‘Count me in!’

A Report on the Bexley and Greenwich Homophobic Crime Survey

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The survey, commissioned by Bexley and Greenwich Councils, Police, Probation, Health and Voluntary Organisations, was carried out by Galop, London’s lesbian, gay and bisexual anti-violence and police monitoring organisation.
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Introduction

In early 2003, Bexley Community Safety Partnership and Greenwich Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership decided to commission a piece of research in an attempt to better understand and respond to homophobic abuse, hate crimes and domestic violence experienced by the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) communities in both boroughs.

A working party of relevant stakeholders was set up to guide and manage the research. The working party drafted the following mission statement:

“To learn about people’s experiences of homophobia, hate crimes and domestic violence, and their use of services in both Bexley and Greenwich. To also learn what is required by the LGBT community to improve the services and what could be done to increase reporting of hate crimes/homophobia in both Bexley and Greenwich.”

While jointly commissioning this piece of work, Bexley and Greenwich stakeholders also felt that it was essential that the research recognise the differences in demographics and service development in each borough and that this be taken into account in the final report and its recommendations.

Galop, London’s lesbian, gay and bisexual hate crime charity was commissioned to undertake the research. For more than 20 years Galop has been a leading agency in the LGB communities, providing grassroots services, policy and liaison work.

Galop identified the five main objectives of the project as follows:

- Provide an up-to-date picture of the nature and extent of homophobic incidents experienced by the LGBT communities either living, socialising or working in Bexley and Greenwich
- Evaluate the impact of that violence on the management of safety by LGBT people
- Identify the service provision experienced by the LGBT communities in Bexley and Greenwich
- Explore the perceptions and experiences that inform reporting by those LGBT people who experience violence; and
- Identify factors associated with public confidence in, and satisfaction with the handling of homophobic incidents.

Methodology: In partnership with the steering group, Galop developed a self-completion questionnaire. In developing the questionnaire Galop undertook a survey of national and local community homophobic violence and same sex domestic violence victim surveys. The questionnaire design incorporates best practice.
The survey asked a series of questions about homophobic, transphobic and domestic violence experiences of LGBT people in Greenwich and Bexley. We asked questions about violence by reference to two time periods: lifetime and the last 12 months. Various factors influenced this choice. Lifetime is a common time period found in many victim surveys. However, we were conscious of the fact that this is not a periodisation that is used in the context of either official agencies or those in the voluntary sector that gather data on experiences of violence. They tend to generate data on an annual basis. In order to facilitate analysis, now and in the future, between community generated data and these other sources of data we also chose to ask questions about experiences in the last 12 months.

Split into 4 sections, the first section of the questionnaire asked for basic information about lifetime experiences of homophobic, transphobic and domestic violence (defined as violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner). It also asked for basic information relating to experiences of homophobic, transphobic and domestic violence in the last 12 months. Part 2 contained a series of more detailed questions about experiences that occurred in the last 12 months: the types of violence experienced, information about the people who committed these acts and information about the location of the incidents. The third part of the questionnaire asked a series of questions focused on ‘getting help’: who did you tell; when you told someone were you satisfied; reasons for not getting help.

The questionnaire distribution strategy was designed to achieve wide-spread dissemination using many different outlets and locations. Questionnaires were distributed across both boroughs through LGBT support groups, council offices, libraries, chemists, doctors and in LGBT venues. A web site was developed with an online version of the questionnaire. The survey was promoted in local council newspapers delivered to every household in the two boroughs, the LGBT media and on LGBT web sites. Data gathering began in July and continued until the end of October, the original survey deadline being extended by one month.

We obtained 164 completed questionnaires. Full details of the demographic composition of the respondents are to be found in the appendix. Galop and the research team hoped to generate a larger number of responses. In conducting this research we were reliant upon the co-operation of agencies and organisations within the statutory, voluntary, community and business sector particularly with regard to the dissemination of the questionnaire. The response to requests for assistance was generally very positive. However, it was not possible to access some distribution networks. This required a late change in the dissemination strategy. In the final instance the size of the Bexley and Greenwich database is comparable with other community surveys.

Unless otherwise specified in the report our analysis is based upon the data contained in all 164 completed questionnaires. While some of the respondents live in other boroughs all respondents were in the two boroughs. It was never the objective of the initiative to limit the study to experiences of violence occurring in the two boroughs or to seek responses only from those who live
in the two boroughs. Such objectives would be totally inappropriate. While it is of vital importance to recognise that violence always takes place in a specific location, the effects of that experience and the needs of those affected by violence cannot be confined to that location. Homophobic and domestic violence, no matter where it occurs, may impact on perceptions and expectations of those who live, work and relax in the two boroughs and who may use services in both Bexley and Greenwich. The working party’s Mission Statement clearly reflects these matters in setting the objectives of the survey in the following terms: to learn about peoples experiences of homophobia, hate crimes and domestic violence, and their use of services in both Bexley and Greenwich. At the same time those commissioning the survey demanded that the study recognise the differences in borough demographics and service development. In the body of the report we explore the particular experiences of violence of those who reported that they lived in the two boroughs and their perceptions, expectations and experiences of services within the two boroughs.

Key objectives of this research initiative were to develop understanding and raise awareness of LGBT experiences of violence and use of services. The survey data base, composed of 164 completed questionnaires, can provide invaluable preliminary insights into both the nature and experience of violence and perceptions, expectations and experiences of services. Existing community surveys of homophobic violence referenced in the body of the report demonstrate, and research undertaken by Understanding and Responding to Hate Crime (URHC) initiative co-funded by the Home Office and the Metropolitan Police Service offer, examples of the great potential of smaller databases to achieve these objectives (Stanko 2001). The Bexley and Greenwich data provides an important new resource through which the respective Crime and Disorder Partnerships can raise awareness, stimulate debate and change and provoke further study.

Two aspects of the data require some comment.

**Transgender:** The initial objective of the study was to incorporate the transgender experience. The questionnaire and dissemination strategy was developed with this in mind. Our final strategy for distribution failed to access the transgender community in the two boroughs. Thus the report does not specifically address trans experiences and needs. However, its findings may have both direct and indirect relevance to transgender people. Some of the violence experienced by trans people is violence motivated by those prejudices relating to gender and sexual orientation found in relation to violence against lesbians and gay men (Moran and Sharpe 2002 and forthcoming). One of our recommendations is that transgender focus groups (one in each borough) be established. The objective of the groups should be to discuss the findings of this report (the nature of violence, its locations, the relations between perpetrators and victims, service use etc) in relation to the transgender experiences of violence and to provide feedback on the relevance of its recommendations to the trans community. A report should be produced with policy recommendations. Building upon that initiative, we would urge the Crime and Disorder Partnerships to undertake a specific research
project to obtain data about transgender experiences of violence and the service perceptions, expectations and experiences of transgender people.

**Domestic violence:** The survey was successful in obtaining data on lifetime experiences of domestic violence which was defined as violence by current and ex same sex partners, previous opposite sex partners, other family and household members. An analysis of this data is to be found in Part 1 of the report. We also asked questions about experiences of domestic violence in the last 12 months. However, only a small number of respondents reported experiencing domestic violence in the last 12 months. The structure of the survey asked the detailed questions - exploring the types of violence experienced, the number and location of incidents, the relations between victim and perpetrator - in the context of incidents occurring in the last 12 months. The small size of the 12 months domestic violence database means that it has not been possible to undertake a detailed analysis of these matters. Nor has it been possible to undertake this more detailed analysis in relation to the lifetime experiences of domestic violence reported by respondents as they were not asked to provide the necessary information in that context. In writing the report on LGB experiences of domestic violence (found in Part 1 of the report) we have also included a limited analysis of the data relating to experiences in the last 12 months. We were able to use the lifetime experiences of domestic violence to analyse getting help in that context. The findings are reported in Part 3 of the report.

While the data relating to lifetime experiences raises some important issues about the nature of LGB experiences of domestic violence we would recommend that a further study be undertaken. This should focus on LGBT lifetime experiences of domestic violence using the more detailed questions we used in Part 2 of the questionnaire in that context to generate more information about that violence. This would enable a more detailed picture of the nature of that violence to emerge.

**Structure of the report**
The report that follows adopts a structure similar to that of the questionnaire, being split into three parts. Part 1 focuses on data relating to lifetime experiences. The first section deals with homophobic violence threats and harassment. It also contains basic findings relating to experiences of homophobic violence threats and harassment in the last 12 months. The second section of Part 1 is concerned with experiences of domestic violence. Part 2 of the report offers more detailed information about homophobic incidents in the last 12 months. The final part of the report, Part 3, deals with findings concerned with getting help.

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Executive Summary

A) Key findings

Part 1
Lifetime Experiences of Violence

1. Homophobic violence, threats or harassment

Survey key findings

- 69% of respondents had experienced homophobic violence threats or harassment
- 3 in 4 male respondents and 2 in 3 female respondents had experienced homophobic violence threats or harassment
- Threats (34%) and Harassment (40%) are the most common forms of homophobic incidents. 13% of incidents were described as physical violence

Borough key findings

Bexley

- 53% of respondents had experienced homophobic violence threats or harassment
- Male and female respondents had experienced different levels of homophobic violence. 2 in 3 of male and 2 in 5 female respondents reported experiences of homophobic violence threats or harassment

Greenwich

- 73% of respondents from Greenwich had experienced homophobic violence threats or harassment
- Male and female respondents had experienced similar levels of experience of homophobic violence threats or harassment. 3 in 4 male and female respondents had experience of homophobic violence threats or harassment.
2. Domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner

a) Lifetime experiences of Domestic violence

Survey key findings
- 29% of respondents had experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner
- More female respondents (43%) than male respondents (20%) had experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner
- Just over 1 in 3 incidents were categorised as harassment
- Just over 1 in 4 incidents were categorised as threats
- Females and males experienced different types of violence
- More female respondents (17%) than male respondents (9%) experienced physical violence

Borough key findings
Bexley
- 27% of respondents had experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner
- More males (31%) than females (24%) had experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner
- More male respondents (20%) than females (0%) reported experiences of physical violence

Greenwich
- 27% of respondents had experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner
- More females (42%) than males (14%) had experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner
- More female respondents (13%) than males (0%) reported experiences of physical violence

b) Domestic violence in the last 12 months

Survey key findings
- 7% of respondents experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner
- More female respondents (10%) than male respondents (5%) had experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner

Borough key findings
Bexley
- 8% of respondents had experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner
More male (13%) than female respondents (5%) had experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner

Greenwich
- 3% of respondents had experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner
- More female respondents (7%) reported experiences of domestic violence than males (0%)

Part 2
In the last 12 months

Experiences of homophobic violence, threats and harassment

Experiences of violence
Survey key findings
- 38% of all respondents had experienced homophobic violence, threats or harassment in the last 12 months
- Just under 1 in 2 male respondents and just over 1 in 3 female respondents had experienced homophobic violence, threats or harassment in that time

Borough key findings
Bexley
- 32% of all respondents living in that borough had experienced homophobic violence, threats or harassment in the last 12 months
- 44% of male respondents and 24% female respondents had experienced homophobic violence, threats or harassment in that time

Greenwich
- 45% of all respondents living in that borough had experienced homophobic violence, threats or harassment in the last 12 months
- 54% male respondents and 36% female respondents had experienced homophobic violence, threats or harassment in that time

Repeat victimisation
Survey key findings
- Over 3 in 4 respondents who had experienced violence reported that they had experienced more than one incidence of violence
- More than 1 in 2 reported that this involved more than 2 instances of violence
- More females (almost 9 in 10) experiencing violence reported multiple incidents than males (just over 7 in 10)

Borough key findings
Bexley
- Males experiencing violence reported higher rates of multiple incidents (almost 9 in 10 respondents) than females experiencing violence (3 in 4 respondents)

**Greenwich**
- Females experiencing violence reported higher rates of multiple incidents (over 9 in 10 respondents) than males experiencing violence (just over 1 in 2 respondents)

*Types of violence experienced*

**Survey key findings**
- 2 in 3 incidents were categorised as ‘Threats’ or ‘Harassment’
- Male and female respondents reported similar patterns of experiences of violence

**Borough key findings**
- The data suggests some differences in patterns of violence reported by male and female respondents in Bexley and in Greenwich
- Male respondents in Bexley reported the highest experiences of physical violence and damage to property of any group

*Who committed the acts of violence? Number of perpetrators.*

**Survey key findings**
- A minority of incidents (just over 1 in 3) involved more than one perpetrator
- 2 in 5 male respondents experienced incidents involving more than 1 perpetrator while just under 1 in 3 female respondents experienced incidents involving more than 1 perpetrator

**Borough key findings**
- Bexley
  - A minority of incidents (1 in 4) involved more than one perpetrator
  - More male respondents (1 in 3) than female respondents (1 in 7) had experienced incidents involving more than one perpetrator

- Greenwich
  - Just under 1 in 2 incidents involved more than one perpetrator
  - More male respondents (1 in 2) than female respondents (1 in 3) had experienced incidents involving more than one than one perpetrator

*Who committed the acts of violence? Victim perpetrator relations.*

**Survey key findings**
- 2 out of 3 respondents reported that they knew the perpetrators of the violence
- Neighbours and colleagues at work, school or college were the most common perpetrators
Borough key findings

**Bexley**
- In 2 in 3 cases respondents who had experienced violence reported that they knew the perpetrators
- In 1 in 4 cases of violence respondents identified the perpetrators as neighbours or colleagues at work, school or college
- In 1 in 3 cases of violence respondents identified the perpetrators as partners, ex-partners, family and household members

**Greenwich**
- In 2 in 3 cases respondents who had experienced violence reported that they knew the perpetrators
- In 1 in 3 cases of violence respondents identified the perpetrators as neighbours or colleagues at work, school or college
- In 1 in 5 cases of violence respondents identified the perpetrators as partners, ex-partners, family and household members

*Where did the incidents take place?*

**Survey key findings**
- 2 in 3 respondents had experienced violence in or near the home

**Borough key findings**

**Bexley**
- 2 in 3 respondents had experienced violence in or near the home
- Male and female respondents report similar patterns of the locations in which violence takes place
- 1 in 4 experienced violence in the workplace, school or college
- 1 in 20 respondents had experienced violence in or near a LGBT venue

**Greenwich**
- 9 in 10 respondents had experienced violence in or near the home
- All experiences of violence reported by female respondents took place in or near the home
- 2 in 3 male respondents experiencing violence reported that the incident took place in or near the home
- 8% of respondents experiencing violence reported that the incident took place in or near a LGBT venue
- 1 in 5 of male respondents experiencing violence reported that the incident took place in or near a LGBT venue
Part 3
Getting Help

a) Getting help: homophobic violence

Telling someone about violence over your lifetime

Survey key findings
- 2 in 5 respondents who ever experienced homophobic violence told someone about the incident
- More male respondents (almost 1 in 2) than female respondents (almost 2 in 5) told someone about their experiences of homophobic violence

Borough key findings
- The percentage of respondents who ever experienced violence who told someone when analysed by borough is similar to the percentage found in an analysis of all respondents

Telling someone about violence in the last 12 months

Survey key findings
- 2 in 3 respondents who experienced homophobic violence in the last 12 months told someone about the incident

Borough key findings
- The percentage of respondents who experienced violence in the last 12 months who told someone when analysed by borough is similar to the percentage found in an analysis of all respondents

Getting help: Who did you tell?

Survey key findings
- Partners and the Police were the most common sources of help
- Male and female responses evidence different patterns of getting help
- More female respondents than male respondents reported getting help from health care professionals
- More female respondents than male respondents reported getting help from housing agencies
- More male respondents than female respondents reported getting help from the police

Borough key findings
Bexley
- 1 in 3 respondents who told someone informed the police and just over 1 in 4 told a partner
- Less than 1 in 10 told housing organisations
Greenwich
- 1 in 5 respondents who told someone informed housing agencies
- Just less than 1 in 5 respondents who told someone informed the police. A similar number told a partner

**Getting help: Satisfaction with the service**

**Survey key findings**
- 4 in 5 respondents who turned to housing providers for help reported they were dissatisfied with the service provided and a majority of those dissatisfied were ‘very dissatisfied’
- 7 out of 10 of respondents seeking help from the workplace were dissatisfied with the service
- 3 in 4 of respondents who turned to partners for help were satisfied with the response
- 1 in 2 of those seeking help from the police were satisfied with the service

**Borough key findings**

**Health care**
- **Bexley**
  - 2 in 3 of those who contacted health services reported that they were dissatisfied with the service
- **Greenwich**
  - Almost 2 in 3 of those who contacted health services reported that they were satisfied with the service

**The Police**
- **Bexley**
  - Almost 2 in 3 of those who contacted the police reported that they were satisfied with the service
- **Greenwich**
  - Just over 2 in 5 of those who contacted the police reported that they were satisfied with the service

**Housing**
- **Bexley**
  - 100% respondents from Bexley who contacted housing services reported that they were dissatisfied with the service
- **Greenwich**
  - 4 in 5 of those in Greenwich who contacted housing services reported that they were dissatisfied with the service

**Workplace**
- **Bexley**
  - 1 in 2 of those who contacted someone at work, school college reported that they were dissatisfied with the service
Greenwich
- 2 in 3 of those who contacted someone at work, school college reported that they were **dissatisfied** with the service

*Reasons for not getting help*

**Survey key findings**
- 1 in 3 respondents specified ‘no injury or damage’ as a reason for not getting help
- Male and female respondents give different reasons for not getting help in relation to different services
- ‘No injury’ is the most common reason given by male respondents in relation to all services

**Police**
- ‘The police wouldn’t do anything’ (26%) and ‘the person or agency would not be interested’ (28%) are the main reasons given by female respondents for not getting help from the police in contrast to male respondents for whom ‘no injury is the main reason given (44%). The most common reason (just over 1 in 4) for not using the police was ‘no injury’
- ‘No injury’ was more commonly given by male respondents (over 2 in 5) than female respondents (just over 1 in 10) for not telling the police
- ‘Previous bad experiences’ accounted for under 1 in 10 responses
- ‘Afraid of further abuse’ (1 in 4) and ‘previous bad experiences’ (1 in 10) were more commonly given by Bexley respondents than Greenwich respondents (less than 1 in 10 and 1 in 20 respectively) as reasons for not telling the police

**Housing**
- 53% male respondents specify that ‘no injury’ is the reason for not getting help from housing whereas ‘wouldn’t do anything’ (20%), ‘not interested’ (20%) and ‘no injury’ (20%) were the main reasons given by female respondents.

**Workplace**
- ‘No injury’ is the main reason given by male respondents (24%) for not telling people in the workplace. ‘No interest’ is the main reason given by female respondents (36%). The workplace was the context in which the largest percentage of respondents in any context identified ‘previous bad experiences’ as a reason for not telling someone

**Borough key findings**

**Bexley**
- 1 in 3 reasons specified for not getting help were categorised as ‘no injury or damage’
- 1 in 3 reasons specified for not getting help were categorised as ‘private matter’
Police
- In Bexley ‘fear of abuse’ accounted for 1 in 5 of the reasons given for not getting help from the police whereas in Greenwich this reason accounted for less than 1 in 10 reasons for not contacting that organisation.
- Fear of further abuse (just over 1 in 5) and ‘no interest’ (just over 1 in 5) were identified as the most important reasons for not getting help from the police in Bexley.

Housing
- ‘Wouldn’t do anything’ accounted for 50% of the reasons given for not getting help from housing.

Greenwich
- Just under 1 in 3 reasons specified for not getting help were categorised as ‘no injury or damage’.
- Less than 1 in 10 reasons specified for not getting help were categorised as ‘private matter’.

Police
- Just over 50% of reasons specified for not getting help from the police fell within the categories ‘lack of interest’ and ‘lack of an effective response’.

Housing
- Almost 1 in 3 reasons specified for not getting help from housing organisations were categorised as ‘they would not be interested’.

b) Getting help: domestic violence

Telling someone about lifetime experiences of domestic violence

Survey key findings
- Almost 1 in 2 respondents who experienced domestic violence told someone about the incident.
- More female respondents (just over 1 in 2) than male respondents (almost 2 in 5) told someone about their experiences of domestic violence.

Telling someone about experiences of domestic violence in the last 12 months
- More female respondents (57%) than male respondents (50%) told someone about their experience of domestic violence in the last 12 months.

Getting help: Who did you tell?

Survey key findings
- Male and female responses evidence different patterns of getting help.
For male respondents the police and partners were the most common sources of help, for female respondents the police and housing agencies were the most common reported sources of help.

More female respondents than male respondents reported getting help from health care professionals.

**Reasons for not getting help**

**Survey key findings**
- ‘Not interested’ is the most common reason for not getting help.
- Male and female respondents give different reasons for not getting help from different services.
- ‘No injury’ is the most common reason given by men for not getting help whereas ‘wouldn’t do anything’ is the most common reason given by female respondents for not getting help.
- The pattern of reasons given for not getting help from various persons differed between boroughs.

**Reasons for not getting help from the Police**
- The main reason (2 in 5) male respondents would not get help from the police was that the police ‘wouldn’t take it seriously’. Lack of interest by the police was equally as common. ‘Wouldn’t do anything’ was also the most common reason given by female respondents (just over 1 in 5) for not reporting domestic violence to the police.

**Reasons for not getting help from Housing agencies**
- The main reasons given by male respondents (1 in 2) for not getting help from housing agency is ‘no injury’ whereas the main reason given by female respondents is ‘not interested’ (1 in 4).
- The pattern of reasons given for not ‘getting help’ from various persons differed between boroughs.

**Reasons for not getting help from Partners**
- The main reasons given by female respondents (2 in 5) for not getting help from partners is ‘previous bad experiences’ whereas the main reason given by male respondents is ‘no injury’ (1 in 2).
Executive Summary

B) Recommendations

1. Improving services
   1.1 That the findings of this survey be widely disseminated to service providers
   1.2 That the Crime and Disorder partnerships undertake an evaluation of the impact of the findings relating to the nature of homophobic violence and domestic violence on existing service policies, strategies and operations and that necessary changes be made to reflect the findings
   1.3 That the Crime and Disorder partnerships undertake an audit and evaluation of multi-agency networks and their operation in relation to homophobic violence
   1.4 That service policies, strategies and operations relating to LGBT experiences of homophobic and domestic violence give priority to a multi-agency approach
   1.5 That all policies, strategies and operations be sensitive to the impact of gender on service use, expectations and reactions to services
   1.6 That all policies, strategies and operations take account of the prevalence of repeat victimisation and its effects upon LGBT service users
   1.7 That priority be given to improve and develop support services in relation to housing and the workplace, school and college
   1.8 That publicity campaigns to promote awareness of these services to the LGBT community draw attention to multi-agency support facilities.
   1.9 That publicity campaigns be sensitive to geographical and gender differences
   1.10 That user satisfaction mechanisms and audits be introduced in all services and reviewed on a regular basis
   1.11 That a post of community worker be developed to promote links with the LGBT communities to develop awareness about ‘bias motivated violence’ and service provision
   1.12 That the Crime and Disorder partnerships secure the establishment and support for LGBT advisory groups in the two boroughs
   1.13 That priority be given to training

2. Training
   2.1 That an audit and evaluation of current LGBT training initiatives need be undertaken
2.2 Where necessary changes to be made to training to take account of the survey findings relating to the nature of homophobic and domestic violence reported in this study

2.3 That priority be given to services providing support and advice with regard to safety and security in and near the home and workplace, schools and colleges

2.4 That training policies, strategies and operations take account of the impact of gender upon experiences of violence and upon different service use and different service needs

2.5 That targeted training be undertaken with those services identified by a majority of users as failing to satisfy needs

2.6 That training policies, strategies and operations take account of the multi-agency needs of those experiencing and reporting homophobic and same sex domestic violence

3. Transgender

3.1 That transgender focus groups be established to consult on the relevance of the findings of this report for the transgender community

3.2 That a report of the findings arising out of those group events be produced and published

3.3 That further targeted research be undertaken to provide data on transgender experiences of violence and their service needs.

4. Domestic Violence

4.1 That further targeted research be undertaken to provide more detailed data on LGBT experiences of domestic violence and the service needs of those experiencing this form of violence

4.2 That the survey be conducted using the same protocol of questions as used in Part 2 of the current survey

4.3 That a report of the findings of the survey be produced and published

5. Disseminating the findings and further research

5.1 That the findings of this survey be reported to a series of focus groups representing different dimensions of the LGBT community (at least different lesbian and gay male focus groups in the 2 boroughs), and the LGBT borough liaison groups, ) and groups of service providers in both boroughs.

5.2 That the feedback data generated through this process of consultation should be analysed

5.3 That research on the transgender experiences and service needs be given a priority

5.4 That further surveys of LGBT experiences be undertaken on a regular basis to improve the quantity and quality of data

5.5 That future surveys adopt formats that will facilitate comparative analysis between periods of study and between boroughs

5.6 That the Crime and Disorder partnerships lobby the GLA and the Home Office for improved funding for research
5.7 That the Crime and Disorder partnerships lobby for the establishment of a common national survey protocol to facilitate comparative analysis of violence experienced by LGBT people

5.8 That targeted research be undertaken to capture the different experiences of different aspects of the LGBT communities using a variety of methods of data generation

5.9 That further research be undertaken examining reasons for getting help using a variety of methods of data generation

5.10 That future data gathering exercises be designed to capture data from a wide range of agencies
Part 1

Lifetime Experiences of Violence

In Part 1 of the report we begin to address the first and second objectives identified by Galop: to provide an up-to-date picture of the nature and extent of incidence of homophobic and domestic violence and to examine the impact of that violence on the management of safety. The data examined here relates primarily to lifetime experiences of violence. In the section dealing with domestic violence we have also incorporated findings relating to experiences of that violence during the last 12 months. That data has been included in the section on lifetime experiences of domestic violence as only a small number of respondents reported experiences of domestic violence during the last 12 months making it impossible to undertake a more extensive analysis of this area of experience.

1) **Lifetime experiences of homophobic violence, threats or harassment**

Survey key findings

- 69% of respondents had experienced homophobic violence threats or harassment
- 3 in 4 male respondents and 2 in 3 female respondents had experienced homophobic violence threats or harassment
- Threats (34%) and Harassment (40%) are the most common forms of homophobic incidents. 13% of incidents were described as physical violence

Borough key findings

**Bexley**

- 53% respondents had experienced homophobic violence threats or harassment
- Male and female respondents had experienced different levels of homophobic violence. 2 in 3 of male and 2 in 5 female respondents reported experiences of homophobic violence threats or harassment

**Greenwich**

- 73% of respondents from Greenwich had experienced homophobic violence threats or harassment
- Male and female respondents had experienced similar levels of experience of homophobic violence threats or harassment. 3 in 4 male and female respondents had experience of homophobic violence threats or harassment.

Further analysis: Lifetime experiences of homophobic violence, threats or harassment
Respondents were asked to tell us about their experiences of homophobic violence. We first asked, ‘Have you ever experienced homophobic violence threats or harassment?’

69% of all respondents reported experiences of homophobic violence threats or harassment.

This general finding, based upon all 164 responses to the questionnaire, is similar to the results of other national and local community surveys of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) experiences of homophobic violence. The report of Stonewall’s survey of lesbian and gay experiences of homophobic violence, *Queer Bashing: A National Survey of Hate Crimes against Lesbians and Gay Men* (Mason and Palmer 1996) reported that 72% of gay men and 75% of lesbians had experienced homophobic abuse in the last 5 years. *Breaking the Chain of Hate* (Wake, Wilmot, Fairweather and J. Birkett 1999), the National Advisory Group’s national survey of homophobic crime, found that 67% of men and 64% of women reported being a victim of a homophobic incident. Stormbreak’s *Gay Life and Style: New Millenium Survey* (Stormbreak 2003) found that 68% of respondents had experienced verbal abuse.

Local surveys have found similar experiences of violence. A survey of lesbians by the Greater Manchester Lesbian & Gay Policing Initiative (1999), *Lesbians Experiences of Violence and Harassment*, found that 86% of respondents had experienced homophobic incidents. Brighton and Hove’s *Count Me In* (Spectrum 2003) found that nearly 60% of respondents had experienced violence, harassment or abuse.

Some local surveys, such as Birmingham’s, *A Matter of Trust* (Pink Shield Project 2002) reported that 1 in 2 (50%) respondents had experienced homophobic violence or harassment in the last 5 years. The focus on the last 5 years, rather than on the respondents lifetime experience, may be a factor leading to reports of lower levels of violence, threats or harassment. It is a matter we will return to when considering the Bexley and Greenwich data on experiences of violence, threats or harassment in the last 12 months.

How does the Bexley and Greenwich data compare with other studies that focus on experiences of LGBT people who live in London?

Galop’s survey of the experiences of London’s lesbian, gay and bisexual youth *Telling It Like It Is…* (GALOP 1998) found that 83% of respondents had experienced homophobic incidents. The results of this particular survey need to be put in the context of violence against young people. Successive British Crime Surveys (Kershaw et al 2000 and Kershaw et al 2001) have noted that men between the ages of 16 and 24 are the members of society most at risk of violence. Youth (age) may be a particular factor influencing the results of the Galop LGB youth survey. The Bexley and Greenwich data does not focus on the experiences of the young nor do younger people make up the majority of respondents: under 10% of respondents to the Bexley and Greenwich survey were under 24.
The 2003 survey, *Speaking Out! Experiences of Lesbians, Gay Men, Bisexuals and Transgender People in Newham* (Barlow 2003) provides an example of the experiences of LGBT people in another London borough. The Newham survey asked about lifetime experiences of 'homophobic incidents'. 42% of respondents experienced homophobic incidents during that period. The Newham findings appear to be somewhat different from other national and local surveys, reporting lower levels of lifetime experiences of homophobic incidents. It is disappointing to find that the Newham report undertakes no comparison and makes no comment on this apparent difference.

While the findings of the Bexley and Greenwich survey suggests that the lifetime experiences of homophobic violence is higher for respondents than that reported in the Newham survey, Bexley and Greenwich response rates are consistent with experiences reported in other national and local surveys.

**Gender:** Many surveys of lesbian and gay experiences of violence have a gender bias in their data. For example both the Birmingham’s *Pink Shield Project* and Jarman and Tennant’s study of homophobic violence and harassment in Northern Ireland (2003) have 2 male respondents for every female respondent. The Bexley and Greenwich survey has been successful in generating data that has a more balanced gender profile.

Overall, just under half the respondents (41.5%) defined themselves as **female** and over half of the respondents (53.7%) defined themselves as **male**. When analysed by reference to the respondents living in the two boroughs we found that in relation to **Bexley** just under half the respondents were male (43%) and over half of the respondents female (57%). Of respondents from **Greenwich** just under half were female (46%) and over half were male (52%). Thus Bexley and Greenwich findings which indicate gender differences in the levels of experience of violence (be it homophobic or domestic) are based upon a more balanced gender sample than is to be found in most existing surveys.

Our general survey data found that more male respondents (76%) than female respondents (65%) had experienced homophobic violence threats or harassment. How does this compare with other survey findings? Birmingham’s *Pink Shield Project* (Pink Shield 2002) also reported a difference between male (52%) and female (45%) experiences of homophobic violence. Likewise a survey in Northern Ireland found that men experienced more violence (85%) than female respondents (76%) (Jarman and Tennant 2003, 6). The 2003 Newham survey offered a rather different picture: 39% of male respondents and 50% female respondents had experienced a homophobic incident at some point in their lives. Again no explanation is offered for this rather different pattern of experience. As already noted above successive British Crime Surveys (Kershaw et al 2000 and Kershaw et al 2001) have drawn attention to the significance of gender upon experiences of violence: men between the ages of 16 and 24 are members of society most at risk of violence. While the higher rates of violence experienced by men may
be one factor influencing the Bexley and Greenwich data the British Crime Surveys also indicates that it is not the only significant factor influencing experiences of violence. Other factors such as employment, housing and lifestyle also appear to be important (Kershaw et al 2000 and Kershaw et al 2001). These are also factors that might influence LGBT experiences of violence. More detailed and targeted research needs to be done to explore their influence in that context. We now turn our attention to the types of homophobic violence respondents have experienced during their lifetime.

**Types of violence:** Threats (34%) and Harassment (40%) are the most common forms of homophobic violence experienced. 13% experienced physical violence. The following table offers a gender analysis of types of violence experienced.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of violence</th>
<th>Homophobic ever Total</th>
<th>Gender Male</th>
<th>Gender Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threat</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harassment Abuse</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damage to Property</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other sexual violence</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total =</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A preliminary analysis of the data found in this table suggests that male and female respondents experience similar patterns of violence. The following table provides a gendered analysis by reference to the borough of residence.
Table 1.2
Type of violence: Homophobic ever experienced by gender and borough

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Borough</th>
<th>All Homophobic Ever</th>
<th>Bexley</th>
<th>Greenwich</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threat</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harassment Abuse</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damage to Property</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other sexual violence</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total =</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 1.2 the gender experience of homophobic incidents over a lifetime shows some variation. For example, female respondents living in Bexley reported no experiences of physical violence or damage to property in contrast to 15% of female respondents in both Greenwich and the other locations who experienced physical violence.

We would tentatively conclude that, in general, the gendered patterns of lifetime experiences of homophobic violence, threats, and harassment, found in the Bexley and Greenwich survey data, are similar to the results reported in other surveys. For example, the Birmingham’s Pink Shield survey reported that 26% male and 14% female respondents experienced incidents of violence while 43% male and 39% female respondents had experienced harassment (2002, 5). The Newham survey reported 34% gay men and 24% lesbians had been assaulted and 73% had been subject to homophobic taunts and abuse.

Again, no comparison with the findings in other surveys or explanation of the higher levels of experience of violence found in the Newham survey is given in that survey’s final report.

- **Borough residents experiences**

When the data is analysed by reference to those who identify living in the two boroughs, we found some differences in lifetime experiences of homophobic incidents.

**Bexley**

54% of Bexley respondents had experienced some form of homophobic violence harassment or abuse.
Greenwich
73% of respondents from Greenwich had experienced some form of homophobic violence harassment or abuse.

This suggests that respondents living in Greenwich have experienced more homophobic violence than those living in Bexley.

Gender: When the experiences of those living in the two boroughs is analysed by reference to gender (see table 1.2 above) a different pattern of lifetime experiences of violence emerged.

Bexley
No female respondents reported experiences of physical violence in contrast to 15% of male respondents who reported incidents. All incidents reported by female respondents, in contrast to 61% of those reported by men, fall within the categories of ‘threats’ and ‘harassment’. Male respondents in Bexley were the group who reported the highest incidence of acts of damage to property (23%).

Greenwich
A greater percentage of respondents from Greenwich than Bexley report experiences of violence. The pattern of experience reported by Greenwich men and women is similar. This is not the case in Bexley. There the experiences of men and women differ.

In Greenwich, 3 in 4 men and women respondents had experienced homophobic violence at some time in their lives. 16% of male respondents and 15% of female respondents experienced physical violence. Damage to property appeared to be the category of incident with the largest difference in Greenwich; 5% of male respondents and 15% of female respondents experienced damage to property. Females in Greenwich were the only respondents reporting incidents of sexual violence, including rape.

Where there are borough and gender differences many factors may explain these differences. Different individual lifetime experiences may provide one group of influences. Other factors may relate to location. Various studies have suggested that visibility is an important factor influencing experiences of homophobic violence (Mason, 2002; Moran, Skeggs, Tyrer and Corte 2004). The more visible the LGBT community and the more visible individual LGBT people, the more likely they are to experience homophobic violence (Myslick 1996). Higher experiences of violence reported by respondents living in Greenwich may be an indication that respondents from Greenwich are more visible (that lesbian and gay culture is more public) in that borough than in Bexley. Likewise, the lower level of reports of violence by people living in Bexley may indicate that lesbians and gay men in that place have, during their lifetime chosen to be less visible. Any conclusions about the factors that influence lifetime experiences of homophobic violence must be treated with caution. We return to these matters later when analysing the data on the
location of violence experienced in the last 12 months. We now turn to examine the data experiences of domestic violence.
2. **Experiences of domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner**

'Domestic violence' was defined as 'violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner'. We asked questions about both lifetime experiences and experiences in the last 12 months. We asked basic questions about the lifetime experiences as it was our intention to undertake a detailed analysis of experiences reported in the last 12 months. However, few reported experiences of domestic violence in the last 12 months and so we were unable to develop a more detailed analysis. We have therefore combined the data on experiences of domestic violence. This section offers an analysis of all data relating to experiences of domestic violence reported to us.

**Survey key findings**

**Lifetime**
- 29% of respondents had experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner
- More female respondents (43%) than male respondents (20%) had experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner
- Just over 1 in 3 incidents were categorised as harassment
- Just over 1 in 4 incidents were categorised as threats
- Females and males experienced different types of violence
- More female respondents (17%) than male respondents (9%) experienced physical violence

Respondents were asked to tell us about their lifetime experiences of domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner. 29% of all respondents had experienced domestic violence.

When this is analysed by reference to gender a more differentiated picture emerged. 43% of female respondents and 20% of male respondents experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner.

The largest national survey of lesbian and gay experiences of domestic violence, undertaken by SIGMA Research, found that 22% women and 29% men had experienced domestic violence. Birmingham’s *Pink Shield Report* (2002, 9) states that 35% of female and 30% of male respondents said they had experienced domestic violence from a current or past partner. The British Crime Survey 1996 carried out a self-completion survey amongst the general population of lifetime experiences of domestic violence. That survey found that 26% women and 17% men had experience of domestic violence.

While, in general, the Bexley and Greenwich responses suggest a level of experience of domestic violence similar to the SIGMA data when analysed by reference to gender, some differences emerge. In contrast to the SIGMA data in which more men report experiences of domestic violence than women, in the Bexley and Greenwich data over twice as many female respondents
(43%) reported experiences of domestic violence than male respondents (20%). One factor influencing this gender difference may be the importance of ex-opposite sex partner as the perpetrator of domestic violence against female respondents. Our data does suggest that this category of perpetrator is more important in the experience of female respondents than male respondents.

Comparisons with the findings in other surveys, such as the Birmingham findings is made difficult as a different approach to measuring experiences was used. The 2003 Newham survey also uses a different approach to measuring experiences of domestic violence, again making comparisons difficult. In that survey domestic violence by a partner is split from other domestic violence with other perpetrators (a family member, flatmate, co-habitee). 18% of respondents reported experiences of ‘domestic violence from a partner’. 14% reported DV from a family member, flatmate, etc. The different approach to measurement may, in part, explain the difference between the Newham findings and those arising out of this survey. However, it remains the case that respondents to the Bexley and Greenwich ‘Count me in!’ survey reported more experiences of DV.

The following table contains the data relating to the types of violence experienced.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of violence</th>
<th>Domestic violence –ever experienced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threat</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harassment</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abuse</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damage to Property</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other sexual</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.3 suggests that the pattern of experiences of domestic violence may differ for men and women. In the Bexley and Greenwich data 17% of female, in contrast to 9 of male, respondents experienced physical violence in this context. 48% of male, in contrast to 29% of female, respondents reported experiences of harassment. More male respondents (5%) reported incidents of rape than female respondents (3%).
Domestic Violence: Borough experiences key findings

Bexley
- 27% of respondents had experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner
- More males (31%) than females (24%) had experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner
- More male respondents (20%) than females (0%) reported experiences of physical violence

Greenwich
- 27% of respondents had experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner
- More female respondents (42%) reported experiences of domestic violence than males (14%)
- More females (42%) than males (14%) had experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner
- More female respondents (13%) than males (0%) reported experiences of physical violence

Data concerned with experiences of domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner during the lifetime of the respondents in the 2 boroughs suggests that respondents in both experience similar rates of domestic violence: 27%. However when the responses are analysed by reference to gender a more differentiated picture is produced. Table 1.4 provides a breakdown of the male and female experiences of domestic violence organised by reference to borough.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Borough</th>
<th>Domestic violence lifetime experiences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.5 offers an analysis of reports of domestic violence by reference to types of violence and organises the data by reference to gender and borough.
Table 1.5
Domestic violence – ever experienced

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of violence</th>
<th>Domestic violence – ever</th>
<th>Borough Bexley</th>
<th>Borough Greenwich</th>
<th>Borough Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threat</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harassment Abuse</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damage to Property</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other sexual violence</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total =</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Bexley:** Table 1.4 draws attention to the contrast between the experiences of those living in the different boroughs. In Bexley 31% of male respondents in Bexley had experienced domestic violence. This is in contrast to 14% of male respondents in Greenwich.

An analysis of the gendered pattern of experiences of respondents in the borough of Bexley shows some differences between the experiences of male and female respondents. More male respondents (20%) than female respondents report experiences of physical violence. Female experiences are confined to incidents of threats and harassment.

**Greenwich:** 42% of female respondents in Greenwich experienced domestic violence during their lifetime, in contrast to 14% of the male respondents. Females in the borough reported the greatest experience of domestic violence of any group in the 2 boroughs. They were also the only group to report experiences of rape and other sexual violence, which together accounted for 12% of the reported experiences. Threats (31%) and harassment (31%) were the main types of violence experienced by female respondents. 13% also reported experiences of physical violence in this context. No male respondents experienced this type of violence. 2 in 3 males reported that lifetime experiences of domestic experiences took the form of harassment.
Domestic violence in the last 12 months

Survey key findings
- 7% of respondents experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner
- More female respondents (10%) than male respondents (5%) had experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner

Borough key findings
Bexley
- 8% of respondents had experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner
- More male (13%) than female respondents (5%) had experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner

Greenwich
- 3% of respondents had experienced domestic violence from a family member, partner or ex-partner. More female respondents (7%) reported experiences of domestic violence than males (0%)

A small number of respondents indicated that they had experienced domestic violence over the last 12 months. Any analysis of this data needs to be treated with caution. We include it here as all data of LGBT experiences is important. It may also indicate issues that need to be addressed in further research.

8% of respondents from Bexley experienced domestic violence in the last 12 months in contrast to 3% of Greenwich respondents.

When analysed by reference to the borough of residence we found the following:

Bexley: Male respondents in Bexley remain the group who experienced more domestic violence in that period than female respondents. Male respondents from that borough reported incidents of domestic violence committed by their partners (threats and harassment). Female respondents reported incidents of violence committed by partners, (physical violence, rape and other sexual violence), ex-partners of the opposite sex (threats, harassment), a household member (physical violence). This adds more evidence to the suggestion offered above that female respondents appear to experience domestic violence from a wider range of perpetrators.

Greenwich: 7% of female respondents from Greenwich experience domestic violence in contrast to 3% of female respondents from Bexley. Again female respondents in Greenwich who experienced domestic violence in the last 12 months reported incidents committed by a wider range of perpetrators than males: ex-partners of the opposite sex (physical violence, threats and
intimidation, harassment, damage to property and rape), a household member
(physical violence, harassment, damage to property, sexual violence)

43% of male respondents from Greenwich failed to respond to the question.
Part 2
In the Last 12 Months:
Experiences of Homophobic Violence, Threats
and Harassment

1. Introduction
In this section of the report we turn to a more detailed analysis of experiences of homophobic violence, threats and harassment (hereinafter referred to as homophobic violence) during the last 12 months. This more detailed analysis of the experiences of homophobic violence offered here is a major departure from many previous surveys.

The analysis that follows explores the nature of the violence experienced, the relationship between victim and perpetrator, and the location of violence. The detail of the experiences of those who reported is the foundation for a more considered analysis of the needs of those who are experiencing homophobic violence on a day to day basis. It also has a central role to play in the formulation of policies, strategies and operational initiatives that seek to improve service delivery and foster service development in response to violence.

Undertaking this more detailed analysis also provides an opportunity to compare the experiences reported through the Bexley and Greenwich survey with homophobic incidents reported to the police, who to date have been taken to be the first and primary agency with responsibility to respond to violence.

We begin with some reflections on existing surveys of homophobic violence in order to explore what is already ‘known’ about this violence. We then examine the challenges to what is ‘known’ that have been generated by the Understanding and Responding to Hate Crime (URHC) initiative. Together this provides the context and background within which findings generated by an analysis of the Bexley and Greenwich survey need to be considered.

We would suggest that the findings of the Bexley and Greenwich survey, set out below, challenge some of the common assumptions and previous community findings about what we ‘know’ about the nature of homophobic incidents.

What is already ‘known’
Many community based victim surveys have drawn attention to the apparent gap between the number of reports of experiences of homophobic incidents collected in those surveys and the number of incidents reported to the police. For example Stonewall’s *Queer Bashing* (1996) found that only 1 in 5 incidents were reported to the police. Similar findings are reported in other national surveys, such as the National Advisory Group’s (NAG) report *Breaking the Chain of Hate* (Wake, Wilmot, Fairweather and Birkett 1999, 8) and local surveys, such as Birmingham’s Pink Shield survey (Pink Shield
Project 2002). This ‘gap’ refers to the small number of homophobic incidents recorded by the police. The most common interpretation of this particular ‘gap’ is that it reflects a lack of trust and confidence in the police. As such it is a gap that is concerned with ‘getting help’. It is a matter we will return to in Part 3 of the report.

In this section of the report we wish to explore a rather different ‘gap’ which has until recently at best been hidden and at worst unaddressed. This is the gap between the nature and experiences of homophobic incidents reported in community based victim surveys and the nature and experiences of homophobic incidents recorded in police data.

In the past it has been difficult, if not impossible, to compare the details of the incidents reported in these different contexts. One important reason for this has been lack of police data (the focus on police data reflects the fact that the police are one of the few agencies that systematically collect data on experiences of violence). In general this state of affairs is changing as police now ‘flag’ homophobic incidents that are reported to them. In many contexts it still remains difficult.

London is an exception to this. London’s Metropolitan Police has the largest number of homophobic incidents reported to any single police service in the UK. As such it has a relatively large body of data relating to homophobic incidents. In that context, comparisons concerning the nature of homophobic incidents captured in police and community data are now possible.

Another reason such comparisons have been rare is that there has been an assumption, common to both the police and the LGBT communities, that the main type of violence experienced in homophobic incidents is violence committed in public places by strangers. This assumption has been challenged by research focusing on Metropolitan Police reports of homophobic incidents conducted by the Understanding and Responding to Hate Crime (URHC) initiative. For example in contrast to the common assumption that most perpetrators of homophobic violence are strangers, the URHC research found that in the sample of cases studied, 2 in 3 of the incidents reported to the police involved perpetrators who were known by the victim. Another challenge relates to assumptions about the locations of homophobic incidents. The common assumption is that the majority of homophobic incidents reported to the police take place in public places (on the street). In contrast, the URHC analysis found that 2 in 3 of incidents took place in or near the home and workplace.

The URHC findings raise important challenges about what is ‘known’ about the nature of homophobic violence. In turn the new picture of violence that is being represented through the URHC initiative raises important challenges for those services and agencies, such as the police, who seek to support persons experiencing homophobic violence. The URHC findings also bring into question key assumptions that have informed many community surveys and challenges their findings.
Through an analysis of the Bexley and Greenwich survey we seek to explore this challenge and respond to it.

Before we begin the analysis it is important to raise a note of caution in undertaking any comparison between police data and the Bexley and Greenwich survey data. The two sets of data do not cover the same period of time nor do they cover the same respondents or incidents. Furthermore, police data also records the police interpretation of the incident which may not be the same as the interpretation given by those who experience the violence. However, a comparative analysis may help to highlight questions and pinpoint issues that need to be addressed by service providers and considered in more detail in subsequent work.

2. Experiences of homophobic violence, threats and harassment in the last 12 months

Survey Key findings
- 38% of all respondents had experienced homophobic violence, threats or harassment in the last 12 months
- Just under 1 in 2 male respondents and just over 1 in 3 female respondents had experienced homophobic violence, threats or harassment in that time

Bexley
- 32% of all respondents living in that borough had experienced homophobic violence, threats or harassment in the last 12 months
- 44% of male respondents and 24% female respondents had experienced homophobic violence, threats or harassment in that time

Greenwich
- 45% of all respondents living in that borough had experienced homophobic violence, threats or harassment in the last 12 months
- 54% male respondents and 36% female respondents had experienced homophobic violence, threats or harassment in that time

We then asked about experiences of homophobic violence, threats or harassment over the last 12 months; 38% of all respondents reported experiences of violence. Unless otherwise stated the analysis that follows is based upon the number of respondents experiencing violence not the number of incidents. We return to this issue below.

Time is likely to be key factor in the difference between life-time experiences of homophobic violence (69%) and experiences within the last 12 months (38%). Victim surveys have tended not to use 12 months as the accounting period for generating data. This creates some difficulties when undertaking comparisons. However, for reasons set out in the Introduction, we consider that it is important to adopt the 12 month accounting period as the standard for detailed analysis as it has the potential to allow for more detailed comparison with data generated by state and voluntary sector organisations.
One of our recommendations is that Crime and Disorder partnerships work together to standardise survey protocols to facilitate comparison both between different locations and the same location over time.

One point of comparison is the Scottish report, *The Experiences of Violence and Harassment of Gay Men in the City of Edinburgh* (Morrison and Mackay 2000) which found that 26% of all respondents had experienced some form of violence in the last 12 months. The Bexley and Greenwich data suggests a rather higher rate of experiences of homophobic violence in a 12 month period.

The following tables contain data relating to the experiences of homophobic violence analysed by reference to borough (table 2.1) and gender (table 2.2).

**Table 2.1**  
Homophobic incidents in the last 12 months/ Borough

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Borough</th>
<th>Bexley</th>
<th>Greenwich</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2.2**  
Homophobic incidents in the last 12 months/ Borough/ Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Borough</th>
<th>Bexley</th>
<th>Greenwich</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Bexley**: Table 2.1 shows that almost 1 in 3 (32%) Bexley respondents had experienced incidents in the 12 month period. When analysed by way of gender we found some differences in the experiences of violence in that period: 44% of male respondents and 24% of female respondents had experienced homophobic violence in the last 12 months.

**Greenwich**: A larger percentage of respondents living in Greenwich (45%) had experienced homophobic violence in the last 12 months. Again when analysed by way of gender we found some differences in the experiences of violence in that period: male respondents reported more experiences of homophobic violence (54%) in that period than female respondents (36%).
The contrast between boroughs is also of interest. A higher percentage of female respondents living in Greenwich (36%) than female respondents living in Bexley (24%) experienced homophobic violence in the last 12 months.

3. Repeat victimisation

- Over 3 in 4 respondents who had experienced violence reported that they had experienced more than one incidence of violence
- More than 1 in 2 reported that this involved more than 2 instances of violence
- More females (almost 9 in 10) experiencing violence reported multiple incidents than males (just over 7 in 10) experiencing violence

Bexley

- Males experiencing violence reported higher rates of multiple incidents (almost 9 in 10 respondents) than females experiencing violence (3 in 4 respondents)

Greenwich

- Females experiencing violence reported higher rates of multiple incidents (over 9 in 10 respondents) than males experiencing violence (just over 1 in 2 respondents)

In asking respondents to tell us if they had experienced violence over the last 12 months we also wanted to know if respondents had experienced single or multiple incidents. Of those who told us that they had experienced violence in the last 12 months just over 3 in 4 (77%) told us that they had experienced more than one incident. Almost 1 in 4 (24%) had experienced 2 incidents and just over 1 in 2 (53%) had experienced more than 2 incidents in that period. When analysed by reference to gender more female respondents (almost 9 in 10) than male respondents (almost 7 in 10) experienced 2 or more incidents in the last 12 months. The following table analyses the number of incidents respondents experienced in that 12 month period by borough and gender.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.3</th>
<th>How many incidents of homophobic violence, threats and abuse have you experienced in the last 12 months</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Borough/ No of incidents</td>
<td>Bexley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Jarman and Tennant, in their study of homophobic violence and harassment, in Northern Ireland, concluded that, ‘in many cases individuals experience multiple forms of harassment on a recurrent basis.’ (2003, p 45) Galop’s study of lesbian, gay and bisexual youth, *Telling It Like It Is* (1998, p11) reported that 54% of those reporting verbal abuse had experienced multiple instances of abuse. Far from homophobic incidents being isolated experiences, the Bexley and Greenwich data also suggests that the experience of homophobic violence, threats and harassment is more likely to be a recurring experience even within a 12 month period.

4. Types of violence experienced

**Survey key findings**
- 2 in 3 incidents were categorised as ‘Threats’ or ‘Harassment’
- Male and female respondents reported similar patterns of experiences of violence

**Borough findings**
- The data suggests some differences in patterns of violence reported by male and female respondents in Bexley and in Greenwich
- Male respondents in Bexley reported the highest experiences of physical violence and damage to property of any group

How did respondents categorise the violence they experienced in the last 12 months? 2 in 3 of the incidents were categorised as ‘Threats’ (35%) and ‘Harassment’ (37%). 14% of all incidents experienced were described as physical violence. The URHC findings also suggest that threats and harassment make up the largest category of incidents reported.

The following table analyses the types of violence experienced by reference to gender.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of violence</th>
<th>HO – 12 months</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threat</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harassment Abuse</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When analysed by reference to gender the pattern of violence experienced by male and female respondents is similar. One difference indicated in Table 2.4 above relates to experiences of sexual violence: 6% of female respondents in contrast to 1% of male respondents.

A different picture emerges when a gender analysis is undertaken by reference to borough of residence.

Table 2.4 suggests that patterns of violence experienced by men and women may vary with location. Male respondents living in Bexley experienced the largest percentage of incidents of physical violence of any group. No female respondents in Bexley reported incidents of physical violence while 15% of female respondents from Greenwich reported experiences of physical violence. A similar percentage of male (15%) and female respondents (13%) in Greenwich reported experiences of physical violence. While police data captures information about the types of violence reported within a 12 month accounting period comparison between MPS data and the Bexley and Greenwich survey is difficult. For example, while similar categories of violence are used by the police there are differences. In designing the questionnaire the steering group decided that the categories of violence used by the police were too legalistic and technical and that more commonly understood categories had to be used. Different data gathering techniques may avoid these problems in future surveys.
5. Who committed the acts of violence? Did any incidents involve more than one perpetrator?

Survey key findings
- A minority of incidents (just over 1 in 3) involved more than one perpetrator
- 2 in 5 male respondents experienced incidents involving more than 1 perpetrator while just under 1 in 3 female respondents experienced incidents involving more than 1 perpetrator

Bexley
- A minority of respondents (3 in 4) indicated that violence involved more than one perpetrator
- More male respondents (1 in 3) than female respondents (1 in 7) had experienced incidents involving more than one perpetrator

Greenwich
- Just under 1 in 2 respondents said that incidents involved more than one perpetrator
- More male respondents (1 in 2) than female respondents (1 in 3) had experienced incidents involving more than one perpetrator

On examining the responses concerned with experiences of homophobic violence in the last 12 months respondents reported that a majority of those incidents (just over 2 in 3) involved only one perpetrator. An analysis of the MPS data between January and June 2001 undertaken by the URHC project found that a majority (3 in 5) of incidents involved one victim and one perpetrator.

When analysed by reference to gender we found the following:

Table 2.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table indicates that more males (2 in 5) than female respondents (just under 1 in 3), experienced violence involving more than one perpetrator. There is a need for caution here as over 1 in 3 male and female respondents did not respond to the question. This caution also needs to be applied when reading tables 2.6-2.7 below.
When analysed by reference to the two boroughs we found the following:

Table 2.6
Did any of these incidents involve more than 1 perpetrator?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Borough</th>
<th>Bexley</th>
<th>Greenwich</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Respondents living in Greenwich reported a higher incidence of experiences of violence which involved more than one perpetrator than respondents in Bexley.

When that experience is analysed further, by reference to gender, we find the following:

Table 2.7
Did any of these incidents involve more than 1 perpetrator?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Borough</th>
<th>Bexley</th>
<th>Greenwich</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In both boroughs the experiences of male and female respondents differ with more males reporting incidents involving more than one perpetrator in both boroughs.

How do these findings compare with those found in other reports? The Edinburgh survey of gay men concluded that, ‘On average there were 3 perpetrators involved in a violent incident…although in some cases up to nine people were involved.’ (Morrison and Mackay 2000, 36) Birmingham’s Pink Shield survey reported that just under 1 in 4 people experienced attacks by one person (2002, 5). The Newham survey contains no data about the number of perpetrators involved in homophobic incidents. In general the Bexley and Greenwich data suggests findings similar to the experiences recorded in official police data as analysed under the URHC initiative. In general they also suggest that there is a lower incidence of acts of violence by multiple perpetrators than has been found in other surveys. However, when examined by way of gender males are more likely to experience incidents of violence in which multiple perpetrators are involved.

6. Victim, perpetrator relationship

Survey key findings

- 2 out of 3 cases respondents reported that they knew the perpetrators of the violence
- Neighbours and colleagues at work, school or college were the most common perpetrators

**Bexley**
- In 2 in 3 cases respondents who had experienced violence reported that they knew the perpetrators
- In 1 in 4 cases of violence respondents identified the perpetrators as neighbours or colleagues at work, school or college
- In 1 in 3 cases of violence respondents identified the perpetrators as partners ex-partners, family and household members

**Greenwich**
- In 2 in 3 cases respondents who had experienced violence reported that they knew the perpetrators
- In 1 in 3 cases of violence respondents identified the perpetrators as neighbours or colleagues at work, school or college
- In 1 in 5 cases of violence respondents identified the perpetrators as partners ex-partners, family and household members

A feature common to many victim surveys has been the conclusion that a majority of incidents of homophobic violence take the form of a random attack by a stranger upon a stranger. For example the Scottish Executive study of gay men in Edinburgh reported that in 61% of incidents of violence in which the perpetrator was, 'someone never seen before' by the victim (Morrison and Mackay 2000, 38). The Birmingham study reported that ‘around two-thirds of those attacked (68% of men and 83% of women)’ were attacked by ‘strangers’ (Pink Shield 2002, 5). Some surveys such as the NAG report (Wake, Wilmot, Fairweather and Birkett 1999) did not ask questions about the relationship between perpetrator and victim. Likewise, some local surveys, such as the Newham survey, failed to ask questions about the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator.

When examining the MPS records of homophobic incidents the URHC team (URHC Homophobic violence factsheet, see also Stanko 2001) found that in over 60% of police reports of homophobic incidents no relationship between victim and perpetrator was recorded. Upon undertaking a detailed qualitative analysis of incidents reported in January a rather different picture emerged from the police data. Almost 40% of perpetrators were known to the victims being neighbours, partner, ex-partners and family, business associates and others. A further 28% were locals and local youths. Strangers accounted for only 15% of perpetrators. In a study of allegations of racial and homophobic harassment recorded by the MPS between January and June 2001, Gail Mason (Mason 2003 unpublished) found that in over 80% of the reported homophobic incidents, the perpetrator was a neighbour.

An important feature of both the URHC findings and Mason’s work on homophobic incidents is that it challenges the common presumption that hate crime in general, and homophobic crime in particular, takes the form of random attacks by a stranger upon a stranger. As Mason points out, ‘The assertion that it is random is dependant upon the assumption that the conduct
is committed by someone who is not known to the victim...’ (Mason 2003, 24). Developing a more complex set of categories of perpetrator/victim relations enabled the UHRC project to challenge this presumption, providing valuable new insights into experiences of homophobic violence.

In designing the Bexley and Greenwich survey we followed the lead taken by the URHC project and used a more nuanced approach to perpetrator/victim relationships. We used the following categories: partner, ex-partner (same sex), ex-partner (opposite sex), household member, other relative, someone known only by sight, someone you know at work/college/school, neighbour and stranger.

We found that 2 out of 3 respondents who had experienced homophobic violence in the last 12 months, reported that they knew the perpetrators. This group includes partners and ex-partners, family and household members, neighbours, and colleagues at work, school and college. When partners and ex-partners were taken out of the data, over 50% of perpetrators still fell in the categories of persons known to the victim.

Further analysis of the data from respondents living in the 2 boroughs offers additional insights.

**Bexley:** In 1 in 3 cases of violence respondents identified the perpetrators as partners, ex-partners, family and household members. In 1 in 4 cases of violence respondents identified the perpetrators as neighbours (11%) or colleagues at work, school or college (15%)

**Greenwich:** In 1 in 5 cases of violence respondents identified the perpetrators as partners, ex-partners, family and household members. In 1 in 3 cases of violence respondents identified the perpetrators as neighbours (18%) or colleagues at work, school or college (14%).

In both boroughs respondents identified the perpetrators as ‘strangers’ in 1 in 3 cases.

The term ‘stranger’ needs to be treated with some further caution. In community victim surveys, at best, it records the victim’s knowledge of the perpetrator. As Mason notes (unpublished) this may not coincide with the perpetrators ‘knowledge’ of the victim. This suggests that the number of incidents involving perpetrators and victims who are unknown to each other may be still smaller. Furthermore the perpetrator’s ‘knowledge’ need not be a correct judgement about the victim’s sexual orientation. Actual knowledge of the victim’s sexuality is not a necessary feature of this judgement, the perpetrators perception is sufficient. In the context of homophobic violence the perpetrator’s ‘knowledge’ of the victim appears to be of key significance. While this ‘knowledge’ may be generated by way of the victim being in or near a lesbian or gay venue, or at a known cruising ground, the workplace and the local neighbourhood provide other important contexts in which the perpetrator’s ‘knowledge’ of a victim’s sexuality may be created. The findings of the Bexley and Greenwich survey suggest that those living in and near the
home, in the local neighbourhood and colleagues in the workplace are more significant perpetrators than previously imagined.

Before leaving the question of the relationship between victim and perpetrator, how does the Bexley and Greenwich survey data compare with the MPS data relating to homophobic incidents reported to the police in the 2 boroughs?

The following table is of the MPS data for the 2 boroughs for 2002.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Borough How known to victim</th>
<th>Bexley</th>
<th>Greenwich</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Partner/ex</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household member</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other relative</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known by sight</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known at work</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbour</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard to both boroughs, when the relationship is recorded in the large majority of cases the perpetrator appears to be known to the victim. A second important feature of the police data is the significant amount of missing information on victim perpetrator relationships. The URHC’s analysis of police records in the first 6 months of 2001 suggested that the police failed to accurately record details of the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator. The data for 2002 in table 2.8 above suggests that there is still room for improvement.

Intimately connected to the perpetrator/victim relationship is the question of the location of the incidents of violence. It is to that question that we now turn.

7. Where did the incidents take place?

Survey key findings
- 2 in 3 respondents had experienced violence in or near the home

Bexley
- Male and female respondents report similar patterns of the locations in which violence takes place
- 2 in 3 respondents had experienced violence in or near the home
- 1 in 4 experienced violence in the workplace, school or college
- 1 in 20 respondents had experienced violence in or near a LGBT venue

Greenwich
90% of female respondents experiencing violence reported that the incident took place in or near the home
2 in 3 male respondents experiencing violence reported that the incident took place in or near the home
8% of respondents experiencing violence reported that the incident took place in or near a LGBT venue
1 in 5 of male respondents experiencing violence reported that the incident took place in or near a LGBT venue

Over two thirds of experiences of homophobic violence reported by respondents took place in or near the home. Less than 1 in 10 respondents reported incidents taking place in or near LGBT venues, though in responses from those living in Greenwich 25% of male responses reported incidents taking place in or near such venues. Male respondents from Bexley reported no incidents in or near LGBT venues.

9 out of 10 female respondents in Greenwich who had experienced violence reported that the incidents occurred in or near the home.

Respondents from Bexley reported that 1 in 5 incidents had occurred in or near the workplace, school or college. Respondents from Greenwich reported a lower incidence of violence in or near the workplace, school or college.

8. Conclusions

The Bexley and Greenwich data and the analysis of homophobic incidents in the last 12 months, offered above, challenge common assumptions and previous community findings about the nature of the experience of homophobic violence threats and harassment, offering a rather different picture of the nature of homophobic violence being experienced by those who responded to the survey. Firstly, homophobic violence tends not to be an isolated incident but is experienced as a more regular occurrence. Secondly, contrary to many earlier studies, the homophobic incidents are not predominantly acts of violence performed by strangers (people unknown to the victim) occurring in public places (that is away from the home). The homophobic violence experienced by the respondents to the survey is more likely to be done by people who are known to the victim, being neighbours, colleagues or family members. It is also more likely to take place in or near the home, the workplace, school or college. These locations provide a series of contexts in which perpetrators get to ‘know’ those against whom they commit acts of violence. It is perhaps in these locations where it is most difficult for victims to avoid the perpetrators and thereby manage the violence, threats and harassment. All of these factors have a significance in relation to the nature of the violence experienced. The main form of violence, threats and harassment is often defined as ‘low level’ violence. However, the phrase ‘low level’ does not, we would suggest, capture the heightened impact upon the victim which may be generated by the interpersonal and geographical context of these incidents. Nor does it reflect the impact of multiple experiences of such incidents upon victims. The Bexley and Greenwich data suggests that
these are all key features of the everyday experience of homophobic incidents.

This different picture of the nature of the experience of homophobic violence raises some important challenges for service providers who work with the model of stranger danger (violence by strangers in public places) as the main pattern of homophobic hate crime. The data and analysis offered above suggests that this model needs to be changed if not abandoned.

Finally, the data and analysis set out above suggests that the ‘gap’ between what may be contained in police data and that generated by the community to capture experiences of victims of homophobic violence reported in this community-based survey may be narrower than has been previously thought. Such a conclusion gives further weight not only to the findings of the URHC initiative but also demands that common assumptions and previous findings of community surveys be more rigorously questioned and challenged.
Part 3

‘Getting help’

In the third and final section of the report we turn to the issue of ‘getting help’. Here we address four of the main objectives identified by Galop:

- to consider the impact of violence on the management of safety
- to identify service use
- to explore perceptions of the nature and form of services and experiences of service use
- to identify factors associated with public confidence in those who provide help.

The analysis explores ‘getting help’ in two contexts, homophobic violence and domestic violence. In general we examine ‘getting help’ in the context of lifetime experiences. Experiences in the last 12 months will be indicated when used in the analysis.

A) ‘Getting help’: homophobic violence

1. Telling someone about homophobic violence over your lifetime

Survey key findings

- 2 in 5 respondents who experienced homophobic violence told someone about the incident
- More male respondents (almost 1 in 2) than female respondents (almost 2 in 5) told someone about their experiences of homophobic violence

Borough key findings

- The percentage of respondents experiencing violence who told someone when analysed by borough is similar to the percentage found in an analysis of all respondents

2. Telling someone about violence in the last 12 months

- 2 in 3 respondents who experienced homophobic violence in the last 12 months told someone about the incident

When asked about ‘getting help’, 2 in 5 (43%) respondents who had experienced homophobic violence at some time in their life responded that they had told someone about the incidents. When we analysed by reference to gender we found that more men (48%) than women (39%) had told someone. (See table 3.1 below.)
Homophobic violence in the last 12 months: In the context of experiences of homophobic violence over the last 12 months a slightly different picture emerged. 2 in 3 (65%) reported that they had told someone about the incident. In this context responses showed no difference between female and male respondents.

How do we make sense of the differences in respondents telling someone in the various contexts of experiences of homophobic violence during a lifetime and the last 12 months? Several factors may be at work here. These may include individual factors, such as the age and confidence of the individuals (incidents that occur before a person ‘comes out’ may be more difficult to report). The social context of the incident (living with a partner, law reforms, police campaigns etc) and the particular nature of the violence (its severity, duration, location) may all have an impact on an individual’s willingness, or otherwise, to tell someone about the incident. More research needs to be done to explore and evaluate the importance of these various factors in a LGBT context upon ‘getting help’.

The difference in the number of ‘not stated’ responses in ‘lifetime’ and ‘last 12 months’ responses could be important here. One interpretation could be that it is more difficult to answer the question in relation to lifetime experiences than in relation to the last 12 months. However, this conclusion can be little more than speculation.

Gender: Table 3.1 (below) provides a gender breakdown of practices of ‘getting help’ in relation to homophobic violence (both lifetime and in the last 12 months).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Experience Did you tell</th>
<th>HO Ever</th>
<th>HO Ever</th>
<th>HO Last 12 mths</th>
<th>HO Last 12 mths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>All M F</td>
<td>All M F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>43% 48% 39%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>27% 27% 25%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>30% 25% 36%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In relation to lifetime experiences of homophobic violence a larger percentage of the male than female respondents reported that they told someone about homophobic incidents. This difference does not appear in relation to ‘getting help’ in the context of incidents occurring over the last 12 months.

Table 3.2 offers a borough analysis of ‘getting help’.
Table 3.2
Of those who had experienced homophobic (HO) violence, did you tell anyone?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Experience</th>
<th>Did you tell</th>
<th>HO Ever</th>
<th>HO Ever</th>
<th>HO last 12 months</th>
<th>HO last 12 months</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borough</td>
<td></td>
<td>All</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td></td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In relation to those who responded to the question ‘did you tell anyone?’ there seems to be some consistency between the boroughs and in the contrast between ‘getting help’ data relating to all respondents and at borough level.

3. ‘Getting help’: Who did you tell?

- Male and female responses evidence different patterns of ‘getting help’
- More male respondents than female respondents reported ‘getting help’ from the police
- More female respondents than male respondents reported ‘getting help’ from health care professionals
- More female respondents than male respondents reported ‘getting help’ from housing authorities

Borough key findings
Bexley
- 1 in 3 respondents who told someone informed the police and just over 1 in 4 told a partner
- Less than 1 in 10 told housing organisations

Greenwich
- 1 in 5 respondents who told someone informed housing respondents
- Just less than 1 in 5 respondents who told someone informed the police a similar number told a partner

The starting point in this survey was that those who experience violence may turn to several agencies. This contrasts with many community-based victim surveys which have focused the questions and analysis only on the police. The multi-agency approach offers a much richer analysis of service use and service needs.
A second preliminary point is concerned with interpreting the data on ‘getting help’. There is a need for caution: while the data can offer an insight into the patterns of telling someone about an incident in relation to several different providers of support, it does not tell us if the respondent identified the incident as homophobic. With these points in mind we offer the following analysis of the data.

Of those respondents who told someone about their experiences of homophobic violence we asked them; ‘who did you tell?’ Table 3.3 offers a summary of our findings in relation to all homophobic incidents experienced in a respondent’s lifetime, and those experienced in the last 12 months. It also offers an analysis by reference to gender. The questionnaire allowed for multiple response.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of violence</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>HO Ever</th>
<th>HO 12mths</th>
<th>HO Ever</th>
<th>HO 12mths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGBT</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Advice</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work etc</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Gender:** Gender appears to be a factor influencing ‘getting help’. The data represented in table 3.3 (above) suggests that for men, partners and the police are particularly important sources of support/help. A larger percentage of male respondents (almost 3 in 10) than female respondents (just over 1 in 10) told the police.

How does the gendered pattern of telling the police compare with what is already known about reports to the police? The URHC project analysing homophobic incidents reported to the police found that in the first 6 months of 2001 there were 7 male reports for every female report. MPS data for the full year 2001 and for 2002 records that 16% of all homophobic incidents were reported by females. MPS data on the gender balance of incidents reported to police in the 2 boroughs within the same period is somewhat different (see table 3.4 below).
### Table 3.4
MPS data: Gender of those reporting homophobic incidents, 2001, 2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Incidents</td>
<td>1554</td>
<td>1385</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Clearly there are difficulties in comparing the Bexley and Greenwich survey data with the police data as the two bodies of data are different in relation to the periods of time covered and the persons reporting. However, the Bexley and Greenwich data does offer some evidence in support of the conclusion that men and women report differently to the police.

Males and females may turn to different people to get help.

The following table provides a summary of ‘getting help’ data organised by reference to borough of residence.

### Table 3.5
Homophobic incidents ever/ Yes/ Who did you tell/ Borough

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Bexley</th>
<th>Greenwich</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGBT</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Advice</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work etc</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table indicates that there is some variation in practices of ‘getting help’ between the 2 boroughs.

**Bexley:** The pattern in Bexley is similar to that found in data relating to all responses; the police and partners are the 2 major sources of help. In Bexley 1 in 3 respondents who told someone informed the police and just over 1 in 4 told a partner. Almost 1 in 4 who had experienced homophobic violence told health care providers about the incident.

**Greenwich:** In Greenwich housing agencies appear to be more important. 1 in 4 respondents indicated they told housing providers about the incident. One factor that might explain the relative importance of housing in the Greenwich responses is to be found in the demographic data. 60% of respondents living in Greenwich lived in rented accommodation (22% in council accommodation) while in Bexley 19% lived in rented accommodation. No Bexley respondents lived in council accommodation.
When analysed by reference to different types of violence there is some evidence that the nature of the violence may influence the person or institution turned to for help. For example those who experienced rape contacted health care, the police and LGBT advice. In Greenwich, respondents experiencing damage to property were more likely to report it to a housing agency; they were more likely to report physical violence to the police. In Bexley damage to property was more likely to be reported to the police or to partners than to others. We have already suggested that the absence of respondents in Bexley with social landlords may be a factor informing the decisions to get help.

Table 3.6 (below) contains ‘getting help’ data in the context of lifetime experiences of homophobic violence organised by reference to gender and the two boroughs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>HO Ever</th>
<th>HO Ever</th>
<th>HO Ever</th>
<th>HO Ever</th>
<th>HO Ever</th>
<th>HO Ever</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ever</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Ever</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bexley</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Greenwich</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGBT</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Advice</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work etc</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table suggests that ‘getting help’ may vary depending upon the gender and the location of the individual. For example female respondents in Bexley turned to housing providers more than male respondents in Bexley. While patterns of ‘getting help’ reported by male respondents in the two boroughs indicate the particular importance of ‘partners’ and ‘the police’, male respondents from Bexley appear to rely more upon these specific providers of help than male respondents in Greenwich.

4. Satisfaction with the service

Survey key findings
- 4 in 5 of respondents who turned to housing providers for help reported they were dissatisfied with the service provided and a majority of those dissatisfied were ‘very dissatisfied’
- 7 out of 10 of respondents who turned to seeking help from the workplace were dissatisfied with the service
- 3 in 4 of respondents who turned to partners for help were satisfied with the response
- 1 in 2 of those seeking help from the police were satisfied with the service
Table 3.7 (below) provides a summary of findings relating to experiences of satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Turning to different people for help in response to homophobic violence, the data suggests, produced different experiences of satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Respondents reported that levels of satisfaction were greatest when telling partners. Furthermore most of those who expressed satisfaction were ‘very satisfied’. Just over 1 in 2 of those (57%) who sought the help of the police were satisfied.

The two providers of help who had the poorest satisfaction ratings were housing, with 4 in 5 (82%) respondents expressing dissatisfaction with the help received, and a majority of those reporting being ‘very dissatisfied’. The second source of ‘getting help’ which received a poor satisfaction rating was help in the workplace. A majority (69%) of those who had turned to people in the workplace, school and college for help said they were ‘dissatisfied’ with the help provided.

The high levels of dissatisfaction, in relation to both these contexts and service providers, is particularly problematic. As noted above, the home and workplace are key locations of violence. Furthermore, new laws making it illegal to discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation in the workplace might suggest that there will be an increasing demand for advice and support in the workplace. We would recommend that some priority be given to improving services in these specific contexts.

We turn now (see table 3.7 below) to an analysis of satisfaction and dissatisfaction in relation to services in the two boroughs.

Table 3.7
Homophobic violence: Were you satisfied with the help they gave?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Bexley</th>
<th>Greenwich</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sat</td>
<td>Dis</td>
<td>Sat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGBT</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other agency</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work, school college</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Borough key findings

Health care
Bexley
- 2 in 3 of those who contacted health services reported that they were dissatisfied with the service

Greenwich
- A majority (60%) of those who contacted health services reported that they were satisfied with the service

The Police
Bexley
- Almost 2 in 3 of those who contacted the police reported that they were satisfied with the service

Greenwich
- Just over 2 in 5 of those who contacted the police reported that they were satisfied with the service

Housing
Bexley
- 100% respondents from Bexley who contacted housing services reported that they were dissatisfied with the service

Greenwich
- 4 in 5 of those in Greenwich who contacted housing services reported that they were dissatisfied with the service

Workplace
Bexley
- 1 in 2 of those who contacted someone at work, school college reported that they were dissatisfied with the service

Greenwich
- 2 in 3 of those who contacted someone at work, school college reported that they were dissatisfied with the service

When analysing the experiences of those respondents who identified themselves as living in the two boroughs we found some difference in their satisfaction levels with the various persons they had turned to for help. Table 3.7 above provides a summary of the findings.

In both boroughs respondents report low satisfaction when turning to housing organisations. In Bexley those respondents who turned to health care providers for help also report low levels of satisfaction. This is not a feature of responses from those living in Greenwich.
Respondents from Greenwich turning to the police report lower levels of satisfaction than are reported by respondents from Bexley turning to the police in that borough. Respondents from both boroughs report high levels of dissatisfaction with the help provided by LGBT organisations. This is a different picture from that produced through an analysis of all respondents. Respondents based outside the two boroughs appear to have had more positive experiences of LGBT organisation than those living in the two boroughs.

There is a need for some caution when interpreting satisfaction data. Experiences of satisfaction/dissatisfaction in different context and in relation to different institutions may be influenced and informed by different expectations. High expectations that are difficult to achieve may be reflected in low satisfaction levels whereas high levels of satisfaction may in certain instances reflect low expectations. More research needs to be done to map the relationship between expectations and levels of dissatisfaction and satisfaction in this context.

5. Reasons for not ‘getting help’

Survey key findings

- 1 in 3 respondents specified ‘no injury or damage’ as a reason for not ‘getting help’
- Male and female respondents give different reasons for not ‘getting help’ in relation to different services
- ‘No injury’ is the most common reason given by male respondents in relation to all services

Police
- ‘The police wouldn’t do anything’ (26%) and ‘not interested’ (28%) are the main reasons given by female respondents for not ‘getting help’ from the police in contrast to male respondents for whom ‘no injury is the main reason given (44%) The most common reason (just over 1 in 4) for not using the police was ‘no injury’
- ‘No injury’ was more commonly given by male respondents (over 2 in 5) than female respondents (just over 1 in 10) for not telling the police
- ‘Previous bad experiences’ accounted for under 1 in 10 responses
- ‘Afraid of further abuse’ (1 in 4) and ‘previous bad experiences’ (1 in 10) were more commonly given by Bexley respondents than Greenwich respondents (less than 1 in 10 and 1 in 20 respectively) as reasons for not telling the police

Housing
- 53% of male respondents specify that ‘no injury’ is the reason for not ‘getting help’ from housing whereas ‘wouldn’t do anything’ (20%), ‘not interested’ (20%) and ‘no injury’ (20%) were the main reasons given by female respondents.

Workplace
‘No injury’ is the main reason given by male respondents (24%) for not telling people in the workplace. ‘No interest’ is the main reason given by female respondents (36%). The workplace was the context in which the largest percentage of respondents in any context identified ‘previous bad experiences’ as a reason for not telling someone.

Borough key findings

Bexley
- 1 in 3 reasons specified for not ‘getting help’ were categorised as ‘no injury or damage’
- 1 in 3 reasons specified for not ‘getting help’ were categorised as ‘private matter’

Police
- In Bexley ‘fear of abuse’ accounted for 1 in 5 of the reasons given for not ‘getting help’ from the police, whereas in Greenwich this reason accounted for less than 1 in 10 reasons for not contacting that organisation.
- Fear of further abuse (just over 1 in 5) and ‘no interest’ (just over 1 in 5) were identified as the most important reasons for not ‘getting help’ from the police in Bexley.

Housing
- ‘Wouldn’t do anything’ accounted for 50% of the reasons given for not ‘getting help’ from housing

Greenwich
- Just under 1 in 3 reasons specified for not ‘getting help’ were categorised as ‘no injury or damage’
- Less than 1 in 10 reasons specified for not ‘getting help’ were categorised as ‘private matter’

Police
- Just over 50% of reasons specified for not ‘getting help’ from the police fell within the categories ‘lack of interest’ and ‘lack of an effective response’

Housing
- Almost 1 in 3 reasons specified for not ‘getting help’ from housing organisations were categorised as ‘not interested’.

In relation to experiences of homophobic violence, common to respondents from both boroughs is the impact of the perceived lack of injury upon the decision not to seek help. It accounts for almost 1 in 3 of all reasons given for not ‘getting help’.

**Gender**: Some differences appear when responses are analysed by reference to gender. ‘No injury’ accounts for almost 1 in 2 of reasons given by
men for not telling anyone. While it remains the most popular reason given by women it accounts for 1 in 5 reasons. ‘Wouldn’t do anything’ and ‘not interested’ are more common reasons given by women for not contacting anyone (both just over 1 in 5) than for men (both 3 in 20).

When a gender analysis is undertaken in the context of the different service providers there is some evidence of different reasons being given by men and women for not contacting different services. We briefly focus on three service providers: the police, housing and workplace.

Police: ‘no injury’ accounted for over 2 in 5 reasons given by male respondents and just over 1 in 10 reasons given by female respondents for not contacting the police. ‘Not interested accounted for over 1 in 4 reasons given by female respondents in contrast to just over 1 in 10 male respondents.

Housing: ‘no injury’ accounted for just over 1 in 2 reasons given by male respondents for not contacting housing organisations in contrast to 1 in 4 of reasons given by female respondents.

Workplace: ‘not interested’ accounted for just over 1 in 3 reasons given by female respondents in contrast to just under 1 in 4 male respondents for not contacting the workplace.

An analysis by reference to borough location also suggests some differences. ‘Privacy’ accounts for almost 1 in 3 reasons given for not ‘getting help’ in Bexley, in contrast to Greenwich where it accounts for less than 1 in 10 reasons for not contacting anyone. In both boroughs ‘no injury’ accounts for almost 1 in 3 reasons for not ‘getting help’.

Finally, we offer a brief analysis of reasons for not getting in touch with regard to the three service providers in the two boroughs: the police, housing and workplace.

**Bexley**

Police: ‘Fear of further abuse’ and ‘not interested’ (both just over 1 in 5) are the main reasons given for not ‘getting help’ from the police.

Housing: 1 in 2 reasons given for not ‘getting help’ from housing organisations are categorised as ‘wouldn’t do anything’.

Workplace: ‘Privacy’ accounts for over 1 in 3 reasons given for not contacting someone in the workplace

**Greenwich**

Police: ‘Wouldn’t do anything’ accounts for almost 1 in 3 reasons given for not contacting the police. ‘No injury’ also accounts for almost 1 in 3 reasons.

Housing: ‘Wouldn’t do anything’ and ‘not interested’ account for over 1 in 2 reasons given for not contacting housing.
Workplace: ‘Not interested’ accounts for almost 1 in 3 reasons given for not contacting someone in the workplace.
B) ‘Getting help’: domestic violence

1. Telling someone about domestic violence over your lifetime

Survey key findings

- Almost 1 in 2 respondents who experienced domestic violence told someone about the incident
- More female respondents (just over 1 in 2) than male respondents (almost 2 in 5) told someone about their experiences of domestic violence

2. Telling someone about domestic violence in the last 12 months

- More female respondents (57%) than male respondents (50%) told someone about their experience of domestic violence in the last 12 months

Table 3.9 below provides data on ‘getting help’ in the context of lifetime experiences of domestic violence. Patterns of ‘getting help’ are similar to those found in relation to homophobic violence. Almost 1 in 2 (47%) of those who had experiences of domestic violence told someone about the incidents.

In relation to experiences of domestic violence over the last 12 months again more female respondents (57%) than male respondents (50%) told someone about the incident.

Gender: Table 3.9 (below) also provides a gender breakdown of ‘getting help’ in relation to lifetime experiences of domestic violence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Experience Did you tell</th>
<th>DV Ever Yes</th>
<th>DV Ever Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A larger percentage of female respondents (52%) than male respondents (39%) tell someone in response to domestic violence. This differs from the context of incidents of homophobic violence where, as noted above, a larger percentage of male than female respondents tell someone in relation to homophobic incidents.

Table 3.10 offers an analysis of ‘getting help’ in the context of domestic violence by reference to the boroughs of residence: Bexley (B) and Greenwich (G).

Table 3.10
Of those who had experienced domestic violence, did you tell anyone?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Experience Did you tell</th>
<th>DV Ever Yes All</th>
<th>DV Ever Yes B</th>
<th>DV Ever Yes G</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Borough</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A smaller proportion of Greenwich respondents (2 in 5) told someone about their experiences of domestic violence than respondents from Bexley (1 in 2). The number of ‘not stated’ found in responses from those resident in Greenwich may be a factor here.

3. Who did you tell?

- Male and female responses evidence different patterns of getting help
- For male respondents the police and partners were the most common sources of help, for female respondents the police and housing agencies were the most common reported sources of help
- More female respondents than male respondents reported getting help from health care professionals
Table 3.11
Who did you tell?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of violence</th>
<th>DV Ever Yes</th>
<th>DV Ever Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGBT</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Advice</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work etc</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The largest proportion of both male and female respondents identified the police as an agency concerned with domestic violence. 27% of male respondents and 22% female respondents reported that they told the police about incidents of domestic violence. The Pink Shield Project findings on reporting behaviour in relation to same sex domestic violence in Birmingham found that 17% of men and 9% of women had reported the incident to the police. The Bexley and Greenwich responses suggest a slightly higher proportion of respondents reporting than was found in the Birmingham report. One factor may be differing definitions of ‘same sex domestic violence’ being used in the different surveys.

Female respondents who experienced domestic violence reported the lowest percentage of any group telling partners about the violence. One factor here might be the importance of partners as perpetrators of domestic violence.

A larger percentage of female respondents told health care providers about incidents of domestic violence than male respondents. No male respondents reported that they had told health care providers about such incidents whereas almost 1 in 5 female respondents turned to health care providers in this context. More female respondents told housing organisations than male respondents. Female respondents also reported greater use of LGBT agencies than male respondents.

Table 3.12 is a summary of responses from those who reported experiences of domestic violence analysed by reference to gender and borough of residence.
Male responses to domestic violence show a different pattern of response: a larger percentage of men in both boroughs tell a partner about the incident whereas the percentage of women who tell partners about incidents of domestic violence is small. There also appear to be differences between the experiences of ‘getting help’ of women in the two boroughs and men in the two boroughs. Almost 2 in 3 women in Bexley who had experienced domestic violence told health care providers in contrast to less than 1 in 10 in Greenwich. Almost 1 in 3 women in Greenwich who had experienced domestic violence told housing providers, while no female respondents in Bexley reported telling housing providers.

### 4. Reasons for not ‘getting help’

**Survey key findings**

- ‘Not interested’ is the most common reason for not getting help
- Male and female respondents give different reasons for not ‘getting help’ from different services
- ‘No injury’ is the most common reason given by men for not getting help whereas ‘wouldn’t do anything’ is the most common reason given by female respondents
- The pattern of reasons given for not getting help varies between genders and between boroughs

#### Police

- The main reason (2 in 5) male respondents would not get help from the police in relation to incidents of domestic violence were identified as the police ‘wouldn’t take it seriously’ and the police were ‘not interested' whereas just over 1 in 4 women referred to ‘wouldn’t do anything' and just under 1 in 4 ‘not interested

#### Housing

- The main reasons given by male respondents (1 in 2) for not ‘getting help’ from housing organisations is ‘no injury’ in contrast the main

---

**Table 3.12**

Domestic Violence ever/ Yes/
Who did you tell?/ Borough and Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of violence</th>
<th>Borough</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>DV Ever Yes Male</th>
<th>DV Ever Yes Bexley Male</th>
<th>DV Ever Yes Greenwich Male</th>
<th>DV Ever Yes Female</th>
<th>DV Ever Yes Bexley Female</th>
<th>DV Ever Yes Greenwich Female</th>
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<td>Health</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>60%</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>14%</td>
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<td>22%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>28%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>14%</td>
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<td>20%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work etc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Health           | 0%       |        | 0%               | 0%                      | 0%                        | 18%               | 60%                      | 9%                          |
| Police           | 27%      |        | 14%              | 0%                      | 0%                        | 22%               | 27%                      | 28%                         |
| Housing          | 12%      |        | 14%              | 0%                      | 0%                        | 20%               | 0%                       | 30%                         |
| LGBT             | 8%       |        | 0%               | 0%                      | 0%                        | 13%               | 0%                       | 7%                          |
| Other Advice     | 12%      |        | 0%               | 0%                      | 0%                        | 7%                | 0%                       | 14%                         |
| Work etc         | 15%      |        | 29%              | 0%                      | 0%                        | 6%                | 7%                       | 2%                          |
| Partner          | 23%      |        | 43%              | 100%                    | 0%                        | 13%               | 7%                       | 9%                          |
| Other            | 4%       |        | 0%               | 0%                      | 0%                        | 1%                | 0%                       | 0%                          |
reason given by female respondents is that the housing organisations are ‘not interested’ (1 in 4)

The pattern of reasons given for not ‘getting help’ from various persons differed between boroughs

Partners

- The main reasons given by female respondents (2 in 5) for not getting help from partners is ‘previous bad experiences’ whereas the main reason given by male respondents is ‘no injury’ (1 in 2)

A gender analysis

We offer here a gender analysis of reasons for not reporting incidents of domestic violence.

Health care: ‘no injury’ accounted for 100% of the reasons given by men and 23% of reasons given by women for not reporting.

Police: ‘wouldn’t do anything’ accounted for 2 in 5 reasons given by men in contrast to just over 1 in 5 reasons given by women for not reporting. ‘Not interested’ also accounted for 2 in 5 reasons given by men in contrast to just under 1 in 5 reasons given by women for not reporting.

Housing: ‘no injury’ accounted for 1 in 2 reasons reported by men in contrast to just over 1 in 10 reasons reported by women. ‘Fear of further abuse’ accounted for just under 1 in 5 reasons given by women in contrast to it being a reason given by no men.

C) Commentary on the services

Respondents were given an opportunity to add their own comments about good and bad features of ‘getting help’. We also asked for suggestions as to how to improve services.

Many of the comments about poor service provision echoed reasons for not using services found in the questionnaire already referred to above. Examples of comments given by respondents include:

- ‘My workplace was very dismissive…’
- ‘…housing, as far as I’m concerned, did nothing’
- ‘The council were hopeless for years…’
- ‘We were told to sort out the problem ourselves…’
- ‘The policeman let us know he and another would get queers out of the area…’
- Police didn’t believe me at first

Several comments offered more specific examples of poor service. Common amongst these were references to unmet expectations:

- ‘Could have come to see me sooner…’
- ‘Employer took no steps’
- ‘Communication dreadful’
- ‘Health care – lack of empathy’
‘Health visitor had no back up…’
‘Desk sergeant at Greenwich pointedly asked if I was gay although it is irrelevant if one is at the receiving end of homophobic abuse…’
‘Local authority was slow to react’

Many of these comments focused upon the speed and appropriateness of the response provided by the agency.

Comments relating to how services might be improved focused on training: ‘organise awareness training’ and ‘better training for staff’.

Some suggested specific changes: ‘If you are evicted for racism you should also be evicted for homophobia’. Another respondent suggested that the front line police staff should, ‘not be patronising’, be ‘more friendly whilst being professional not being homophobic, understanding of issues and fear homophobia causes’ and ‘take people aside in a confidential place, not discuss at front desk…’

Several good features of the experience of telling someone were described:

‘Took my complaint seriously. Followed it up. Came back to check I was OK’
‘Helped me make my home “homely”’
‘Local police excellent and supportive’
‘Police were sympathetic, professional and courteous’

Conclusions:
The data gathered in this part of the report suggests that expectations, perceptions and experiences may vary between men and women and between different locations. They may influence and inform experiences of satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Patterns of confidence and trust may also indicate their influence with men and women in different locations having different levels of (dis)trust and (lack of) confidence in different service providers. In our data there is some evidence to suggest that women have more trust and confidence in health care services. It also indicates that women may have less confidence and trust in the police than men. Other research has also indicated that women may have lower levels of trust and confidence in police than men (see Todd Consulting 2002)

In considering the question of trust and confidence there is a need to avoid hasty conclusions. For example there is a need to be cautious of assumptions that those who experience violence necessarily need state and/or voluntary sector services (Bumiller 1987). Not telling is not equal to an unmet need. Furthermore, as Corteen (2002) explains, lesbians and gay men have a long experience of taking responsibility for their own safety management, often out of necessity, there being no-one willing or able to provide services. The heritage of this state of affairs is that lesbians and gay men have highly developed skills in managing violence (and the threat of violence) against them (see also Mason 2002). More work needs to be done to explore the
context in which LGBT people living with homophobic of domestic violence turn to services for help. One way of accessing this data is to construct biographies of violence and the management of violence. This is further research that needs to be undertaken.

Also any conclusions about reasons given for not getting help need to be treated with caution. For example the prominence of ‘no injury’ as a reason for not telling anyone begs a question about how individuals interpret the impact of the incidents. The significance of ‘no injury’ as a reason given by men may reflect an evaluation and interpretation of the impact of the incident informed by many factors such as gender, class, ethnicity and so on. These factors may also inform an unwillingness or inability to define an incident as injurious. Likewise, the prevalence of ‘privacy’ in responses from people living in Bexley also needs to be treated with caution as it may relate to fears and anxieties concerned with reporting incidents to particular institutions. As scholars have noted (for example Stanko and Curry 1997) many fear public exposure in and though the police and criminal justice process. On that basis they refuse to contact these services.

Reasons given which may indicate lack of trust and confidence in those who might provide help are perhaps more clearly associated with ‘fear of further abuse’, ‘wouldn’t do anything’, ‘not interested’. Our data suggests that these are important reasons given for not ‘getting help’ from the police, housing and the workplace. As outlined above their prevalence and impact may vary depending upon location and gender.

Sweeping conclusions about lack of trust and confidence are at best unhelpful and at worst misleading. At best conclusions can only be tentative. More research needs to be done to explore how the categories used above, and other categories, are interpreted. Also more research needs to be done into the reasons people report incidents to the police. A range of methods, such as self completion questionnaires, focus groups, structured and semi structured interviews need to be developed to explore these matters further.
Bibliography


Appendix 1: Demographic data

Q 4.1 Which borough do you live in?

A total of 164 respondents filled in the self completion questionnaire. Just under half were from Greenwich (40.9%), one fifth were from Bexley (22.6%) and nearly a third came from other boroughs in London such as Lewisham and Southwark (32.3%). A full list can be obtained in the appendix 1.

Q4.2 Are you Male or Female?

Just under half the respondents defined themselves as female (41.5%) and
over half of the respondents defined themselves as male (53.7%). In both cases less than one percent of the respondents were from the transgendered community, describing themselves as either M to F or F to M (1.2% in total) and another 3.7% of respondents did not state their gender.

**Q4.3 Your sexual orientation?**

Of the 164 respondents from the sample almost half described themselves as Gay (46.3%) and just under a third described themselves as Lesbian (30.5%) - only one person who identified as Gay was also female. Only 3.7% described themselves as a Bisexual Man and 4.9% described themselves as a Bisexual Woman. Similarly, 8.5% of respondents described themselves as Heterosexual.

Finally, 1.8% of respondents described themselves as either ‘Other’ or ‘Not Stated’. These proportions are in line with the other surveys which are commented on in other sections.
Q4.4 Your ethnic background

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Background</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>73.8</td>
<td>73.8</td>
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<td>4.9</td>
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<td>2.4</td>
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<td>.6</td>
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<td>.6</td>
<td>89.6</td>
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<td>.6</td>
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Many surveys and research projects such as the URHC findings show (using the MPS reported incidents of homophobic crime) the majority of the respondents and victims of hate crime come from white ethnic backgrounds. This does not indicate that there are few other ethnic groups where gay or transgender communities exists, rather it shows that in an area were there is already vast ‘under reporting’ by the LGBT community through lack of trust and confidence, there are also other issues of disproportionality and marginalisation.

In fact, Galop carried out its own needs assessment survey into the development of Black Services Development project, titled ‘The Low Down’ report. The key findings of the report were that the majority of the respondents had experienced either racism (including religion and cultural issues) from the LGBT or mainstream community and homophobia from mainstream and their own intra ethnic cultures (including family) as the most significant form of discrimination. Bexley and Greenwich are communities where both White British and Christianity are by far the majority therefore such a large representation of the white community is perhaps to be expected.

Q4.5 Are you a disabled person?

This marginalisation experienced by Black and Minority Ethnic LGBT community also exists in the LGBT disabled community. It is an issue that Galop is acutely aware of, however due to the difficulty of overall distribution of the questionnaire to even the mainstream LGBT community, it was not possible to make any practical impact on these groupings. Galop recommends that for future pieces of work far greater consideration and provision [monetary] is given for the distribution strategy.
### Q4.6 Where you live?

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### Q4.7 Employment status

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Q4.8 Please tell us your age

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Q4.9 children as dependants

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