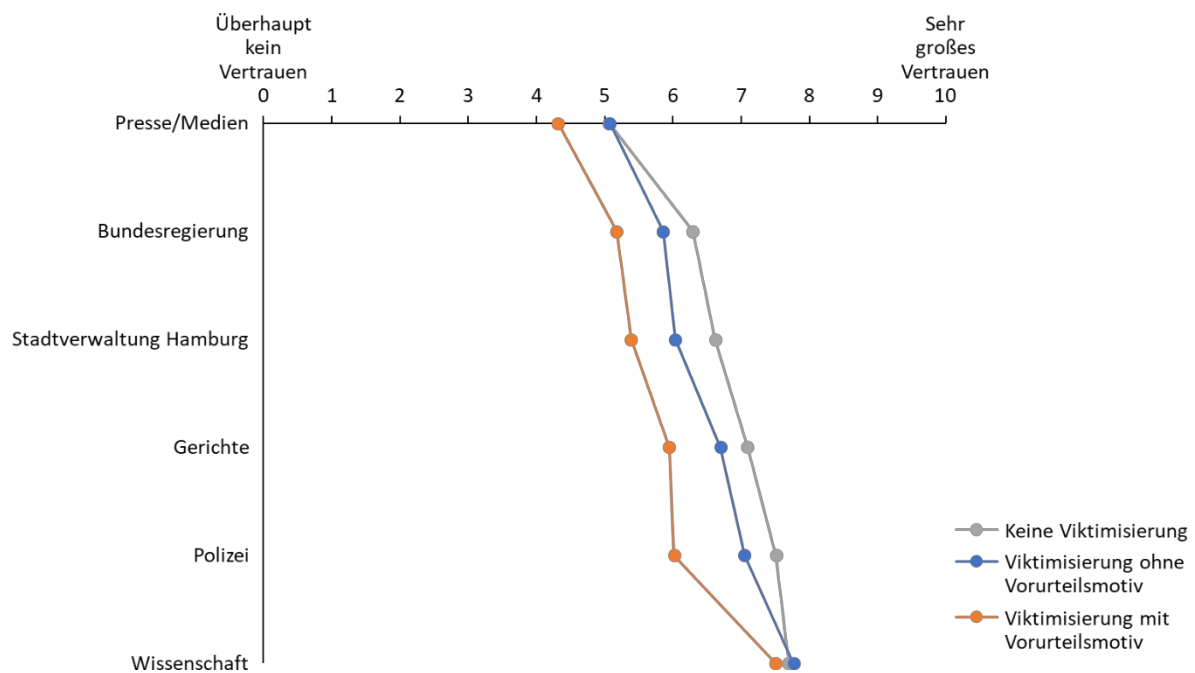
It should be noted that, among those surveyed, the press and media enjoyed the lowest level of trust, with an average rating of 4.65 (see Figure 64). In contrast, academia enjoyed the highest level of trust, with an average rating of 7.6. With an average rating of 6.58, the police enjoyed the second-highest level of trust among the institutions surveyed.

Figure 64: Trust in institutions; mean values of respondents' assessments ($n = 3,252 - 3,268$)



If we distinguish between respondents who have not yet been victims of crime, respondents who have been victims of a crime without a prejudicial motive, and those who have been victims of a crime with a prejudicial motive, we see that the ranking of institutions is identical in all three groups (see Figure 65). The press and media are trusted the least, while science is trusted the most. However, there are differences in the levels of trust. Becoming a victim usually leads to a decline in trust in institutions. This effect is significantly greater among victims of prejudice-motivated crimes than among victims of crimes without a prejudice motive. However, the loss of trust affects the institutions surveyed to varying degrees. For example, becoming a victim of a prejudice-motivated crime reduces trust in science by 0.2 units compared to respondents who have not been victimised. This is the smallest loss of trust when comparing these two groups. Victimisation motivated by prejudice reduces trust in the police the most. Here, the difference in average trust is 1.5 units compared to respondents without victimisation experience.

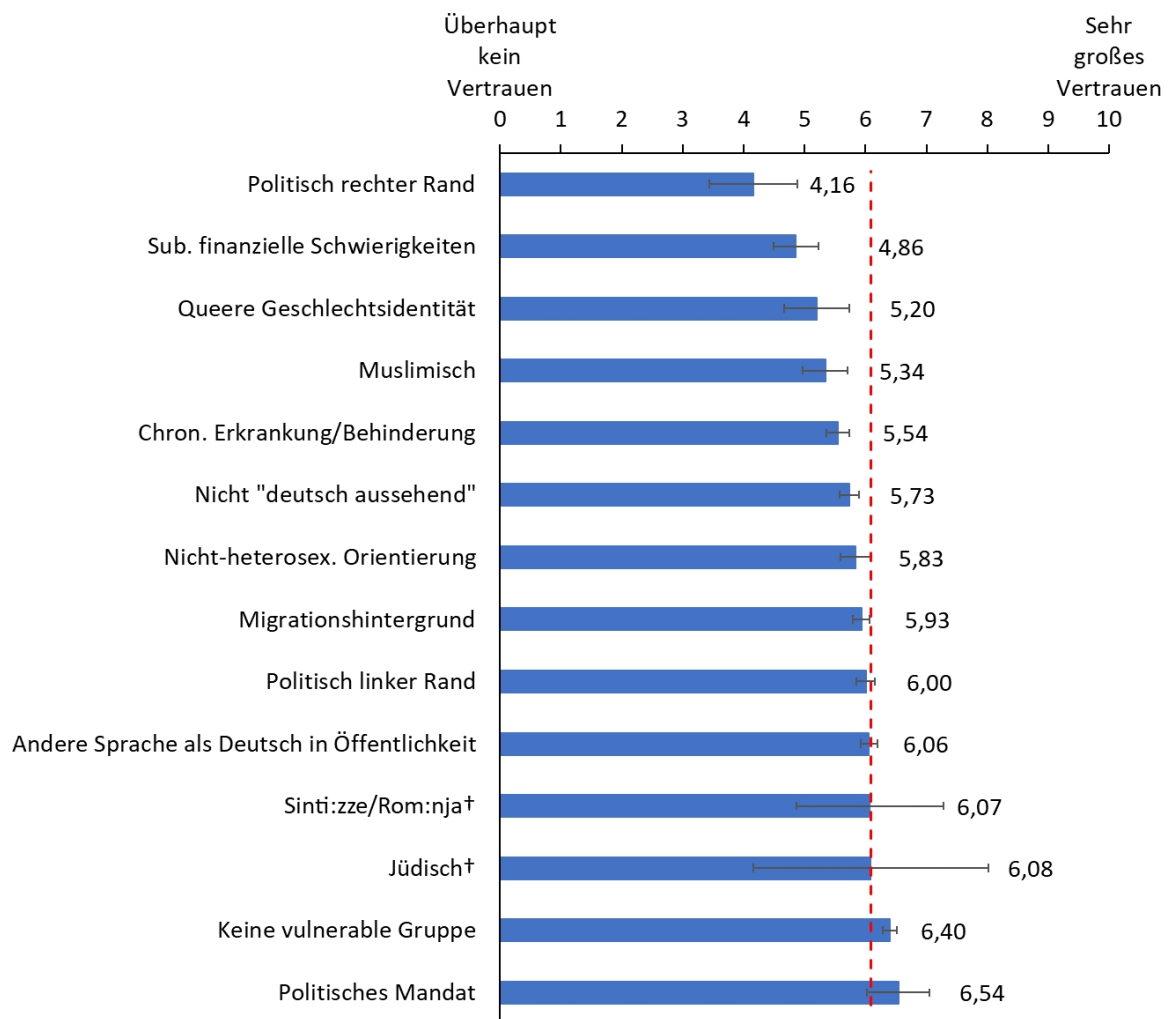
Figure 65: Trust in institutions by victimisation status ($n = 705 - 1,785$)



For the following illustration, a mean scale was created for each respondent from the six individual items used to measure trust in institutions (Cronbach's alpha is 0.89). The mean for the total sample is 6.09.

As can be seen in Figure 66, elected politicians (6.54) and respondents who do not belong to a vulnerable group (6.40) have the highest average level of trust in the institutions surveyed here. In contrast, respondents from the political right wing (4.16) and respondents with subjective financial difficulties (4.86) have comparatively low trust in institutions.

Figure 66: Trust in institutions by vulnerable group; scale mean values including 95% confidence intervals by vulnerable group (n = 10 - 998); †: fewer than 20 cases; red dotted line = overall mean value



6. Summary and discussion

This report serves to highlight the largely invisible experiences of Hamburg citizens affected by discrimination and group-focused enmity. The focus of this study is on the perspective of those affected, i.e. the analyses centre on the specific experiences of prejudice faced by people who belong to typical affected groups. This perspective of those affected represents a focus that has been little researched in Germany to date, in contrast to group-focused enmity and right-wing extremism, which have been regularly examined at the attitudinal level in the general population in representative studies for decades (e.g. the *German Conditions* and *Middle Studies* by the Institute for Interdisciplinary Conflict and Violence Research (IKG) at Bielefeld University¹⁴). The present Hamburg survey from 2022 is intended to serve as a starting point for ongoing research into unreported cases in the area of group-focused enmity and hate crime from the perspective of victims, analogous to the monitored attitude research from the perspective of perpetrators in this area. Only through such monitoring can the effects of signal events or crises and social developments (e.g. demographic change) on experiences of discrimination and devaluation, as well as the impact of prejudice-motivated crime on various groups in our society, be recorded and investigated. These findings can be regarded as indicators and, where appropriate, warning signals with regard to social cohesion and polarisation movements. These are areas of conflict that particularly affect the security authorities in their daily work.

This report provides empirical evidence of the severe impact of discrimination and prejudice-motivated crime on certain social groups, as well as the serious consequences of such victimisation, including on trust in key social institutions, particularly the police. The study also confirms the high number of unreported cases in the area of crime under investigation. The reasons given for not reporting crimes, as well as the assessment of the police after reporting, provide valuable empirically supported insights for improving and professionalising the police's handling of victims of prejudice-motivated and discriminatory acts. The free development of personality is part of our fundamental rights. The fact that Jewish people in particular, but also queer and non-heterosexual people in Hamburg, avoid revealing their identity as Jews, queer or homosexual in public, as shown by a partial result of this report, points to the high socio-politicalof the phenomena examined and the need to monitor them continuously and to develop appropriate measures for prevention and assistance for those affected. Greater professionalisation with regard to hate crime among the security authorities and the judiciary through the expansion of training and further education programmes can contribute in particular to improving the detection of such crimes and thus increasing the likelihood of them being reported. Expanding victim support services and creating low-threshold access points, as well as providing appropriate specialisation through training and further education for people working in this field,

¹⁴ Current Mitte study: <https://www.fes.de/referat-demokratie-gesellschaft-und-innovation/gegen-rechtsextremismus/mitte-studie-2023>

can help to mitigate the consequential damage suffered by victims. Why so few victims turn to professional victim protection organisations, as described in this report, must remain open at this point. However, the result may serve as an impetus for victim protection organisations to review their accessibility and public relations work, if necessary. At the societal level, prejudice-motivated acts can be countered by strengthening democratic values and promoting democratic resilience, because prejudice-motivated acts always constitute attacks on pluralistic democracy. Accordingly, city policymakers are also called upon to take appropriate measures to emphasise and promote diversity and equality even more strongly in an urban society that is becoming increasingly diverse as a result of demographic change. Last but not least, the civil society engagement of the entire urban community is required in this context.

The results of this study, as well as the significant increase in officially recorded hate crimes in recent years, highlight the importance of continuous and monitored research into unreported cases in this area, not only in order to regularly shed light on unreported cases and obtain reliable figures, but also to be able to evaluate preventive measures for better protection of potential victims and confidence-building measures by the police. Last but not least, only unreported crime studies can provide information on whether and to what extent the officially recorded trend in prejudice-motivated crime can be explained by an actual increase in prejudice-motivated offences, or whether we are dealing with distortion effects, e.g. due to a change in reporting behaviour or a change in police investigation and recording practices. The present study also made it clear that ongoing research into prejudice-related victimisation should definitely include acts that are not relevant under criminal law. This is not only because many forms of prejudice-motivated discrimination are not (or not yet) punishable by law, but also because it is not necessarily relevant to the consequences for the victims whether the form of violence they have experienced is relevant under criminal law or not. Legally, however, these acts are always highly relevant insofar as they always constitute violations of Article 3, paragraph 3 of the Basic Law.

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Appendix (survey instrument)



Dear participant,

Thank you very much for your interest and willingness to participate in our survey on "hate crime". Your information will help us to understand this phenomenon even better.

The survey covers topics such as personal experiences with crime or discrimination. If you are unable to answer individual questions, you can always skip them; simply leave the corresponding question blank.

Participation is voluntary and your information is completely anonymous. You will find detailed information on data protection in the cover letter that contained the link to this survey.

When completing the questionnaire, please also note: In some places, you have the option of entering text yourself. In these places, you will find free text fields in which you can make entries. If several answers are possible for a question, this will be indicated in the question.

Thank you very much for your support!

Imprint

First, a few questions about yourself and your circumstances.

A1. In which district of Hamburg do you live?

Allermöhe ☐

Alsterdorf ☐

Altengamme ☐

Altenwerder ☐

Altona-Altstadt ☐





Altona-Nord



Old



Town



Bahrenfeld



Barmbek-Nord



Barmbek-Süd



Bergedorf



Bergstedt



Billbrook



Billstedt



Billwerder



Blankenese



Borgfelde



Bramfeld



Cranz



Curslack



Dulsberg



Duvenstedt



Eißendorf



Eidelstedt



Eilbek



Eimsbüttel



Eppendorf



Farmsen-Berne



Finkenwerder



Francop



Fuhlsbüttel



Groß Borstel



Groß Flottbek



Gut Moor





- HafenCity
- Hamm
- Hammerbrook
- Harburg
- Harvestehude
- Hausbruch
- Heimfeld
- Hoheluft-Ost
- Hoheluft-West
- Hohenfelde
- Horn
- Hummelsbüttel
- Iserbrook
- Jenfeld Kirchwerder
- Kleiner Grasbrook
- Langenbek
- Langenhorn
- Lemsahl-Mellingstedt
- Lohbrügge
- Lokstedt
- Lurup
- Marienthal
- Marmstorf
- Moorburg
- Moorfleet
- Neuallermöhe
- Neuenfelde
- Neuengamme





Neugraben-Fischbek	☐
Neuland	☐
Neustadt	☐
Niendorf	☐
Nienstedten	☐
Ochsenwerder	☐
Ohlsdorf	☐
Osdorf	☐
Othmarschen	☐
Ottensen	☐
Poppenbüttel	☐
Rahlstedt	☐
Rönneburg	☐
Reitbrook	☐
Rissen	☐
Rothenburgsort	☐
Rotherbaum	☐
Sasel	☐
Sülldorf	☐
Schnelsen	☐
Sinstorf	☐
Spadenland	☐
St. Georg St.	☐
Pauli	☐
Steilshoop	☐
Steinwerder	☐
Stellingen	☐
Sternschanze	☐
Tatenberg	☐
	☐
	☐
	☐





- Tonndorf ☐
- Uhlenhorst ☐
- Veddel ☐
- Volksdorf ☐
- Waltershof ☐
- Wandsbek ☐
- Wellingsbüttel ☐
- Wilhelmsburg ☐
- Wilstorf ☐
- Winterhude ☐
- Wohldorf-Ohlstedt ☐

A2. In which year were you born? *Please enter the corresponding year! (e.g. 1952, please use 4 digits)*

--	--	--	--

A3. Which of the following self-descriptions best applies to you? *Multiple answers are possible.*

- Female ☐
- Male ☐
- Divers ☐
- e Trans* ☐
- Inter* Non- ☐
- binary ☐
- Queer ☐
- I cannot/do not wish to classify myself. ☐
- The following other self-description applies to me. ☐

A4. Which self-description applies to you?

--



A5. If you would like to provide information on the following very personal topic: How would you classify your sexual orientation?

Heterosexual

Homosexual

Bisexual

I do not wish to provide any information on this topic.

Other (e.g. asexual, pansexual), namely

Other (e.g. asexual, pansexual), namely

☐☐☐☐☐

A6. What is your nationality? If you have more than one nationality, please provide multiple answers.

Afghan

German

Iraqi

Polish

Romanian

Russian

Syrian

Turkish

Another, namely

Another one, namely

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

A7. Were you born in Germany?

Yes

No

☐☐



A8. In which country were you born?

Afghanistan ☐

Iraq ☐

Poland ☐

Romania ☐

Russia (former Soviet Union) ☐

Syria ☐

Turkey ☐

In another, namely: ☐



In another country, namely:

A9. Where were your parents born?

Both in Germany Both ☐

abroad ☐

Mother in Germany and father abroad ☐

Mother abroad and father in Germany ☐

A10. In which country was your mother born?

A11. In which country was your father born?

A12. Are you usually perceived by other people as looking "German"?

No ☐

Sometimes ☐

Y ☐

es I cannot/do not wish to comment. ☐



A13. Would you describe yourself as Sinti*ze or Rom*nja?

No ☐

Y ☐

es I cannot/do not wish to comment. ☐

A14. Do you currently have a steady partner?

No, I do not currently have a steady partner. Yes, we ☐

live together in the same household. ☐

Yes, we live in separate households. ☐

A15. How many people live in your household in total (including yourself)? Please enter the corresponding number!

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

A16. How many people in your household are minors (under 18 years of age)? Please enter the corresponding number!

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

A17. Which language do you speak in private in public (e.g. with friends or family in town)?

Only German ☐

Only another language ☐

Partly German, partly another language ☐

A18. Which other language do you mainly speak in private in public?

--

A19. Which other language do you sometimes speak in private and in public?

--



A20. **What is your highest educational qualification? *If you have a foreign educational qualification, please select a qualification that is comparable to yours.***

I am still at school. School	☐
completed without qualification	☐
Primary/secondary school/middle school	☐
qualification Secondary school qualification, intermediate	☐
school leaving certificate (also POS 10th grade)	☐
Technical college entrance	☐
qualification, vocational baccalaureate University	☐
entrance qualification, Abitur (also EOS 12th	☐
grade)	☐
Completed training (e.g. vocational school, commercial school, technical school, apprenticeship)	☐
Technical college/university degree (e.g. Bachelor's, Master's, Diploma)	☐

Other qualification, namely:
Other qualification, namely:



A21. Which of the following applies most to you?

I am...

- A pupil. An ☐
- apprentice or student. A ☐
- housewife/househusband/homebody. ☐
- Recipient of state transfer payments (e.g. unemployment benefit, Hartz IV, basic income support). ☐
- Self-employed or freelance. ☐
- Worker. ☐
- Employee. ☐
- Civil servant. ☐
- In voluntary service (BFD, FÖJ, FSJ) or military service. ☐
- Retired or pensioner. On ☐
- maternity leave or parental leave. ☐
- Other, namely: ☐
- Other, namely: ☐

A22. How well do you manage financially?

- Very well ☐
- Good ☐
- Average ☐
- Poor ☐
- Very poor ☐
- I would prefer not to say. ☐



A23. Do you currently hold a political office? *If you hold several offices, please indicate the highest one.*

No

☐

Yes, at district level, district assembly

☐

Yes, at state level, state parliament

☐

Yes, other political office, namely

☐

Yes, other political office, namely

A24. Which religion do you belong to?

None

☐

Christianity

☐

Islam

☐

Judaism

☐

Hinduism

☐

Buddhism

☐

Others, namely

☐

Other, namely

A25. How religious do you consider yourself to be? *Please rate yourself on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not religious at all and 10 is very religious.*

(Not at all
religious)
0

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

(Very
religiou
s) 10

A26. Are you or have you been affected by a long-term disability or chronic illness (physical or mental)?

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Yes

No

☐☐

After dark on public transport and at stops in Hamburg?



B2. How often do you fear that ...

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	Always
You are insulted, threatened or treated in a derogatory manner?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
You are hit and injured as a result?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
You are sexually harassed/assaulted?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Being attacked and robbed?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Your property being damaged?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
You are discriminated against on the basis of a characteristic that indicates that you belong to a particular social group (e.g. your religion, sexual orientation, skin colour, gender identity, origin, social status, age or disability)?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Becoming the victim of a crime because of a characteristic that indicates you belong to a particular social group (e.g. your religion, sexual orientation, skin colour, gender identity, origin, social status, age or disability)?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

B3. Contrary to your fears, the question now is how likely you think it is that you will be affected by the (criminal) acts listed below.

How likely do you think it is that the following will actually happen to you personally in the next 12 months? That ...

	Very unlikely	Rather unlikely Unlikely	Partly / partly	Rather likely	Very likely
Are you being insulted, threatened or treated in a derogatory manner?					
Be beaten and injured as a result?					
You being sexually harassed/assaulted?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
You being mugged and robbed?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Your property being damaged?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
You are discriminated against on the basis of a characteristic that indicates that you belong to a particular social group (e.g. your religion, sexual orientation, skin colour, gender identity, origin, social status, age or disability)?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐



I..

[illegible]



	Never / Very rarely	Rather Rarely	Sometimes	Rather often	Very often / Always	I cannot answer.
Learn strategies and techniques for self-defence or assertiveness in courses.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Find out about police prevention measures preventive measures.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

B5. In certain situations, do you avoid talking openly about your identity/identities (e.g. gender identity, sexual orientation, cultural identity or political views) in order to prevent others from attacking, harassing or discriminated against?

Yes	☐
No	☐

B6. Where do you avoid talking openly about your identity/identities (e.g. gender identity, sexual orientation, cultural identity or political stance) in order to prevent being attacked, harassed or discriminated against by others? *Multiple answers are possible.*

At home	☐
In your family environment	☐
Among friends	☐
At school	☐
At college/university	☐
At work	☐
In cafés, restaurants, pubs, clubs	☐
At sports facilities or clubs	☐
In religious institutions	☐
In political parties or at political events	☐
In healthcare facilities (doctor's surgeries, hospitals or other medical facilities)	☐
On public transport	☐
On streets and squares, in parks or other public places.	☐
Elsewhere, namely	☐
Elsewhere, namely	☐



B7. Have you ever moved to another area or neighbourhood because you no longer felt safe where you lived due to your identity/identities (e.g. gender identity, sexual orientation, cultural identity or political stance)?

Yes, I have moved for this reason. No,	☐
but I have made concrete preparations for a move.	☐
No, but I am planning to do so.	☐
No	☐

**B8. Now we have a few questions about your immediate neighbours.
To what extent do the following statements apply?**

	Applies at all not to	Applies not	Applies	Completely true and completely to
Most neighbours here can be trusted.	☐	☐	☐	☐
If it came down to it, I could rely on my neighbours.	☐	☐	☐	☐
The people in my neighbourhood are willing to help and support each other.	☐	☐	☐	☐
If I am away for a long time, I ask my neighbours to check on my flat.	☐	☐	☐	☐
I know most of the people in my neighbourhood by name.	☐	☐	☐	☐

The next questions relate to your specific experiences with discrimination and crime.

C1. Have you ever felt discriminated against in your life because of your personal characteristics in any of the following situations?

	No	Yes	Applies to me Not applicable
At work At	☐	☐	☐
school, university or another educational institution In a nightclub, bar,	☐	☐	☐
restaurant or hotel	☐	☐	☐
In government offices or public institutions	☐	☐	☐
When in contact with the	☐	☐	☐
police On public transport	☐	☐	☐
In a shop When	☐	☐	☐
looking for work	☐	☐	☐



	No	Yes	Applies to me Not applicable.
In healthcare (e.g. doctor's visits, hospitals)	☐	☐	☐
In care facilities	☐	☐	☐
When playing sports	☐	☐	☐
When looking for a flat/house	☐	☐	☐
In other situations	☐	☐	☐

C2. In what other situations have you felt discriminated against?

**C3. You have experienced discrimination in contact with the police.
Do you believe that one or more of the following characteristics had an influence on how the police treated you? *Multiple answers are possible.***

Name	☐
Language	☐
Skin colour	☐
Clothing	☐
Appearance	☐
Ethnic/cultural affiliation	☐
Nationality	☐
Residence status	☐
Religion	☐
Gender	☐
Gender identity	☐
Sexual orientation	☐
Homelessness	☐
Financial or social status	☐
Political views	☐



Social and political engagement

☐

Age

☐

Illness, impairment or disability

☐

Another reason, namely

☐

Other reason, namely

C4. Has the following ever happened to you at some point in your life?

	No	Yes
I have been personally threatened, abused or insulted on the internet and/or social media through comments, posts, messages, emails, etc.	☐	☐
I have been personally threatened, abused or insulted (outside the internet/social media). media).	☐	☐
I was bullied by others.	☐	☐
I have been treated in a discriminatory manner.	☐	☐
I was physically assaulted.	☐	☐
I was physically attacked.	☐	☐
I was sexually assaulted against my will (e.g. groped).	☐	☐
Someone sexually abused or raped me.	☐	☐
My property was deliberately damaged or destroyed (e.g. property damage, vandalism).	☐	☐
Something else happened to me.	☐	☐

C5. What else happened to you?



C6. You stated that the following has happened to you in your life:

I was personally threatened, insulted or offended on the internet and/or social media through comments, posts, messages, emails, etc.

Do you suspect that you were targeted because of certain characteristics that the perpetrator associated with a particular group? *By this we mean, for example, your age, skin colour, origin, religious affiliation, gender identity, disability or similar characteristic.*

Yes

No

C7. What are your thoughts on this act?

☐

I think I was affected because of one of the following personal characteristics:

☐

Multiple answers are possible.

Name

Language

Skin colour

☐

Clothing

☐

Appearance

☐

Ethnic/cultural affiliation

☐

Nationality

☐

Residence status

☐

Religion

☐

Gender

☐

Gender identity

☐

Sexual orientation

☐

Homelessness

☐

Financial or social status

☐

Political views

☐

Social and political engagement

☐

Age

☐☐☐☐



C10. You have stated that the following has happened to you in your life:

I was personally threatened, verbally abused or insulted (outside the internet/social media).

Do you suspect that you were targeted because of certain characteristics that the perpetrator associated with a particular group? *By this we mean, for example, your age, skin colour, origin, religious affiliation, gender identity, disability or similar characteristic.*

Yes

No

☐☐

C11. What are your thoughts regarding this incident?

I think I was targeted because of one of the following personal characteristics:

Multiple answers are possible.

Name

☐

Language

☐

Skin

☐

colour

☐

Clothing

☐

Appearance

☐

e

Ethnic/cultural affiliation

☐

Nationality

☐

Residency status

☐

Religion

☐

Gender Gender identity

☐

Sexual orientation

☐

Homelessness

☐

Financial or social status

☐

Political views

☐

Sociopolitical engagement

☐

Age

☐☐



Illness, impairment or disability

☐

Other reason, namely

☐

Other reason, namely

C12. You have indicated that the following has already happened to you in your life:

I have been personally threatened, verbally abused or insulted (outside of the internet/social media).

How often has this happened to you?

Once 2	☐
to 5 times	☐
6 to 10 times	☐
11 to 50 times	☐
51 to 100 times	☐
More than 100 times	☐

C13. You have stated that the following has happened to you in your life:

I have been personally threatened, verbally abused or insulted (outside of the internet/social media).

How many of these incidents did you report to the police?

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

C14. You have stated that the following has happened to you in your life:

I was bullied by others.

Do you suspect that you were targeted because of certain characteristics that the perpetrator associated with a particular group? *By this we mean, for example, your age, skin colour, origin, religious affiliation, gender identity, disability or similar characteristic.*

Y

es No

☐☐



C15. What are your thoughts regarding this incident?

I think I was affected because of one of the following personal characteristics:

Multiple answers are possible.

Name	☐
Language	☐
Skin	☐
colour	☐
Clothing	☐
Appearanc	☐
e	☐
Ethnic/cultural affiliation	☐
Nationality	☐
Residency status	☐
Religion	☐
Gender Gender identity	☐
Sexual orientation	☐
Homelessness	☐
Financial or social status	☐
Political views	☐
Sociopolitical engagement	☐
Age	☐
Illness, impairment or disability	☐
Other reason, namely	☐
	☐

Other reason, namely

colour



	Clothing	☐
	Appearance	☐
	Ethnic/cultural affiliation	☐
	Nationality	☐
	Residence status	☐
	Religion	☐
	Gender	☐
	Gender identity	☐
	Sexual orientation	☐
	Homelessness	☐
	Financial or social status	☐
	Political views	☐
	Social and political engagement	☐
	Age	☐
	Illness, impairment or disability	☐
	Other reason, namely	☐
Other reason, namely		☐

C20. You have indicated that the following has already happened to you in your life:

I have been treated in a discriminatory manner.

How often has this happened to you?

Once	☐
2 to 5 times	☐
6 to 10 times	☐
11 to 50 times	☐
51 to 100 times	☐
More than 100 times	☐
	☐



C21. You have stated that the following has happened to you in your life:

I have been treated in a discriminatory manner.

How many of these incidents did you report to the police?

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

C22. You have stated that the following has happened to you in your life:

People have made derogatory/disparaging remarks about me/the group I belong to.

Do you suspect that you were affected by this because of certain characteristics that the perpetrator attributed to a particular group? *By this we mean, for example, your age, skin colour, origin, religious affiliation, gender identity, disability or similar characteristic.*

Yes

No

☐☐

C23. What are your thoughts on this incident?

I think I was affected because of one of the following personal characteristics:

Multiple answers are possible.

Name ☐

Language ☐

Skin ☐

colour ☐

Clothing ☐

Appearance ☐

e ☐

Ethnic/cultural affiliation ☐

Nationality ☐

Residency status ☐

Religion ☐

Gender Gender identity ☐

Sexual orientation ☐



Homelessness ☐

Financial or social status ☐

Political views ☐

Social and political engagement ☐

Age ☐

Illness, impairment or disability ☐

Other reason, namely ☐

Other reason, namely

C24. You have indicated that the following has already happened to you in your life:

People have made derogatory/disparaging remarks about me/the group I belong to.

How often has this happened to you?

- Once☐
- 2 to 5 times☐
- 6 to 10 times☐
- 11 to 50 times☐
- 51 to 100 times☐
- More than 100 times☐

C25. You have indicated that the following has happened to you in your life:

People have made derogatory/disparaging remarks about me/the group I belong to.

How many of these incidents did you report to the police?



C26. You have stated that the following has happened to you in your life:

I was physically attacked.

Do you suspect that you were targeted because of certain characteristics that the perpetrator associated with a particular group? *By this we mean, for example, your age, skin colour, origin, religious affiliation, gender identity, disability or similar characteristic.*

Yes

No

☐☐

C27. What are your thoughts on this act?

I think I was affected because of one of the following personal characteristics:

Multiple answers are possible.

Name

☐

Language

☐

Skin

☐

colour

☐

Clothing

☐

Appearanc

☐

e

Ethnic/cultural affiliation

☐

Nationality

☐

Residency status

☐

Religion

☐

Gender Gender identity

☐

Sexual orientation

☐

Homelessness

☐

Financial or social status

☐

Political views

☐

Sociopolitical engagement

☐

Age

☐

Illness, impairment or disability

☐☐



Other reason, namely

☐

Other reason, namely

C28. You have indicated that the following has already happened to you in your life:

I was physically assaulted.

How often has this happened to you?

Once	☐
2 to 5 times	☐
6 to 10 times	☐
11 to 50 times	☐
51 to 100 times	☐
More than 100 times	☐

C29. You have indicated that the following has happened to you in your life:

I was physically assaulted.

How many of these incidents did you report to the police?

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

C30. You have stated that the following has happened to you in your life:

I was sexually harassed against my will (e.g. groped).

Do you suspect that you were targeted because of certain characteristics that the perpetrator associated with a particular group? *By this we mean, for example, your age, skin colour, origin, religious affiliation, gender identity, disability or similar characteristic.*

Yes	☐
No	☐



C31. What are your thoughts on this act?

I think I was affected because of one of the following personal characteristics:

Multiple answers are possible.

- Name ☐
- Language ☐
- Skin ☐
- colour ☐
- Clothing ☐
- Appearanc ☐
- e ☐
- Ethnic/cultural affiliation ☐
- Nationality ☐
- Residency status ☐
- Religion ☐
- Gender Gender identity ☐
- Sexual orientation ☐
- Homelessness ☐
- Financial or social status ☐
- Political views ☐
- Sociopolitical engagement ☐
- Age ☐
- Illness, impairment or disability ☐
- Other reason, namely ☐
- ☐

Other reason, namely



How often has this happened to you?

1

11

1

7

I was sexually assaulted against my will (e.g. groped). How many of these incidents did you report to the police?

[illegible]

Someone sexually abused or raped me.

Do you suspect that you were targeted because of certain characteristics that the perpetrator associated with a particular group? *By this we mean, for example, your age, skin colour, origin, religious affiliation, gender identity, disability or similar characteristics.*

9

[illegible]

I think I was targeted because of one of the following personal characteristics:

Multiple answers are possible.

--	--

--	--

7

colour



Clothing ☐

Appearance ☐

Ethnic/cultural affiliation ☐

Nationality ☐

Residence status ☐

Religion ☐

Gender ☐

Gender identity ☐

Sexual orientation ☐

Homelessness ☐

Financial or social status ☐

Political views ☐

Social and political engagement ☐

Age ☐

Illness, impairment or disability ☐

Other reason, namely ☐

Other reason, namely

C36. You have indicated that the following has already happened to you in your life:

Someone has sexually abused or raped me.

How often has this happened to you?

Once

2 to 5 times ☐

6 to 10 times ☐

11 to 50 times ☐

51 to 100 times ☐

More than 100 times ☐



C37. You have stated that the following has happened to you in your life:

Someone sexually abused or raped me. How many of these incidents did you report to the police?

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

C38. You have stated that the following has happened to you in your life:

My property was deliberately damaged or destroyed (e.g. property damage, vandalism).

Do you suspect that you were targeted because of certain characteristics that the perpetrator associated with a particular group? *By this we mean, for example, your age, skin colour, origin, religious affiliation, gender identity, disability or similar characteristic.*

Yes

No

☐☐

C39. What are your thoughts regarding this incident?

I think I was targeted because of one of the following personal characteristics:

Multiple answers are possible.

Name

☐

Language

☐

Skin

☐

colour

☐

Clothing

☐

Appearance

☐

e

Ethnic/cultural affiliation

☐

Nationality

☐

Residency status

☐

Religion

☐

Gender Gender identity

☐

Sexual orientation

☐



Homelessness ☐

Financial or social status ☐

Political views ☐

Social and political engagement ☐

Age ☐

Illness, impairment or disability ☐

Other reason, namely ☐

Other reason, namely

C40. You have indicated that the following has already happened to you in your life:

My property was deliberately damaged or destroyed (e.g. property damage, vandalism).

How often has this happened to you?

- Once☐
- 2 to 5 times☐
- 6 to 10 times☐
- 11 to 50 times☐
- 51 to 100 times☐
- More than 100 times☐

C41. You have stated that the following has happened to you in your life:

My property was deliberately damaged or destroyed (e.g. property damage, vandalism).

How many of these incidents did you report to the police?



C42. You have stated that the following has happened to you in your life:

Something else happened to me.

Do you suspect that you were targeted because of certain characteristics that the perpetrator associated with a particular group? *By this we mean, for example, your age, skin colour, origin, religious affiliation, gender identity, disability or similar characteristic.*

Yes

No

☐☐

C43. What are your thoughts regarding this incident?

I think I was targeted because of one of the following personal characteristics:

Multiple answers are possible.

Name

☐

Language

☐

Skin

☐

colour

☐

Clothing

☐

Appearanc

☐

e

Ethnic/cultural affiliation

☐

Nationality

☐

Residency status

☐

Religion

☐

Gender Gender identity

☐

Sexual orientation

☐

Homelessness

☐

Financial or social status

☐

Political views

☐

Sociopolitical engagement

☐

Age

☐



Damage to property ☐

No one was affected. ☐

The person was affected by something else, namely ☐

The person was affected by something else, namely

C47. Have you ever heard someone say the following?

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	Constantly
Jews have too much power in Germany (in business, politics or the media).					
Jews exploit the Holocaust and their victim status for their own benefit.					
The Holocaust is a myth or is exaggerated.					
The Israelis behave towards the Palestinians "like Nazis".					
The world would be better off without Israel.					
Jews are incapable of integrating into German society.					
The interests of Jews in Germany differ greatly from those of the rest of the population.					
Jews are themselves to blame for anti-Semitism.					

C48. Where did you hear these comments and statements? *Multiple answers are possible.*

In public spaces (e.g. on the street or in squares, on buses/trains)

In political speeches or discussions (e.g. in parliament, on talk shows)

At cultural events (e.g. theatres, exhibitions)

At political events (e.g. demonstrations)

At sporting events

In academia (in specialist books, lectures)

On the internet (e.g. blogs, social media)

In media other than the internet (e.g. television, radio, newspapers)

In social settings (e.g. among friends, colleagues)



Journal Pre-proof



D3. Where did this incident take place? *Multiple answers are possible.*

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| At home in my flat/house | ☐ |
| In my immediate neighbourhood/living environment | ☐ |
| In my district | ☐ |
| In another district of Hamburg | ☐ |
| Outside Hamburg, but in Germany | ☐ |
| Abroad | ☐ |
| On public transport or at stops | ☐ |
| In a green space/park | ☐ |
| On the internet/social media | ☐ |
| At a public event (e.g. at a demonstration, at a sporting event) | ☐ |
| At a government office/authority | ☐ |
| In an educational institution (e.g. school, university, vocational school) | ☐ |
| At work | ☐ |
| In a shop, café, restaurant, pub or club | ☐ |
| In a medical facility (e.g. at the doctor's, in hospital) | ☐ |
| In a care facility | ☐ |
| Other location, namely | ☐ |
| Other location, namely | ☐ |

D4. How many perpetrators committed the crime?

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| One person | ☐ |
| More than one person | ☐ |
| I don't know. / I didn't see the perpetrator(s). | ☐ |



D5. What was the gender of the perpetrator(s)?

Female ☐

Male ☐

Divers ☐

e Different genders ☐

I don't know. / I didn't see the perpetrator(s).

☐

D6. Where did the perpetrator come from? *If there were several perpetrators, please think of the main perpetrator. Multiple answers are possible.*

The perpetrator was a person ...

from my family/relatives.

from the neighbourhood. ☐

from my club. ☐

from my school, college or university. ☐

From my circle of ☐

acquaintances. With whom I have worked (colleagues). ☐

With whom I had professional contact (e.g. customers, patients). Who ☐

served me (e.g. in a shop, restaurant). ☐

From the police force. ☐

From the civil service. ☐

From an extremist religious group. From a left-wing ☐

extremist group. From a right-wing extremist group. ☐

I do not know which group the perpetrator comes from. ☐

From another area, namely ☐

from another area, namely

☐☐☐



D7. Were other people who were not involved in the crime present during the crime and observed the whole thing?

No	☐
Yes, one person	☐
Yes, several people	☐
I don't know.	☐

D8. This person or at least one of these persons has ...

	No	Yes	I don't know.
called the police.	☐	☐	☐
Sought help.	☐	☐	☐
Spoken up for me. Physically defended me.	☐	☐	☐
stood up for me in some other way.	☐	☐	☐
looked away.	☐	☐	☐
withdrawn from the situation (left).	☐	☐	☐
Made derogatory remarks about me.	☐	☐	☐
Accused me of being responsible for the situation.	☐	☐	☐
Spontaneously participated in the act.	☐	☐	☐
Did something else.	☐	☐	☐

D9. What else did this person or at least one of these persons do?

D10. Have you reported the crime to the following organisations or institutions? *You may provide multiple answers.*

Police	☐
Victim protection organisation	☐



Counselling ☐

centre Human rights ☐

organisation Equal ☐

opportunities office ☐

Press/media ☐

Clergyperson ☐

Lawyer ☐

Politician ☐

Doctor ☐

Psychotherapist / psychiatrist ☐

I have not reported it to any organisation/institution. I have ☐

reported it to another organisation/institution, namely ☐

I have reported it to another organisation/institution, namely

D11. You reported the incident to the police. What were your reasons for doing so? *You may select multiple reasons.*

Because ...

the perpetrator should be punished. I ☐

needed proof for the insurance company. ☐

I wanted to receive compensation from the perpetrator. I ☐

wanted to prevent something like this from ☐

happening again. ☐

I wanted to protect others from the perpetrator. I ☐

wanted to deter future perpetrators. ☐

Other, namely ☐

Other, namely



D12. How would you rate the behaviour of the police when you reported the incident?

The police ...

	Voice Not at all too completely	Vote Rather not too	Partly / Partly	Vote rather	Vote full and
was helpful.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
treated me unfairly. was friendly	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
and committed.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Did not take me or the situation seriously. Made me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
feel even worse. Took sufficient time for me.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Reacted sensitively. Did	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
too little.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Made me feel safe.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Explained their approach well.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Expressed themselves clearly and	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
comprehensibly. Was prejudiced against	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
me.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Provided me with helpful information/contact details for support services/advice centres.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Explained my legal options to me.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Treated me with respect.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Was	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
overworked. Laughed at	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
me.					

D13. At any point, did you tell the police that you personally felt that you were affected by the crime because of certain characteristics?

No, I didn't mention it when I contacted the police. No, but	☐
the police asked about it themselves.	☐
Yes, during the initial	☐
contact. Yes, later during further police investigations.	☐



D14. Did the police ask you what form of address you preferred?

No ☐

Yes ☐

I don't know. ☐

D15. You did not report the crime to the police. What were your reasons for this? *You may select more than one reason.*

Because ...

I did not consider the offence to be that serious. ☐

I wanted to have some peace and quiet and forget about the incident. ☐

It was too much trouble for me to involve the police. ☐

I considered it a private matter. ☐

I didn't want to incriminate myself. ☐

It would be emotionally stressful for me. ☐

I know from experience that it won't do any good. ☐

I didn't want to 'come out' to the police. ☐

The police probably wouldn't be able to solve the case anyway. ☐

There was no evidence. ☐

I was worried that the police would not take me seriously. ☐

I was afraid of going to court. ☐

I didn't know that it was a criminal offence that could be reported. ☐

I was afraid of the perpetrator. ☐

I was ashamed of having been affected by this crime. ☐

For another reason, namely ☐

For another reason, namely ☐

D16. Where did you seek support after the incident? *Multiple answers are possible.*

Family

Friends ☐

☐



Acquaintances ☐

Neighbours ☐

Support groups/self-help groups ☐

Work colleagues ☐

Victim protection organisations / counselling centres ☐

Chaplain ☐

Medical care ☐

Psychological support/therapy ☐

I did not seek support. ☐

Other, namely ☐

Other, namely

D17. Have you discussed the act or acts with people who have similar characteristics to you?

Yes

No

☐☐

D18. Do you feel that the crime you experienced also frightens people who have similar characteristics to you?

Yes

No

☐☐

D19. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements. *Please continue to think about the worst incident.*

I do not
agree at
all

Somewhat
disagree

Partly
agree
/
partl
y
disag
ree

Somew
hat
agree

Agree
complet
ely

I had to seek medical or psychological treatment as a result of the act treatment.

☐☐☐☐☐

I have often felt afraid since the incident.

☐☐☐☐☐

I find it difficult to process the consequences of the crime.

☐☐☐☐☐

After the crime, I was afraid to go out or visit certain places.

☐☐☐☐☐

I am still suffering physically from the consequences of the crime.

☐☐☐☐☐



A diagram showing a horizontal sequence of five empty rectangular boxes, each representing a node in a linked list. The boxes are connected by dashed lines, indicating the sequence of the list.

Nev ☐
 er Rarely ☐
 Sometimes ☐
 Frequently ☐
 Always ☐

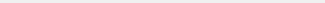
E1. How much trust do you place in the following institutions?

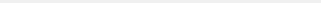
(Don't trust anyone trust n)	1	2	3	4	5	6	(Very high level of trust)
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Federal

Government Hamburg City

Administration

Courts 

Police 

[illegible]

Science



E2. How problematic do you currently consider the following issues to be for society in Germany?

	Not problematic	Rather not problematic	Somewhat problematic	Very problematic	I cannot judge.
Unemployment	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Poverty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Crime	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Racism	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Anti-Semitism	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Islamophobia / anti-Muslim racism	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Migration / immigration	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Terrorism	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Environmental pollution / climate change	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Misogyny	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sexism	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Hostility towards politically active individuals	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Hostility towards LGBTIQ* individuals (lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, transsexuals, intersexuals, queer)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Hostility towards people with disabilities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
COVID-19 pandemic	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

E3. That was all our questions. Is there anything else you would like to share with us or tell us?



We would like to thank you once again for your participation and support. You have been very helpful. If you have any further questions or would like to provide feedback, please contact us at:

hatetown@poladium.de

Imprint

Group-focused enmity from the perspective of those affected.

Key findings from the research project "HateTown – Prejudice-driven actions in urban areas"

Prejudice-motivated acts have particularly serious and long-term physical and emotional consequences for those affected. Moreover, it is not only the immediate individual victims of the act who are affected, but entire population groups who share the same or similar identity-forming characteristics. This social group reference highlights the particular socio-political sensitivity of prejudice-motivated acts and the need for a reliable data basis for researching the views and perspectives of those affected, including with regard to the perception of the police. However, there is currently little representative data available for Germany on the extent of group-focused enmity (GFE), experiences of discrimination and hate crime. In particular, there is a lack of information on cases of prejudice-motivated victimisation beyond the scope of criminal law.

The HateTown research project addresses this research gap and provides important insights into, among other things, the vulnerability of groups and the extent to which they are affected by GMF, reporting behaviour, coping strategies and trust in institutions such as the police and the judiciary. The findings will be incorporated into police training and continuing education programmes, among other things, in order to raise awareness of this phenomenon among police officers.



IKriS

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Sicherheitsforschung