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Assessing the risk and prevalence of hate crime victimization in Western Europe

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Abstract

This article presents results of multivariate and multi-level analyses of data on hate crime victimization from 14 Western European nations. Although the ethnic composition of immigrant communities shows considerable variation across the 14 countries, in all countries self-defined immigrants are disproportionately exposed to hate crimes. The level of hate crime prevalence is positively correlated with the size of the immigrant communities. The results of a loglinear analysis of individual risks of being victimized by hate crime show that young age and migrant status are the most important independent risk factors of hate crime victimization at the individual level. Other important risk factors are residence in a capital or other large city, low income and an outgoing lifestyle. These risk factors resemble those of victimization by common contact crimes. This result suggests that, although the motivations of offenders are different, the distribution of hate crime victimization at the individual level can to some extent be interpreted through general victimological theories such as lifestyle-exposure theory. These analyses were replicated with a multi-level analysis including data at the macro level on the characteristics of 229 European regions. In this analysis, known criminogenic factors of contact crimes at the macro level, such as the proportion of young males, low income and low employment, are included in the models, besides the proportion of migrants among the inhabitants of the region. The results confirm the salience of the previously identified independent risk factors at the individual level. At the macro level, the relative size of migrant communities per region stands out as the most important factor explaining variance in hate crime prevalence. No independent relationships were found between the socio-economic or demographic characteristics of European regions and the extent of hate crime victimization. The latter results confirm findings of similar analyses of data from the USA. They suggest that in Western Europe hate crimes are driven by cultural tensions between traditional inhabitants and immigrants (community defense hypothesis), rather than by the strain experienced by the

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perpetrators (economic threat hypothesis). The unexpected finding that levels of educational attainment of European regions are associated with higher levels of hate crime victimization cannot be easily interpreted with either of the two hypotheses about the causes of hate crime victimization. It is tentatively interpreted as a measurement artifact resulting from heightened sensitivity to various types of hate crime victimization among better-educated minority groups.

Keywords

Hate crime, migrants, victimization survey, risk factors, multi-level analysis, integrated threat theory

Introduction

In the twenty-first century, hate crimes have become a political concern in many parts of the world, including the USA, Canada, Australia and Europe (Chakraborti, 2012; European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), 2005; European Union, 2007; Green et al., 2001; Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC), 2004 cited in Johnson, 2005). A hate crime is defined as ‘a criminal act which is motivated, at least in part, by the group affiliation of the victim’ (Gerstenfeld, 2004: 9).

Distinct elements of the definition are that:

- The act must be a criminal offence, regardless of the motivation of the offender;
- It must have been committed, at least in part, out of prejudice or hatred towards the victim as representative of a specific social group.

Hate crimes are – *inter alia* – directed at groups characterized by immigrant or ethnic status, race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, or disability. According to some authors, hate crimes are typically directed at marginalized groups and are meant, in the words of Perry, to reaffirm ‘the threatened (real or imagined) hegemony of the perpetrator’s group and the ‘appropriate’ subordinate identity of the victim’s group’ (Perry, 2001: 29, 2009). In connection with crimes targeted at the elderly, disabled persons, or subcultural minorities, this structural view of hate crimes has been critiqued. According to Garland, the harassment of such groups may be motivated by fear or hatred of difference rather than by supremacist feelings (Garland, 2010, 2012). Qualitative interviews with migrants have found that racially based threats and attacks have a negative impact on victims and their communities, resulting in an increase in fear, a growing sense of alienation, a distrust of authority and an eventual reluctance to engage with police (HREOC, 2004, cited in Johnson, 2005; Perry and Alvi, 2011). A topical manifestation of hate crimes is retaliatory attacks against members of Muslim communities in the aftermath of terrorist attacks by Muslim fundamentalists (Collins, 2007; Spalek, 2005). The social tensions emerging in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks in Brussels, Copenhagen, and Paris in recent years are a case in point.

Data sources on hate crimes

Data on the incidence of hate crimes can be retrieved from registrations of police forces, prosecutors and courts or bespoke agencies such as Complaint Boards for acts of discrimination, or from dedicated hotlines (Dauvergne and Brennan, 2011). Within the European Union, since 2000 the

Federal Agency of Fundamental Rights (FRA) has promoted and coordinated the collection of such administrative statistics on hate crimes. According to the FRA's reports, only a few EU member states have actually set up dedicated statistical systems to that end (FRA, 2009; Goodey, 2007). Even if such systems have been put in place, they cannot convey the full picture of hate crime. As is true for administrative crime statistics generally, statistics on the numbers of arrests or convictions for hate crimes represent just the tip of the iceberg (Aebi et al., 2014). In the case of hate crimes the problem of the dark numbers of crime is exacerbated by the complex nature of hate-motivated crimes and the often vulnerable position of the victims (Zaykowski, 2008). Victims belonging to minority groups may refrain from reporting out of shame, out of fear of retaliation from offenders, or out of fear of secondary victimization by the authorities. Recording agencies may not always fully understand which incidents qualify as hate crimes and should be recorded as such. In the United Kingdom, police forces recently changed their recording of hate crimes by adopting a new policy of accepting the victims' perception of hate motivation at face value without requesting corroborating evidence.

An alternative source of data on the incidence of hate crimes is sample surveys among the general population, or among segments of the population likely to be subjected to hate crimes. In the past 10–15 years, items on hate crime have been included in general victimization surveys. We will discuss the questions on hate crime incorporated in regularly executed national victimization surveys of the USA and the United Kingdom.¹ Questions on hate crime were also incorporated in a victimization survey executed in Canada in 1999. In 2005, questions on hate crimes were included in the International Crime Victims Survey (ICVS) conducted among the previous 15 members of the European Union (Western Europe) and Australia (Van Dijk et al., 2008).

Within the European Union, dedicated surveys on discrimination and crime victimization—including hate crimes—were commissioned by the FRA (2009). The European Union Minorities and Victimization Survey (EU-MIDIS) was carried out in 2008 among samples from the largest ethnic minorities in urban areas. Obviously, a dedicated survey among minority groups gives more in-depth information on the amount and nature of hate-motivated crime than general victimization surveys. However, since the FRA surveys are conducted exclusively among the two or three most dominant minority groups within a country, the results are difficult to use for *quantitative* international comparisons.

In this article we will present results of a secondary analysis of the data on hate crime and immigrant status collected in the course of the ICVS sweeps of 2005 and 2010 in a selection of Western European countries.² Raw findings of the ICVS on hate crimes, including comparative prevalence rates per country, have previously been published (Van Dijk et al., 2008), but these have not been subjected to further analysis. Unlike most data on recorded crimes, the ICVS data can be analyzed at both the level of individuals and the level of countries or regions (Lynch, 1993, 2006). The ICVS 2005 data on hate crimes are based on samples of the general population of 15 European nations ($n = 28,000$). Also coded were the NUTS2 regions where the respondents resided ($n = 229$).³ The data allow analyses at both individual and collective levels and are therefore well suited for multi-level analyses. Before we introduce the theoretical framework for the analysis, we will discuss the manner in which the key concepts of hate crime and immigrant status were defined and operationalized in the ICVS 2005 and in the other victimization surveys mentioned.

Operationalizing hate crime victimization

In the ICVS 2005, the question of hate crime victimization was phrased as a separate, additional question following the standard questions on possible victimization by various types of crime:

In the past 5 years, did you, or any member of your immediate family fall victim of a crime because, or partly because of your nationality, race or color, religious belief or sexual orientation?

The question asks about experiences with any type of crime motivated by biases against nationality, race or color, religious belief, or sexual orientation, as perceived by the victim him-or herself. The respondents are not asked to specify the type of incident, nor asked about their reasons for assuming that the act was motivated by hatred. The item can be regarded as a victim-centered operationalization of hate crime in the sense that it counts any incidents as hate crimes which have been perceived by the victims as such. Contrary to what is done with experiences with personal crimes in the ICVS and most national victimization surveys, the item asks about perceived experiences of the respondents themselves, as well as about those of their immediate family.

The national victimization surveys of England and Wales, Canada, and the USA, as well as the ICVS in Australia (2004) and the dedicated 2008 FRA survey among minorities (MIDIS), have adopted a different, more restrictive approach to the measurement of hate crimes. In these surveys the question on hate crime is a secondary, follow-up question put to those respondents who have reported to the interviewer an incident of victimization by a concrete criminal act. The British Crime Survey of 2005 and 2006, for example, asks people who report having been victims of any of the crimes listed in the standard questionnaire whether they thought that the crime reported on had been racially or religiously motivated. Later rounds of the survey also ask about possible other motivations grounded in biases against gender, sexual orientation, and disability (Lader et al., 2012). A similar approach was followed in the Canadian surveys of 1999 and 2002 (Silver et al., 2004).⁴ Arguably, the British and Canadian approaches produce more precise data on hate crimes than the ICVS 2005, because the reported acts have in the first instance been assessed as specific criminal offences by the respondents and interviewers, regardless of the perpetrator's motivations. This approach leaves no room for the reporting of incidents that respondents have subjectively experienced as hate crimes, but which may not qualify as such according to legal standards. On the downside, in this approach only those types of crime are covered which are listed in the standard questionnaire. Excluded are, for example, hate-motivated verbal attacks, such as racist, anti-Jewish, or anti-Islamic slurs or hate speech.

The Australian survey of 2004, using the ICVS questionnaire, asked people who reported having been victims of assaults and threats:

Do you feel you were assaulted or threatened because of your skin color, ethnicity, race or religion?

The resulting data are limited to violent crimes as defined in the ICVS questionnaire and miss out on other types of crimes motivated by bias. In the USA the Hate Crimes Statistics Act of 2009 defines hate crimes as:

Crimes that manifest evidence of prejudice based on race, gender, or gender identity, religion, disability, sexual orientation or ethnicity.

Like the British Crime Survey, the National Crime Victims Survey of the USA asks respondents reporting specific crimes whether these might have been motivated by the forms of prejudice mentioned in the legal definition just cited. However, for an incident to qualify as hate crime the NCVS requires corroborating evidence that hate motivation was present in the case, either because

the offender used derogatory language or left hate symbols or because the police confirmed that a hate crime had taken place.

The dedicated FRA survey among minorities has followed the model of the BCS. Respondents who have reported threats and assaults or serious harassment are asked whether the incident was in any way motivated because of their minority or immigrant status (*racially motivated*). The FRA researchers have explicitly not adopted the additional requirement of corroborating evidence used in the NCVS, following the argument that the victims' perceptions of what happened to them should be accepted as sufficient grounds for qualifying the incident as hate crime (FRA, 2009).⁵

The ICVS 2005 approach of measuring hate crimes is clearly the most all-encompassing, including as it does all types of incidents perceived as hate crimes by victims and also covering similar experiences of family members.⁶ The BCS narrows down the measurement to incidents that have been reported by respondents as personal experiences with a limited number of offence types. The NCVS introduces the further restriction that the crimes experienced have manifestly been motivated by bias. The results on the incidence of hate crime bear out the differences in the scope of the definitions used. The ICVS 2005 survey, using the most comprehensive definition, showed a one-year prevalence victimization rate of 2.7% ($n = 28,000$). The Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) of 2013 reported a one-year prevalence rate of 0.5%. The reports on the NCVS do not publish comparable prevalence rates but publish incidence rates. The incidence rates of hate crimes in the USA of 0.1% for violent hate crime and 0.1% for property hate crime are, at any rate, much below the rates measured in the ICVS or British surveys.

The restricted operationalization of hate crime victimization in the NCVS conforms to its legalistic approach (Van Dijk, 2015). From the outset the principal aim of the NCVS has been the measurement of the dark numbers of crime as a supplement to the statistics of officially recorded crimes in the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR). The questionnaire was designed to match, to the greatest extent possible, the legal categories of American criminal law. Results are expressed as estimated absolute numbers of legally defined types of crime, which are compared to the UCR statistics. In contrast, the more sociologically or victimologically oriented European victimization surveys seek to measure perceived victimization by crime, defined in colloquial rather than legal terms. In line with this victim-centered approach, the results are usually expressed in prevalence rates. Within this well-established European tradition of measuring *victimization as perceived by victims*, the case can be made that any perceived victimization by hate crime should indeed be counted as such and that the operationalization of the ICVS 2005, which includes all types of crimes, including offensive verbal attacks, comes closest to the real experiences of the public.

The inclusion of possible experiences of family members also seems justifiable from this perspective. If respondents have heard about experiences with hate crimes from family members, this is likely to affect them personally. In fact, as has been observed by several experts, hate crimes must be seen as *message crimes* which, like terrorist acts, are meant not just to affect the primary victims but to have ripple effects on their families and wider social environment (McDonald and Hogue, 2007; Perry and Alvi, 2011). Empirical research has confirmed that minor incidents motivated by hate or prejudice can have a disproportionate negative impact on the well-being of the targeted groups and instill feelings of intimidation and fear (Collins, 2007; Perry and Alvi, 2011). In our view, the terroristic nature of hate crimes argues for comprehensive, victim-centered definitions, even at the risk that some of the reported incidents might not formally qualify as hate crimes under national legislation or jurisprudence.

In the ICVS 2005 all respondents were asked whether they had experienced a crime motivated by bias, regardless of previously reported victimizations by specific crimes. Of those who

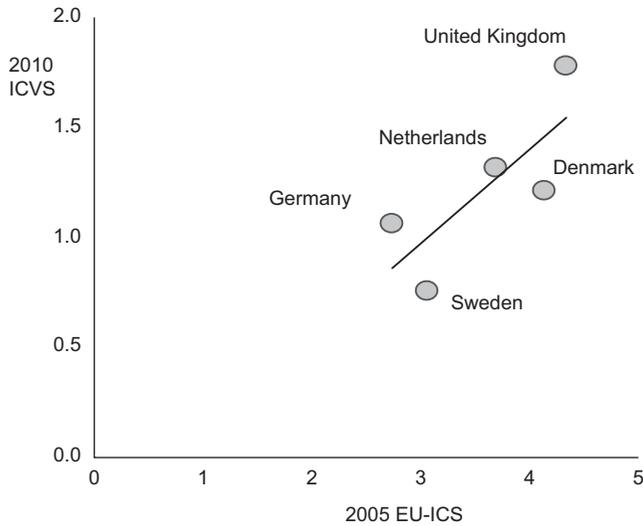


Figure 1. Plot of one-year prevalence rates of victimization by hate crimes from the 2004/05 against the 2010 ICVS.

answered that they had been victimized by hate crimes, 33% had already mentioned victimization by one or more of the listed crimes. The comparable victimization rate of those not victimized by hate crime was 14%.⁷ This result suggests that a substantial part of the perceived hate crimes consists of specific types of crime, mainly contact crimes. Many of the other reported hate crimes will probably have been specific contact crimes experienced by family members or are incidents that the respondent or his/her family experienced as hate crimes but which may not qualify as one such crime according to the ICVS questionnaire.

In the 2010 round of the ICVS, conducted in just five EU countries, the intermediary approach of the CSEW and FRA was adopted. Those respondents who had reported victimization by the three specific types of contact crime were subsequently asked whether the crime had been motivated by bias:

Do you believe this crime happened because, or partly because of your nationality, race or color, religious belief, or sexual orientation?

The prevalence rates of hate crime victimization according to the 2010 ICVS have not previously been published. A comparison with the results of the ICVS 2005 can illuminate the implications of the two different operationalizations for the measurement of hate crime in survey research. As expected, the prevalence rates in the 2010 surveys are lower than those from the 2005 survey. The average rate was 1.2%, compared to 2.8% in the 2005 ICVS (from 15 countries). In order to determine whether the different methodology has changed not just the level estimate but also the relative positions of individual countries, a comparison was made between the rates of individual countries as measured by the 2005 and 2010 rounds of the survey. Figure 1 shows the results.

The comparison shows that prevalence rates were consistently the highest in both surveys in the UK, medium-high in The Netherlands and Denmark, and lowest in Germany and Sweden.

Although the numbers are too small to test for statistical significance, the results show congruence between the relative positions on both measures of hate crime victimization. This result cross-validates the broad measure used in the 2005 survey. It suggests that the broad measure to a large extent reflects perceived experiences with specifically defined types of contact crime. It does not suggest that the 2005 measure largely reflects free-floating sentiments of discrimination or intimidation among overly sensitive minority groups that cannot be regarded as experiences with real hate crime.

Defining and operationalization of immigrant status

In order to determine immigrant status respondents to the ICVS were asked:

Do you consider yourself or anyone in your family an immigrant in [country of residence]?

Using the answers to this question, we regard the respondent as an *immigrant* if the respondent him/herself, his/her parents, or someone in the immediate family was born in another country. As with all other questions in the survey, we accept the answers that the respondents are able and willing to give. We excluded Luxembourg from our analysis because a very large proportion of the population (30%) originates from neighboring West European countries.

The concept of immigrant status is different from the concept of minority group. In the FRA victimization survey among minority groups in the EU, minority groups were defined as groups sharing a marginalized status, making them vulnerable to hate crimes. Non-vulnerable minorities such as Swedes in Finland and the British living in Spain were excluded from the survey (FRA, 2009). Although *minority* as defined by the FRA does not equal *immigrant*, all sampled minority groups in the FRA survey turned out to be immigrants from other countries, with the exception of the Roma populations.

The ICVS 2005 questionnaire does not provide information on minority status or on ethnicity, as is the case in the NCVS of the USA. The subpopulation of self-defined immigrants includes an unknown proportion of immigrants who do not share a marginalized status. Some members of Roma communities in Western Europe may self-define as immigrants, but they are unlikely to be included, considering the small sample sizes.

The FRA MIDIS study provides useful information on the origins of minority communities in each of the 14 EU member states included in the ICVS 2005. Table 1 shows the percentage of the respondents in the ICVS that consider themselves immigrants and the main minority populations in each country according to the FRA/Raxen network.

The overview shows that the immigrant communities of the 14 countries vary in size, within a range from 1.2% in Italy and 3.4% in Greece to 11.2% in Austria. The composition of the immigrant communities differs from country to country. For countries on the European continent, immigrants from Turkey and North Africa (from Morocco and Algeria) form the largest groups. This is not the case in Finland (immigration primarily from Russia), Ireland (from Central and Eastern Europe), Portugal (from Brazil), Sweden (from Iraq), Greece (from Albania, Roma), and the United Kingdom (from Central and Eastern Europe).

Theoretical framework and analysis

Throughout the history of victimization surveys, risk assessments at the individual level have mainly been informed by lifestyle-exposure theory (Hindelang et al., 1978) and related

Table 1. Size of the immigrant population according to ICVS 2004/05 and origin of the main minority groups in 14 EU member states based on the EUMC Raxen network.

Country	Size of immigrant population	Origin of minority group	Country	Size of immigrant population	Origin of minority group
Austria	11.2%	Turkey – Former Yugoslavia	Ireland	5.4%	Central/Eastern Europe – Sub-Saharan Africa
Belgium	9.2%	North Africa – Turkey	Italy	1.2%	Albania – North Africa – Romania
Denmark	9.2%	Turkey – Somalia	Netherlands	8.2%	North Africa – Turkey – Suriname
Finland	5.2%	Russia – Somalia	Portugal	10.9%	Brazil – Sub-Saharan Africa
France	10.8%	North Africa – Sub-Saharan Africa	Spain	4.5%	North Africa – Romania – South America
Germany	7.1%	Turkey – Former Yugoslavia	Sweden	9.2%	Iraq – Somalia
Greece	3.4%	Albania – Roma*	United Kingdom	4.5%	Central/Eastern Europe

* Roma are not always immigrants.

victimological risk models (Fattah, 1991; Van Dijk and Steinmetz, 1980). The ICVS 2005 dataset allows a test as to whether the known risk factors of contact crimes are also predictive of hate crime victimization. The dataset also allows an examination of the independent role of immigrant status in exposure to such victimization. Although hate crimes are differently motivated, we see no a priori reason why their distribution among target populations could not be governed by similar factors as other personal crimes, such as, for example, lifestyle-related geographical or social proximity to potential offenders. From a methodological point of view, the measure of hate crimes used in victimization surveys does not fundamentally differ from those of other types of crime either. As discussed above, all measures of crimes in victimization surveys in the European tradition rely on respondents' accounts of what happened to them. Thanks to the availability of data at both individual and aggregate levels—at country and NUTS2 levels—analyses of the ICVS datasets can potentially also shed light on the possible economic, social, or cultural root causes of hate crime prevalence.

The analysis at macro level requires a theoretical framework about the social causes of such crimes. According to a social–psychological theoretical perspective, historically lynching and hate crimes are motivated by aggression caused by economic deprivation and redirected at vulnerable scapegoats (Hovland and Sears, 1940). A related, current perspective on hate crimes against immigrants sees such hate-motivated attacks as defensive responses from people who feel economically threatened by newcomers to local labor markets, known as the *economic threat or resource competition hypothesis* (Bonacich, 1999). According to an alternative, or supplementary, perspective, hate crimes should be understood as a defensive response of communities to the threat posed by immigrants to their way of life (Stephan et al., 1999). These two versions of the *threat hypothesis* mirror the alternative definitional frameworks of hate crimes as being motivated either by threats to existing power hierarchies or by a sheer hatred of otherness.

Recent multivariate analyses of the social correlates of hate crime prevalence in the USA seem to lend support to the cultural rather than the economic threat hypothesis. In an analysis of data from New York, Stacey et al. (2011) found no relationship between economic problems in

neighborhoods and the extent of recorded hate crime incidents, and a strong relationship between a recent influx of Hispanics and such attacks. Lyons (2007), in an analysis of data from Chicago, found that hate crimes against blacks by whites are more prevalent in well-integrated than in disorganized white communities experiencing economic strain. In a time series analysis of hate crime in New York City, Green et al. (1998) found no association between hate crime and economic recession. In an analysis of data from USA counties on recorded hate crime, Sexton (2011) also found only partial support for the hypothesis that hate crime prevalence is driven by economic strain.

Using the dataset of the European part of the ICVS 2005, we will first examine whether, and to what extent, the available set of demographic factors (including income level and educational attainment, as well as measures of an outgoing lifestyle, immigrant status, and religion) act as independent risk factors of victimization by hate crimes in Western Europe. To this end we conducted loglinear analyses at the individual level, using the measures of victimization by various types of common crimes and of hate crimes as separate dependent variables. The results will, as discussed, be interpreted within the framework of lifestyle-exposure theory and the above-mentioned Van Dijk et al. model. We will then repeat our analysis using a multi-level analysis, adding contextual variables at the level of European regions such as affluence, employment, education, and the proportion of immigrants per European region. Multi-level analyses (Bryk and Raudenbusch, 1992) are increasingly used in analyses of victimological data (Hardyns, 2010, 2012; Tseloni et al., 2010; Van Kesteren, 2014; Van Wilsem, 2003; Wilcox et al., 2003). With the multi-level analysis, we will examine whether the identified individual risk factors are partly or wholly based on composition effects at the level of European regions and search for possible interaction effects. In our multi-level analysis we will revisit the two competing theoretical perspectives just mentioned, by looking at the relationships between both various socio-economic indicators and the proportion of immigrants, and the prevalence of hate crime victimization across European regions at the NUTS2 level.

Description of the data at individual and regional levels

The data used in the analysis were extracted from the integrated ICVS and EU-ICS database 2004/2005 (Van Kesteren, 2007). The descriptive statistics by country and region are based on all available cases in the database, including those with missing values on one or more variables, and have been weighted for age, gender and region (for details see Van Dijk et al., 2008). The loglinear and multi-level analyses are done on the selection of cases that do not have any missing values in the variables included in the models. In these analyses the data used have not been weighted.

The EU-ICS database contains NUTS2 region codes for each case. NUTS2 are economic regions within the European Union of about 1,000,000 inhabitants each. The codes allow for aggregation of the individual data to the NUTS2 level. The statistical Office of the European Commission (Eurostat) provides varied information on the characteristics of each NUTS region. In the analyses, regional data on two variables have been included which were taken not from the ICVS datasets but from Eurostat.

The ICVS 2005 questionnaire asks about experiences of victimization by 10 conventional crimes over a period of five years. Those who respond positively to any of the 10 questions are subsequently asked when these incidents happened ('Was it this year, last year or before that?'). The response 'last year (2004)' is used as a dependent variable in the analyses. This one-year prevalence victimization rate expresses which percentages of respondents have been victimized by

one of the ten listed types of crime once or more in the course of 2004. The ten crimes are also grouped together into two categories, namely *property crimes*-theft of a car, theft from a car, theft of a motorcycle, theft of a bicycle, burglary, and attempted burglary-and the three *contact crimes* mentioned above. As explained, the prevalence rate of hate crimes is based on answers to a separate question.

The following demographic data are used: age, gender, whether respondent is a young male aged 16–29, town size, income quartile, educational level, and frequency of outdoor visits in the evening.⁸ The variables are recoded into two or three categories for the loglinear analysis. For the multi-level analysis, the raw data for age, town size, income, educational level, and going out have been recoded into z-scores to be interpreted at interval level. For use in the multi-level analysis, the following variables have been aggregated to NUTS2 level: percentage of immigrants; percentage of the population consisting of young men aged 16–29; average educational level (in years); and urbanization (the percentage of the population living in a city of 100,000 inhabitants or more). Two variables have been used in the multi-level analyses which were taken from the internet site of Eurostat, namely employment level in the region and gross domestic product per capita in the region.

Results

Victimization of the immigrant population

On average, 2.8% of the West European population said they had been a victim of a hate crime in the course of 2004. Among the 15 ‘old’ member states of the EU, there is considerable variation in the extent of hate crime. The highest percentages are found in France, Denmark, Luxembourg, Belgium, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands (above 4%). Rates of hate crime below 2% are found in Finland, Italy, Portugal, Greece, and Austria (Van Dijk et al., 2008).

The ICVS 2005 data on hate crime cover crimes committed in relation to nationality, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and religious belief of the victims. The data cannot be broken down for the various types of bias. The results of the British and USA surveys on hate crimes show that three quarters of all hate crimes are motivated by biases in relation to race, ethnicity, or religion (Creese and Lader, 2014;⁹ Wilson, 2014). Within the Western European context, it can be expected that the immigrant population is more exposed to hate crime than non-immigrants. In the ICVS 2005, 8% of the population qualified for the broadly defined category of immigrants (respondent self-defined as immigrant and/or one of his/her parents or close family members). Countries with proportionally larger immigrant communities tend to show higher rates of hate crimes ($r = 0.46$, $n = 14$, $p < 0.10$). We have also looked at the hate crime victimization rates by country of migrants and non-immigrants (excluding Luxembourg). Figure 2 presents the results and shows 90% reliability intervals of the victimization rates. Due to low numbers, the margins of error are fairly high for the migrant rates per country.

On average 10% of the immigrant population had been victims of hate crime in 2004, compared to 2% of non-immigrants.¹⁰ In all countries, hate crime victimization is higher among migrant populations, although in Italy and Finland this difference is not statistically significant. There is again considerable inter-country variation. Belgium, Spain, and Greece show the highest rates. Hate crime against immigrants is lowest in Italy, Portugal, and Finland.

Since no data are available in the dataset about the origins of the migrant communities per country, it is not possible to explore which minorities are especially exposed to hate crimes and whether this can explain the variation. The EU-MIDIS survey has shown that Roma

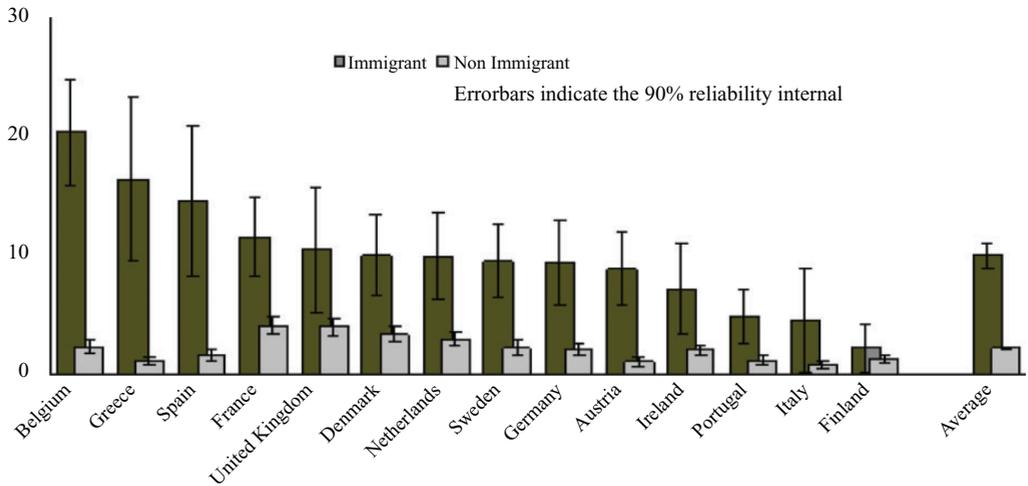


Figure 2. Victimization by hate crime for immigrants and non-immigrants in 14 EU member states. Data from the ICVS 2004/05.

communities and immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa are by far the most exposed. According to the EU-MIDIS survey immigrants from North Africa and Turkey have medium exposure, and the least exposed are immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, and the former Yugoslavia. As discussed, in most West European countries the primary immigrant groups are from North Africa or Turkey. This may explain the near-universal high prevalence rates of hate crime among immigrants across Western Europe. Considering the salience of various immigrant groups in different countries, presented in Figure 1, the medium-high prevalence in the United Kingdom and Ireland may reflect the preponderance of Central and Eastern Europeans among the immigrant communities in these countries. The relative low prevalence of hate crime in Finland and Portugal could reflect the preponderance of Russian and Brazilian immigrants respectively. The low rate among immigrants in Italy differs radically from the high rates of hate crime experiences found in the EU-MIDIS study among North Africans and Albanians in Italy, and could be a statistical artifact due to the very low number of sampled immigrants.

The analysis of victimization rates of those indicating a religious affiliation showed non-significant results. Respondents that practice a religion show similar victimization rates for hate crimes as those who do not. Within the immigrant communities, however, religion is positively related to victimization. Of the people with an immigrant status who are religious, 12% are victimized, compared to 9% of those who are not. This result indicates that religious immigrants in Western Europe, many of whom are Muslims, perceive themselves to be victimized by hate crimes more often than other immigrants.

A further analysis was made of rates of victimization of immigrants by any of the ten types of common crimes included in the standard ICVS questionnaire. A total of 19% of the immigrants had been victimized by any crime once or more in 2004. Among religious immigrants this figure was 20%. The victimization rate of non-immigrants is significantly lower, regardless of religious status (15%). The differences are largest for contact crimes. These bivariate results suggest that

immigrant status enhances the risk of being criminally victimized by both hate crime and any of the 10 common crimes, especially, but not exclusively, contact crimes.

The fact that immigrants are overrepresented among hate crime victims does not imply that most victims are immigrants. According to our data, 26.5% of all hate crime victims are migrants. This statistic shows that most hate crimes, including those motivated by racism and/or religious biases, are directed at non-immigrants. This finding is in line with findings on hate crime victimization from the USA and England and Wales which show that hate crimes are also directed at white persons.

Results of multivariate analyses

The bivariate finding that migrants are overrepresented among crime victims does not necessarily mean that migrant status by itself is an independent risk factor of such victimization. The overrepresentation could have been confounded by other risk factors, such as age or place of residence (Jansson, 2006). In previous analyses of risk factors of criminal victimization, loglinear analyses have been used to determine which demographic factors are associated with high or low risks, independent of other factors (Van Kesteren et al., 2000). The results of these analyses are expressed as odds ratios. An odds ratio is the odds of someone in a certain group (e.g. young age) being victimized by any crime, divided by the odds of someone in the base group with the lowest risk (age over 55).

For this paper loglinear analyses have been done with overall victimization, property crime victimization, contact crime victimization, and hate crime victimization as dependent variables. As independent variables we included factors known to be associated with risks of criminal victimization (age, gender, city size, lifestyle, income, education, and marital status) as well as migrant status. Table 2 shows the results of the analyses.

For victimization by hate crime, the two most important independent risk factors are young and medium age and migrant status. The third most important risk factor is living in a capital city. Also significantly associated with hate crime victimization are an outgoing lifestyle and low income and, somewhat surprisingly, high education. The risk profile for hate crime victimization is roughly similar to that for victimization by contact crimes. In the analysis of risk factors for contact crimes, the status of being single is statistically significant and income is not. Migrant status is not a risk factor of victimization by property crime. Income is positively related to property crime victimization, which reflects the ownership of more stealable goods (e.g. car ownership) among high-income groups.

Results of a similar loglinear analysis with criminal victimization by contact crimes as the dependent variable and migrant status (born overseas) as an independent variable are available from Australia (Johnson, 2005). The loglinear analysis shows that being single, young, outgoing, and poor are the most important risk-enhancing factors. Migrant status is found to be unrelated to victimization risk.¹¹

Loglinear analyses from England and Wales with victimization by contact crimes confirm that young age and being single are strong risk-enhancing factors (Jansson, 2006). Ethnicity is not independently associated with hate crime victimization.¹² A comparison of NCVS data on hate crime victimization and on victimization by ordinary violent crime reveals that white people and those with higher levels of education are more strongly represented among hate crime victims than among victims of ordinary violence (Zaykowski, 2008). In the American context, hate crime victimization seems less concentrated among the black community than victimization by common

Table 2. Results of four loglinear models including eight independent variables and four dependent variables. Data from the ICVS 2004/05 ICVS.

		Common crimes			
		Ten crimes	Contact crimes	Property crimes	Perceived hate crime
Base		Odds ratio	Odds ratio	Odds ratio	Odds ratio
Immigrant	No				
Yes		1.23*	1.44*	1.06	3.28*
Age	60+				
16–34		2.21*	2.07*	1.91*	4.75*
35–59		1.31*	1.40	1.10*	3.17*
Gender	Female				
Male		0.93*	0.85*	1.06*	0.89
Town size	Rural (<10,000)				
Urban (not capital)		1.30*	1.28	1.18*	1.36*
Capital city		2.09*	1.85*	1.89*	1.74*
Income	Below average				
Above average		1.15*	1.03	1.12*	0.70*
Education	Below average				
Above average		1.22*	1.21*	1.21*	1.18*
Partner	No				
Yes		0.94*	0.71*	1.16*	0.90
Going out	Not often				
Often		1.15*	1.18*	1.13*	1.23*

* Significant, $p < 0.05$.

violence. In Canada, *visible* ethnicity¹³ is related to hate crime victimization in a bivariate analysis. Among visible minorities, hate crime victimization rates are 19 per 1,000 population of 15 years of age and older and 7 per 1,000 for *non-visible* minorities (Silver et al., 2004). Migrant status as such is not related to hate crime victimization in Canada. Unlike in Western Europe, many immigrants in Canada do belong to a non-visible minority. Visible minority immigrants are strongly over-represented among hate crime victims.¹⁴

The EU-MIDIS survey of the FRA among minorities in EU countries reveals that victimization rates among minority groups are higher than among the general population in most but not all cases (FRA, 2009).¹⁵ Of the victims from minority groups who reported victimization by violent crime, 50% said that the attacks had been racially motivated.

In many respects the results of our loglinear analysis of victimization by contact crimes are similar to those found in Australia, England and Wales, Canada, and the USA. Almost universally, young people are more at risk of violent victimization. To our knowledge no other researchers have examined the independent risk factors of hate crime victimization using multivariate analyses. Young people are strongly overrepresented in our data on hate crime victimization. Our finding that migrant status is independently related to risks of violent victimization and hate crime differs from the results of national surveys in Australia, the UK, and the USA.¹⁶ But similar results have been found in Canada and in the dedicated FRA surveys among EU member states. Our finding that migrant status is strongly related to

the risks of hate crime victimization is fully in line with the high proportion of violent victimization motivated by hate according to the dedicated FRA surveys among minority groups.

The consistent results regarding age, city size, an outgoing lifestyle, and marital status can be explained by lifestyle-exposure theory. Young male singles find themselves more often in the proximity of potential offenders, for example in the night-time economy. The finding that these four factors and low economic status are independent risk factors of hate crime victimization suggests that hate crimes, like other crimes of violence in the public domain, are concentrated within the youth scene in poorer neighborhoods of capital cities and other large cities. The top position of migrant status as an independent risk factor for hate crime victimization confirms that migrants are prime targets of hate crimes in Western Europe. The importance of migrant status as a risk factor can be interpreted with the victimological, three-factorial risk model of Van Dijk and Steinmetz (1980). According to this model, victimization risks are determined not just by proximity to offenders due to residence or lifestyle and lack of protection against crime, but also by their economic or psychological attractiveness as targets of crime. The finding that being a migrant is a strong independent risk factor for hate crime suggests that in Western Europe immigrants are 'attractive targets' for hate crime. Our finding that hate crime victimization prevalence in Western Europe is especially high among religious immigrants suggests that anti-Islam sentiments are at play.¹⁷ However, the result that people with high education are significantly more exposed to contact crimes as well as to hate crimes seems counterintuitive. This result brings to mind the finding of Zaykowski (2008) that people with more education are overrepresented among hate crime victims compared to victims of common violence. It raises the question of why better-educated people would attract more hate crimes than others. We will come back to this seemingly odd result in the discussion.

Results of the multi-level risk analysis

Finally, we carried out a multi-level analysis with hate crime victimization as a dependent variable. The multi-level analysis can be described as a logistic regression analysis with both individual and context variables. This analysis allows searching for possible composition or interaction effects at the level of the NUTS2 regions as defined by Eurostat. Data were available from a total of 229 European regions. Included in the analyses at the regional level were the size of the migrant community as well as the factors of age, gender, income level (Gross Domestic Product per Capita – GDPPC), and education at the collective level. Also included was the factor of unemployment as a proxy for scarcity in the local labor market. In previous multivariate analyses of regional variation in victimization rates for contact crimes, a composite factor expressing the presence of young males in difficult economic situations was found to be an important correlate of contact crimes (Van Dijk et al., 1990).

We first looked at a simple model (model 0) with victimization by hate crime as the dependent variable (Table 3). This model does not have any explanatory variables. The variance of the constant is an indication of how many differences there are at regional level. Model 1 only has immigrant status and the number of immigrants in the regions as explanatory variables. Model 2 adds explanatory variables at the individual level. Model 3 adds variables at the regional level.

Both immigrant status and the size of the immigrant population are statistically significant in Model 1. The variance of the constant is reduced from 0.59 to 0.21, a reduction of almost two thirds. Model 2 adds the explanatory variables at the individual level. The effect of educational level is not significant. The effects of age, gender, town size, and going out are as expected: young people, those living in a city, and those with an outgoing lifestyle are more often victims of hate

Table 3. Results from four logistic multi-level models. Data from the ICVS 2004/05 ICVS and EuroStat.

	Model 0		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>u</i>	<i>SD</i>								
Victim of hate crime	-3.54	0.084*	-4.1	0.118*	-3.99	0.140*	-5.83	0.878*	-5.84	0.635*
<i>Individual level</i>										
Immigrant status										
Yes (<i>No = base</i>)			1.24	0.092*	1.10	0.091*	1.11	0.090*	1.11	0.090*
Gender										
Male (<i>Female = base</i>)					0.23	0.080*	0.23	0.080*	0.23	0.080*
Relative income										
High (<i>Low = base</i>)					-0.29	0.082*	-0.29	0.081*	-0.27	0.079*
Age										
(z-scores)					-0.58	0.052*	-0.58	0.052*	-0.59	0.051*
Town size										
(z-scores)					0.19	0.071*	0.15	0.071*	0.18	0.070*
Going out										
(z-scores)					0.15	0.051*	0.14	0.050*	0.14	0.050*
Education										
(z-scores)					0.06	0.043	0.05	0.043		
<i>NUTS2 level</i>										
Percentage immigrants			0.05	0.012*	0.04	0.011*	0.03	0.013*	0.03	0.011*
Percentage young men							0.01	0.014		
Average educational level							0.12	0.059*	0.15	0.064*
GDPPC							0	0.002		
Employment							0	0.009		
Variance of the constant at region level	0.59	0.123*	0.21	0.066*	0.15	0.053*	0.12	0.047*	0.13	0.049*

* Significant, t-test, $p < 0.05$.

crime. People with high incomes experience less hate crime. The variance at regional level is further reduced to 0.15 due to these individual-level variables.

Model 3 adds explanatory variables at the regional level. After the individual variables, only the size of the immigrant population and the average educational level have significant effects. Inhabitants of better-educated regions experience more hate crime.

Model 4 shows the variables that are statistically significant. Immigrants, younger people, those living in a large city, those with an outgoing lifestyle, and those with low incomes experience more hate crime. More exposed are those residing in a region with a large immigrant population and a high average educational level. The final model has a residual variance of 0.12 out of the 0.59 from the base model. This means the model explains 78% of the total variance at the regional level.

The results of Model 4 regarding the individual level confirm the main results of the loglinear analysis presented above. Young age, immigrant status, residing in a large city, and an outgoing lifestyle are risk factors for hate crime at the individual level. The associations at the individual level found in previous analyses of victimization data are apparently not based on composition effects at the regional level. No interaction effects with contextual factors at the regional level are

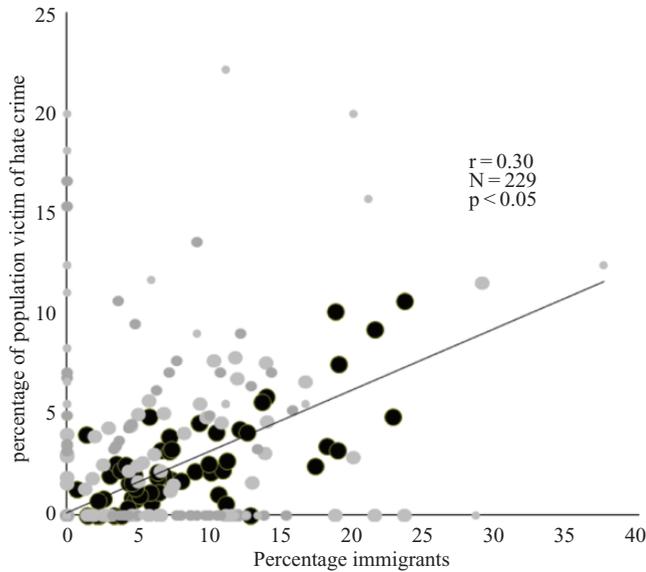


Figure 3. Hate crime victimization prevalence by percentage of the population being immigrant in 229 NUTS2 regions from 14 EU member states. Data from the ICVS 2004/05 ICVS.

found. However, educational attainment, a significant factor in the loglinear analysis, is not statistically significant in this model. This negative finding suggests that the association between this factor and hate crime victimization at the individual level is partly based on the fact that hate crimes are more prevalent in regions with higher educational levels. This finding is difficult to interpret, and we will return to this in the discussion.

An important independent risk factor at the regional level is, first of all, the size of the migrant community. The strength of the bivariate relationship ($r = 0.30$, $n = 229$, $p < 0.05$) is graphically depicted in the scatter plot presented in Figure 3. The numbers of respondents per region are not equal. In Figure 3 the small grey bullet points refer to the 25% of regions with the lowest numbers of respondents and the larger black points to the 25% of the regions with the largest numbers. In computing the correlation coefficient, the larger regions have been given a greater weight. Examples of regions with high proportions of migrants and accordingly high prevalence of hate crime victimization are the capital cities Brussels, London, Paris, and Stockholm. Examples of European regions with few migrants and accordingly low prevalence of hate crime victimization are Dublin and Flemish Brabant (Belgium).

Not associated with the prevalence of hate crime victimization in European regions are the factors GDPPC, unemployment, and proportion of young males. At the level of European regions, hate crime victimization appears to be unrelated to GDPPC, unemployment, and the proportion of young males in the population. Although the addition of more factors in Model 3 reduces the variance explained by the size of migrant communities, the known criminogenic factors (proportion of young, unemployed, or poor males) explain little or no variance in hate crime victimization prevalence. This result does not support theoretical perspectives on hate crime centered on the concepts of strain or economic deprivation according to the economic threat hypothesis. Instead, our results lend support to the hypothesis that hate crimes are propelled by negative feelings

towards newly arrived immigrants with a divergent cultural background independently from economic tensions, according to the community defense hypothesis.

Discussion

The results of our multi-level analysis of survey-based data on hate crime victimization in Western Europe show that risk factors at the individual level are young age, urban residence, and an outgoing lifestyle. The profile of the typical hate crime victim appears to be similar to the familiar one of the victim of common violent crime in the public domain. Hate crime victimization in Western Europe appears to be a special manifestation of the stranger-to-stranger violence among young urbanites in the nighttime economy. The results of the multi-level analysis confirm these results. The overexposure of young male urbanites can be explained by their proximity to potential perpetrators of hate crimes: other young males. These results can be readily interpreted within the framework of lifestyle-exposure theory (Hindelang et al., 1978; Van Dijk and Steinmetz, 1980).

Unlike some studies in other parts of the world, but in line with the findings of targeted minority victimization surveys of the Federal Rights Agency (FRA, 2009), our survey shows that migrants are especially at risk. In the current situation in Western Europe, migrants trigger more hate-motivated crimes than other groups.

The results of analyses of hate crime victimization at the individual level are consistent with the results of bivariate or multivariate analyses in the USA and Australia. The single outstanding exception is the overexposure of immigrants. In American and Australian studies, ethnicity or migrant status is not consistently associated with hate crime victimization. The latter result suggests that in Western Europe, intergroup tensions between first or second-generation migrants and traditional inhabitants are stronger than in some other places of the world.

The multi-level results shed light on the possible macro causes of hate crimes against migrants in Western Europe. Economic indicators including GDPPC and unemployment are found to be unrelated to hate crime prevalence. This result refutes strain theories linking hate crimes to competition over scarce resources such as jobs or houses according to the economic threat hypothesis. Our results show independent relationships between migrant presence per region and hate crime prevalence.¹⁸ This relationship is only slightly explained by the below-average economic situation in these regions. More hate crimes are committed in regions where migrants are more prevalent, independent of the socio-economic situation. These findings suggest that hate crime motivation originates from cultural conflict rather than from aggression induced by economic deprivation.

In several studies on hate crimes done in the USA, relationships between economic strain and hate crime against migrants have been found to be weak or non-existent (Lyons, 2007). According to integrated threat theory (ITT; Stephan et al., 1999), ethnic prejudices are driven by economic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety, and stereotypes. Research has shown that negative opinions about Muslims among Dutch adolescents are unrelated to perceived economic competition but strongly related to stereotypes and symbolic threats (González-Vallejo et al., 2008). Our own results show that within Western Europe, objective measures of economic pressure such as regional unemployment rates are unrelated to the prevalence of hate crimes. At the level of European regions, current ethnic tensions in Western Europe seem driven by perceived cultural threats which are independent of the state of regional economies.

A limitation of our analysis is the focus on the aggregate level of NUTS2 regions. Future studies should replicate our analyses at the level of cities or neighborhoods where scarce resources might be

a factor behind local ethnic tensions. Given that such tensions cannot explain hate crime prevalence at the NUTS2 level, future research on hate crimes against migrants should preferably be informed by integrated threat theory and not focus on economic competition alone. More research is needed into the relationships between symbolic threats and cultural stereotypes and the commission of hate crimes against immigrants and other subgroups seen as different from the cultural mainstream.

An obvious policy implication of our findings concerning the lack of any linkage between socio-economic deprivation and hate crime prevalence is that little scope is left for optimism that the problems of hate crime against migrants will automatically dwindle with rising employment levels or more economic prosperity. A policy theory centered on presumed economic root causes seems to offer limited guidance on how the problems of hate crimes can be effectively prevented or addressed.

Finally, the positive association between levels of education and hate crime prevalence requires further examination. One possible interpretation is that people living in better-educated regions feel more under threat from migrant communities. This interpretation is at odds with research showing that ethnic prejudices are inversely related to levels of education at the individual level (Coenders and Scheepers, 2003). A positive association between educational attainment and violent crime victimization is not an unprecedented finding in victimological studies. Analyses of ICVS data at the country level have revealed that women in more egalitarian nations tend to report *more* rather than *less* victimization by sexual crimes (Kangaspunta, 2000; Van Dijk et al., 2008). A dedicated survey on violence against women in the European Union confirms that sexual and non-sexual violence against women is more common in countries where gender equality is most advanced, such as the Scandinavian countries, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands (FRA, 2014). The latter finding suggests that rates of victimization by violent acts against women reflect both the actual incidence of such violence and the sensitivity of respondents to such acts (Van Dijk, 2015). Similarly, the relationship between education and hate crime victimization at the regional level may reflect heightened sensitivities to bias-related crimes in regions with more highly educated people, including better-educated minority groups.

Notes

1. The British Crime Survey, since 2012 renamed Crime Survey of England and Wales (CSEW), and the National Crime Victims Survey of the USA (NCVS).
2. The International Crime Victims Survey (ICVS) is a standardized survey conducted since 1988 in six rounds in over 80 different nations altogether (Van Dijk et al., 1990; Van Kesteren et al., 2014). In 2004/05 the ICVS was, with co-funding from the European Commission, undertaken among random samples of 2,000 respondents per country drawn from the general populations of 18 EU member states and was named the European Survey on Crime and Safety (EU-ICS). As before in the European component of the ICVS, the interviews were done through computer-assisted telephone interviewing. This paper is based on data from the 15 previous EU member states, except Luxembourg. In the sample from Luxembourg, 30% of the respondents defined themselves as immigrants. Since the majority of these immigrants will be nationals from Germany, France, and Belgium, their position cannot be compared with those of other immigrants in Western Europe who largely originate from Eastern Europe, former colonies, or North Africa. The data from Luxembourg have therefore been excluded from our analysis, as was the case in an analysis of data from the European Social Survey on immigrants and hate crime (Coenders et al., 2004). The methodology of the survey including the questionnaire was based on the ICVS, but some additions were made. For the first time in the ICVS, questions were also asked about immigrant status and whether

the respondent or a member of the family had been a victim of a hate crime. The questionnaire also asked about demographic data such as age, gender, educational attainment, income, and religious beliefs. For detailed information about the methodology and results of the EU-ICS, we refer to the report with key findings (Van Dijk et al., 2007) and the ICVS website (<http://www3.unil.ch/icvs/>).

3. There are three levels of Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics which are used by Eurostat and other European Union bodies (NUTS). NUTS2 regions belong to the second level; they have roughly one million inhabitants each.
4. The Canadian 1999 General Social Survey asked respondents whether they felt they had been a victim of any of the following crimes: sexual assault, assault, break and enter, theft of personal property, theft of household property, motor vehicle/parts theft, and vandalism. The interviewer then asked those mentioning victimizations: 'In Canada hate crimes are legally defined as crimes motivated by the offender's bias, prejudice or hatred based on the victim's race, nationality or ethnic origin, language, color, religion, sex, age, mental or physical disability, sexual orientation or any other similar factor. Do you believe that any of the crimes committed against you in Canada in the past 5 years, or since you arrived in Canada, could be considered a hate crime?'
5. The approach chosen by the FRA is in line with the policy of the British police to record all crimes as hate crime that are perceived by the reporting victims as such.
6. The ICVS 2005 item covers a broad range of different types of biases (nationality, race, color, religious belief, and sexual orientation). Both the BCS and the NCVS have over the years added new biases, such as those relating to gender and disability.
7. The differences between the victimization rates for common crimes between victims and non-victims of hate crimes were largest for sexual crimes (by a factor of 8.7), robberies (7.5), and threats and assaults (4.4).
8. Age: age is coded into 12 categories of five years, starting with 16–19 up to the highest category of 70+; Gender: male and female; Town size: town size is coded in a variable with six categories; Income quartile: income is coded into four categories, asked about in two stages—Is the household income above or below the median value in a country, and is the income above or below the 25th or 75th percentile respectively; Educational level: number of years of formal education; Going out in the evening: five response categories, ranging from never to twice a week or more.
9. Of all hate crimes committed in England and Wales in 2013, 82% were qualified as race-hate crimes.
10. The European average is computed giving each country equal weight. Small countries therefore carry the same weight as large countries such as the UK, Germany, and France.
11. Among the booster sample of Middle East and Vietnamese inhabitants, immigrant status (born overseas) is in fact a risk-reducing factor.
12. Mixed ethnicity is associated with above-average risks of victimization by contact crime and hate crime in bivariate analyses (Jansson, 2006; Smith et al., 2012). However, multivariate analyses based on the 2005/06 BCS identify that for the key crime types, ethnicity is not independently associated with the risk of victimization (Jansson, 2006).
13. Visible minorities are in Canada defined by the Employment Equity Act as 'persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in color.'
14. Unlike differences between visible minorities and not-visible minorities, there is no statistically significant difference between rates of hate crime victimization between immigrants and the Canadian-born population (13 per 1,000 versus 15 per 1,000 population). However, if visible minority status is also taken into account, the findings indicate that visible minority immigrants (18 per 1,000 population) are more than twice as likely as immigrants who are members of a not-visible minority (8 per 1,000 population) to be victims of a hate crime.

15. 'Comparing the two surveys' results on assault and threat shows that of the 34 minority groups surveyed in EU-MIDIS for those 18 EU member states for which the surveys can be compared, 21 recorded a higher victimisation rate for assault and threat than the majority population did' (FRA, 2009).
16. International comparisons of the relationships between ethnicity/migrant status and hate crime victimization are complicated by differences in the meanings of ethnicity and the status of migrants between countries.
17. The assumption that anti-Islamic feelings are at play is confirmed by the results of the EU-MIDIS study showing that in Europe, hate crime victimization prevalence is highest among immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa (Somalia), North Africa, and Turkey.
18. In order to prevent misunderstandings, we add that the emergence of migrant status at individual and collective levels as a predictive factor of hate crime does not imply that migrants can be blamed for their victimization, or that their numbers should be reduced to prevent hate crime. Such an interpretation would be equally as short-sighted as arguing for fewer vehicles or dwellings instead of for better protection against vehicle or household-related crimes.

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