

Misogyny Hate Crime Evaluation Report

For Nottingham Women's Centre

**Funded by the Office of Nottinghamshire Police
and Crime Commissioner**

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Introduction

This research report details the findings of an evaluation commissioned by the Office of the Nottinghamshire Police and Crime Commissioner and the Nottingham Women's Centre to assess the impact of the Misogyny Hate Crime policy, introduced by Nottinghamshire Police in April 2016. In the two years that have passed since the policy's introduction, it is important and timely to assess the impact that the policy has had on the everyday lives of the general public living in Nottinghamshire, as well as the effect it has had on the police. It is also important to assess the current levels of street harassment and sexual harassment in public spaces in Nottinghamshire.

Other police forces nationally have now started to introduce the policy, but Nottinghamshire remains the trailblazer. Evaluating what has happened as a consequence of the policy change in Nottinghamshire can therefore provide other forces with invaluable information, advice and resources and well as pointers for how to further improve practice in Nottinghamshire. This research will provide guidance on the future direction of this work for Nottingham Women's Centre and their partners.

This research is a collaborative project, bringing together researchers from Nottingham Trent University and the University of Nottingham. The research team is headed up by Professor Louise Mullany, a sociolinguist specialising in language and gender studies in the School of English at the University of Nottingham and Dr. Loretta Trickett, a criminologist in the School of Law at Nottingham Trent University.

Aims and objectives

National and International

- To contribute to the national discussion about the value of rolling out Misogyny Hate Crime to all police forces in the country
- To contribute to the agenda of ending violence against women and girls in the UK through influencing policy-makers
- To ensure that women's human rights are respected and upheld in our society and to contribute to the global agenda of bringing about 'Gender Equality', Goal 5 of the United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals 2030
- To develop a sound methodology that can be replicated in research on this topic by other police forces and academics in the UK and beyond

Local

- To understand where, when and how frequently harassment occurs in Nottinghamshire, following two years since the policy's implementation
- To understand who is experiencing the harassment, if experiences are different for different groups and what behavioural changes are made as a consequence of experiencing harassment
- To understand who the perpetrators are and what they say/do
- To measure levels of policy awareness in a sample of the general population of Nottinghamshire, both women and men
- To measure how popular the policy is with the general public
- To measure how much the general public evaluate the language of the policy, in particular relation to its 3 terms: 'misogyny' 'hate' and 'crime'
- To discover whether the policy change has influenced the decision of women in Nottinghamshire to report such incidents to the police
- To interview men in Nottinghamshire to find out what they think about this initiative, whether or not it has influenced their behaviour and whether they would engage in street harassment themselves

- To find out about the experiences of women who have reported to Nottinghamshire Police: what happened to them, why they chose to report, whether they were happy with the police response and whether they would choose to report in the future
- To attempt to interview any perpetrators in Nottinghamshire to find out whether their experiences would influence their future choices to engage in this behaviour
- To find out whether the initiative has made the general public feel safer
- To find out about police experiences of training and dealing with this type of hate crime
- To gather police opinions on the initiative in Nottinghamshire, including the language chosen to describe the policy: 'misogyny', 'hate' and 'crime'

Research Methods

In order to conduct the Misogyny Hate Crime Evaluation, a mixed-methods approach was deemed to be the most suitable in order to develop a robust, replicable method, which enabled a combination of both quantitative and qualitative data to be analysed. The research team combined online survey methods, which work to present an overall snapshot of how the policy is evaluated by the general population in Nottinghamshire. The survey was open for a period of 14 weeks in total and 591 people successfully participated during this period. This was then combined with a series of focus groups and interviews with various stakeholders, in order to provide a much more detailed and nuanced picture of how Misogyny Hate Crime is evaluated in Nottinghamshire, two years after its inception. The groups were identified as follows: The Police, Victims, Perpetrators, Women, as Representative Members of the General Public, and Men, as Representative Members of the General Public. We had a total of 88 people take part in the focus groups and interviews. With the survey and focus groups/interviews combined, we had 679 people participate in the evaluation in total.

174 women have reported Misogyny Hate Crimes from April 2016-March 2018. 73 of these have been classified as crimes and 101 have been classified as incidents. However, the overall total number of perpetrators who have actually been convicted remains at 1, so despite the combined best efforts of the police and the research team, we were unable to access the direct perspectives of any perpetrators. Out of a potential of 174 women who had reported, only 4 victims came forward to talk to us. The low number of victims willing to engage in this research is perhaps unsurprising, given the psychological difficulties associated with discussing a difficult and emotionally upsetting subject matter. However, we did manage to elicit a number of stories of incidents from women who had been victims in the Women's General Public dataset, as well as stories from men whose female partners, family members and colleagues had been victims of street harassment that would be classified as Misogyny Hate Crime by Nottinghamshire Police – we therefore include examinations of these in the data. With the four victims that we did have who had reported, we decided to take an in-depth case study approach in order to ensure that all of the different stages of the process were carefully examined holistically and in detail.

We carried out individual one-to-one interviews with the four victims, deeming this to be the most appropriate method to use both ethically, to attempt to minimise distress, and also to attempt to get a clear picture of exactly what happened. With the general public, where possible, we carried out focus groups, with the key rationale being that we wanted to sample community-based opinions within Nottinghamshire, which best matches this method. On occasion, however, individuals asked if they could be interviewed on their own, as they did not feel comfortable giving their opinions in front of others. We accommodated these needs and on 10 occasions, we conducted one-on-one interviews instead of focus groups, as we deemed it to be important give voice to the experiences of everyone who wished to take part.

We used the same advertising methods to attempt to recruit a broad cross-section of the public for the survey and the focus groups/interviews. In an attempt to recruit the broadest cross-section of the general public as possible to take part, we advertised through a variety of means including: The Nottingham Evening Post, BBC local news, local radio, through the Student Unions at Nottingham Trent University and the University of Nottingham and through press releases from the Nottingham Women's Centre. Participants who took part in the focus groups/interviews were different from those who participated in the survey.

The age range of the participants from the general public who took part in the focus groups and interviews spanned from 18-71. The survey age ranges are even broader, from 16-79, and are given in detail below. We had participants from a range of different areas of Nottingham taking part, including Sneinton, Lenton, Carlton, Mapperley, Carrington, Hyson Green, Sherwood, Clifton, West Bridgford, Beeston, Chilwell, Ruddington, the City Centre and those living in on-campus student accommodation at both of the city's universities.

Survey Results

The survey data were collected via an online survey tool. The demographic breakdown of the survey is as follows:

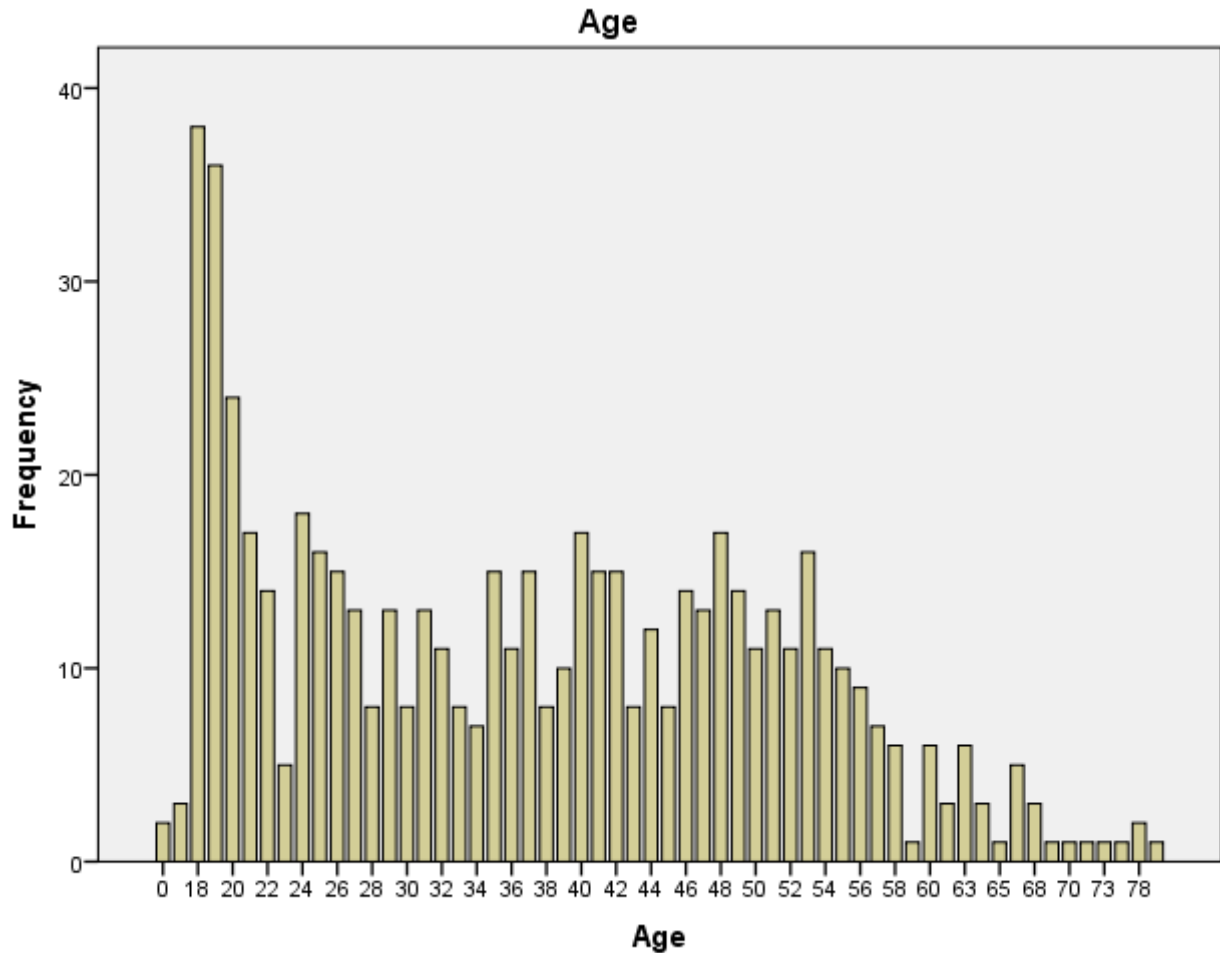
Female: 75.3%
Male: 22%
Non-binary: 1.4%
Prefer not to say: 1%
Other: 3%

It is perhaps unsurprising that 75.3% of survey respondents identified themselves as female, though it is notable that 22% who completed it identified as male. The breakdown according to ethnicity was as follows:

White: 91.7%
Mixed/multiple groups 3.9%
Black: 2.0%
Asian: 0.7%
Other 1.7%

Although the number of survey participants from BME groups is small, we have managed to recruit people from a diverse range of ethnic backgrounds to the focus groups in order to be able to give voice to intersectional experiences and to ensure that intersectionality is not overlooked.

The age breakdown for the survey respondents is as follows:



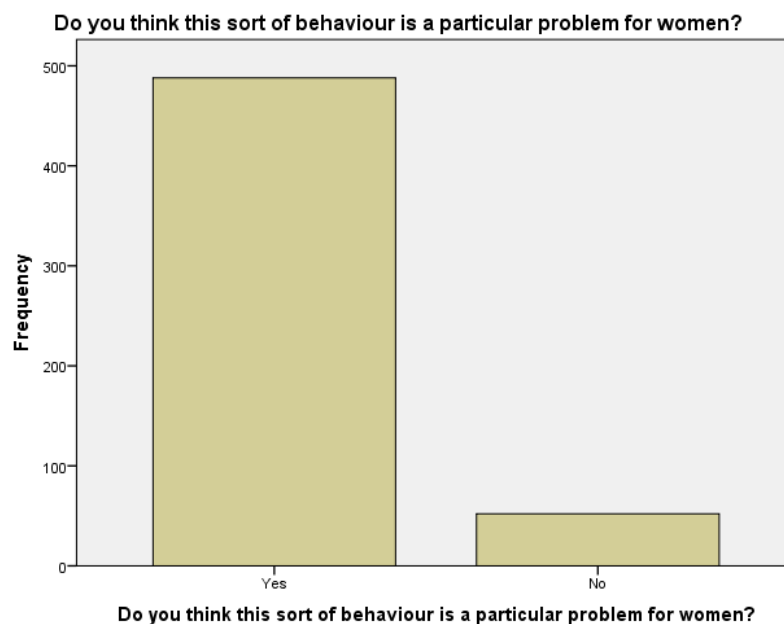
The majority of survey respondents are aged being between 18-21, though a decent range of ages is represented until mid-50s, when responses start to drop off. This would be expected, as the vast majority of people who suffer street harassment are in the younger age categories, between 16-25. Latest statistics documenting exactly who experiences street harassment show that, in the UK, 85% of young women had experienced street harassment and 45% experienced it as sexual touching (YouGov for End Violence Against Women Coalition 2016). Furthermore, whilst younger women and girls are the most frequent targets of sexualised street harassment, middle-aged and older women can also be the targets of misogynistic abuse, including sexualised abuse (YouGov 2016).

Key findings

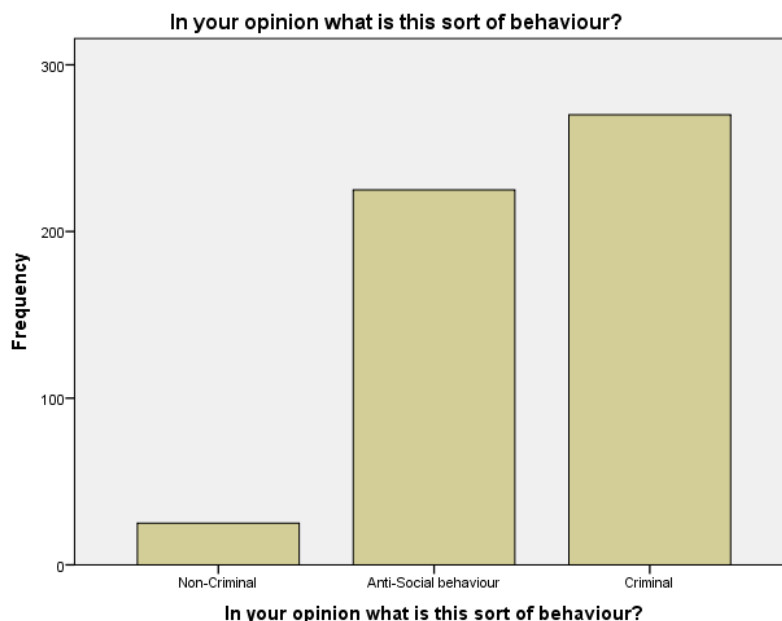
95.2% of participants who responded to the survey thought that the behaviours mentioned, i.e., the behaviours that Nottinghamshire Police had distinguished to be Misogyny Hate Crime, were a social problem (raw data of all of the Key Findings can be found in the Appendix, Tables 1.1-16.1). These behaviours were as follows: whistling, leering, groping, sexual assault, being followed home, taking unwanted photos on mobiles, upskirting, sexually explicit language, threatening/aggressive/intimidating behaviour, indecent exposure, unwanted sexual advances and online abuse:



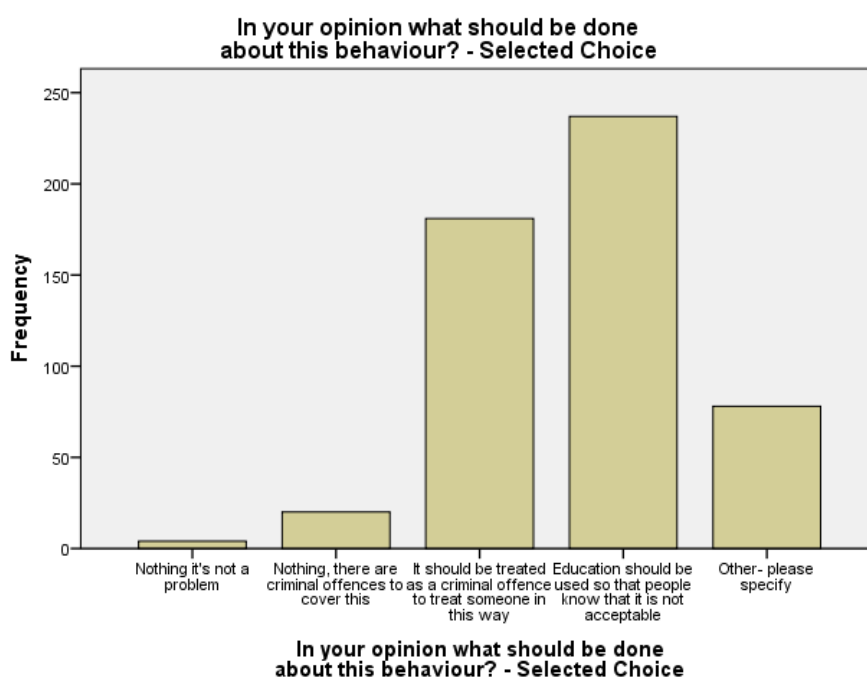
90.4% of respondents thought that these types of behaviours are a particular problem for women:



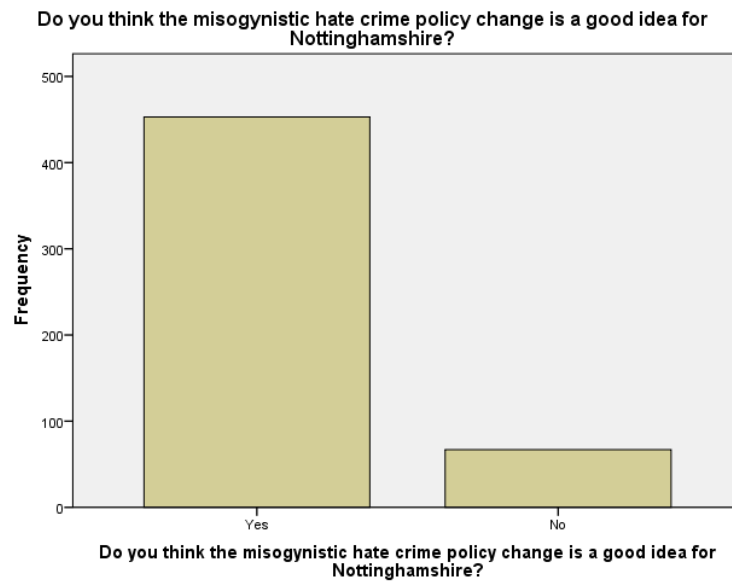
Respondents were then asked whether they thought such behaviour was 'non-criminal', 'anti-social' or 'criminal' behaviour. Only 4.8% identified it as non-criminal, 43.3% responded with an 'anti-social' categorisation and 51.9% regarded the behaviour as 'criminal':



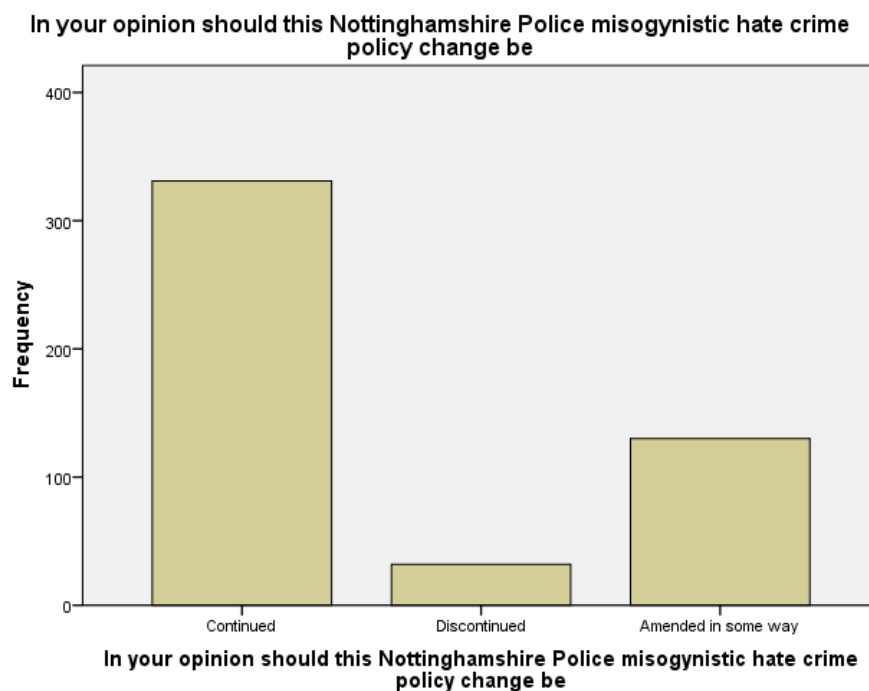
When asked about what should be done about this kind of behaviour, 0.8% thought nothing, as it is not a problem, 3.8% responded that nothing needed to be done as there are criminal offences already to cover this, 34.8% thought it should be treated as a criminal offence, and the majority, 45.6%, thought education should be used so people know it is not acceptable (15% of respondents selected 'Other'). These findings complement focus groups and interview data with men and women where respondents felt that the criminal law and educational interventions should take implemented, which we will detail later:



When asked 'Do you think the policy change is a good idea for Nottinghamshire?', 87.1% of respondents answered yes, with only 12.9% replying no. These findings clearly demonstrate that the majority of survey respondents were in favour of the policy.



When asked whether the policy change should be continued, the responses were as follows: 67.1% think it should be continued, 26.4% think it should be amended in some way (discussed more thoroughly in the next section), with only 6.5% believing that it should be discontinued:



Behaviours

The initial part of the survey was designed to find out which of the behaviours identified by Nottinghamshire Police as Misogyny Hate Crime had been experienced or witnessed by respondents. In total, 93.7% of respondents had either experienced or witnessed street harassment, with the breakdown of different behaviours that respondents have experienced or witnessed outlined below. This figure is slightly higher

than the YouGov figure of 85%. It is possible that people who have experienced street harassment may have been more likely to fill out the survey, so we need a note of caution here. Nevertheless, when combined with the YouGov 2016 statistics and the focus group and interview data, where respondents could be probed further on their reasons for participating, it was clear to the research team that street harassment is a regular occurrence for many women and young girls and takes the following forms:

Whistling: 62.9%
 Leering: 56%
 Sexually explicit language: 54.3%
 Threatening/aggressive/intimidating behaviour: 51.8%
 Unwanted sexual advances: 48.9%
 Groping: 46.2%
 Indecent exposure: 25.9%
 Being followed home: 25.2%
 Sexual assault: 24.7%
 Online abuse: 21.7%
 Taking unwanted photographs on mobiles: 17.3%
 Upskirting: 6.8%
 Other 4.2%
 No: 6.3%

Whistling and leering come out as the most frequently experienced forms of harassment, experienced by 62.9% and 56% of the respondents respectively. The most striking findings here, however, are the high percentages of women who have experienced harassment at the higher end of the crime continuum: unwanted sexual advances (48.9%), groping (46.2%), sexually explicit language (54.3%) indecent exposure (25.9%), with a quarter of respondents reporting that they had experience sexual assault (24.7%). Online abuse had also been experienced by a fifth of all respondents (21.7%). These findings accord with the findings of other recent research undertaken on this topic including #MeToo (2018)¹ and GirlGuiding (2016)² surveys, along with Bates' work (2018)³.

Coming back to Nottinghamshire, the behaviours that were experienced took place both during the day and at night-time in a range of different public spaces, with nightclubs and bars being the most common, followed by public transport. The next most common category was the workplace, followed closely by 'outside home', in parks and then at school/college or university. Shops and car parks were the other two locations that were reported:

Nightclub: 38.7%
 Bar: 37.6%
 Public transport: 25.4%
 Work: 18.4%
 Outside home: 16.9%
 Park: 16.1%
 School/college/university: 14.6%
 Shop: 9.3%
 Car park: 9.3%

¹ <https://www.creativereview.co.uk/metoo-survey-findings/>

² <https://www.girlguiding.org.uk/globalassets/docs-and-resources/research-and-campaigns/girls-attitudes-survey-2016.pdf>

³ Bates, Laura (2018) *The True Scale of Sexism: Misogynation*. London: Simon & Schuster.

Restaurant: 3.4%
Petrol station 2.5%
Gym: 4.9%
Cinema: 1.9%
Other: 26.7%

When asked 'What language and body language were used by the person harassing you?', 36% answered, and their responses were as follows:

46.9% had a comment about their looks
42.3% were subject to sexualised language
37.1% were touched
35.9% involved sexual assault
28.9% were told or asked to smile
19% involved being followed
10.2% involved a threat
11.2 were subject to physical assault
5.1% cited 'other'.

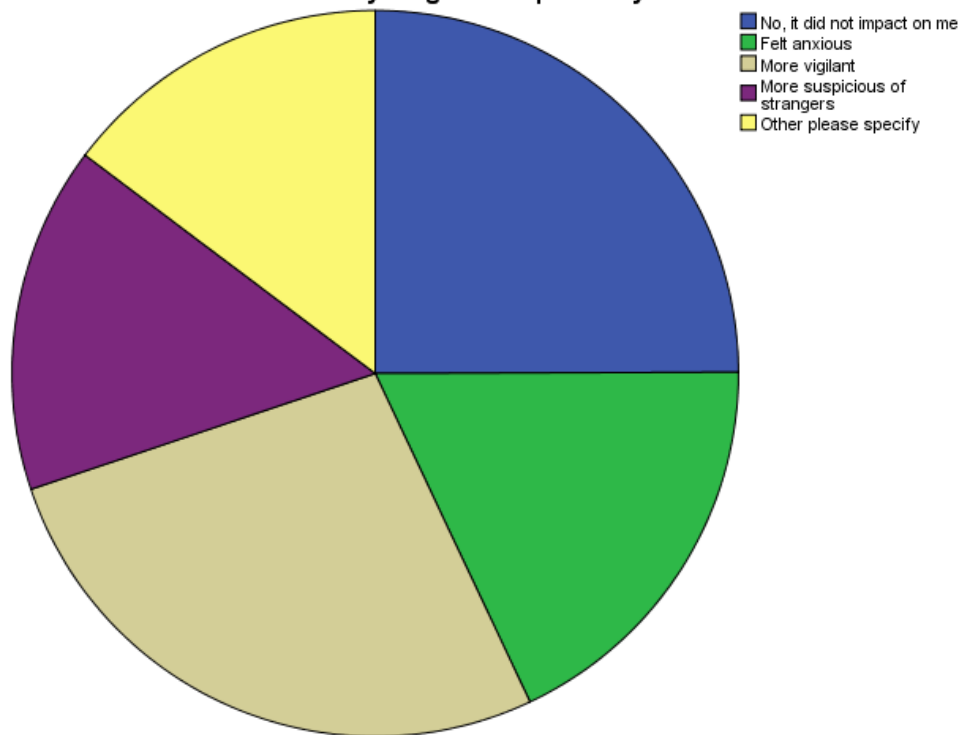
Again the high percentages of being touched (37.1%) and sexually assaulted (35.9%) are notable. The highest concentration of comments about women's bodies (46.9%) and women being subjected to explicit, sexualised language (42.3%) again align with other national research findings (YouGov 2016; Bates 2018) and are typical of the objectification of women and their bodies in public spaces.

The next section asked respondents how to characterise the incident:

56.3% answered inappropriate
48.1% answered rude
33.2% answered aggressive
33.3% abusive
29.6% patronising
26.4% inconsiderate
22.2% hurtful
21.2% childish
4.7% taboo
6.9% other

Respondents were then asked how the incident(s) made them feel:

Did the incident have any long term impact on you? - Selected Choice



Taken together, this evidence demonstrates that, in three quarters of all cases (74.9%), there was impact on the victim (only 24.9% said it did not impact on them), which demonstrates the seriousness of these incidents and runs counter to any attempts to trivialise the policy as political correctness, as we have seen repeatedly in the mass media.

Next, survey participants were asked how they had responded:

- 39.9% walked away
- 31.1% ignored it
- 28.3% gave a verbal response
- 6.9% tried to attract bystander attention
- 6.6% shouted back
- 6.3% laughed
- 8.3% Other

They were then asked whether or not they altered their behaviour as a consequence of what had happened. Well over half of respondents, 63.1%, did change their behaviour in some way, broken down as follows:

- 15.2% avoided the area
- 11.2% Only went out with others
- 10.2% took a different route
- 7.3% took a taxi or drove
- 6.1% stayed in after dark
- 5.8% Changed the way they dressed
- 3.6% avoided using public transport
- 1.5% stopped exercising in public
- 1.7% spoke out less online
- 3.9% bought a rape alarm
- 8.8% Other

As 63.1% did change their behaviour in one of these different ways, this demonstrates that these instances have a clear impact on respondent's everyday lives, particularly in terms of restrictions on their movements, which is an infringement of their human rights. It also runs counters the dominant mass media narrative that such events are simply trivial examples, often portrayed as harmless fun (Mullany and Vladimirou 2017)⁴.

The next area that the survey covered was police reporting. The results are as follows:

Did you report the incident to the police?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	39	6.6	9.3	9.3
	No	382	64.5	90.7	100.0
	Total	421	71.1	100.0	
Missing	System	171	28.9		
Total		592	100.0		

As illustrated above, only 6.6% reported to the police, with 64.5% not reporting. 28.9% didn't answer this question. The failure to report instances to the police is significant in a number of ways. High rates of non-reporting are very common with all types of hate crime and offences including rape and sexual assault, for a variety of reasons, including the fact that victims are too concerned that they will not be believed and/or taken seriously; these factors feature heavily in the focus group and interview data gathered from members of the public.⁵

Respondents were then asked whether the initiative influenced their decision to report. 15.4% said it had influenced their decision, but the majority, 84.6% said it had not influenced them. It is clear, therefore, that under-reporting is a significant issue and remains so, despite the introduction of the policy. One of the main issues identified by the research findings was that, if the policy is to continue, it needs to be heavily publicised across the city and the county; many respondents simply did not know about the policy. We will pick up on this issue in detail in the qualitative data section, where we examine the interview and focus group data.

In terms of what action the police had taken, results are indicated below (See also Appendices Tables 9.1-16.1). It is worth noting here that these numbers are taken from the 6.6% of women that reported:

2.2% Unsuccessfully tried to find perp
1.5% Police spoke directly to perp
1.4% Reassured me
0.8% Nothing
0.7% Police gave perp a warning

⁴ Mullany, L. & D. Vladimirou (2017) The Language of Misogyny as a Hate Crime: Media Representations and Online Responses. British Association of Applied Linguistics Conference: Gender & Language SiG, University of Nottingham, June 2017.

⁵ Gov UK (2013) <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/an-overview-of-sexual-offending-in-england-and-wales>



0.5%: Police gave a caution
0.5%: Prosecution took place
0.3%: Risk assessment by police
1.4% Other

Of the respondents who had reported to the police, 66.7% had been happy with the police response whilst 33.3% had not:

Were you happy with the police response?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	26	4.4	66.7	66.7
	No	13	2.2	33.3	100.0
	Total	39	6.6	100.0	
Missing	System	553	93.4		
Total		592	100.0		

We will explore this issue further in the qualitative data, where we have detailed evidence from those victims who had reported.

If respondents had not reported to the police, 9.2% would be very confident reporting in the future, 29.5% would be confident, whilst the majority, 51.9%, would be unconfident. 9.4% reported that they would be very unconfident:

**If you did not report to the police,
how confident would you feel reporting in the future?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very confident	36	6.1	9.2	9.2
	Confident	116	19.6	29.5	38.7
	Unconfident	204	34.5	51.9	90.6
	Very unconfident	37	6.3	9.4	100.0
	Total	393	66.4	100.0	
Missing	System	199	33.6		
Total		592	100.0		

These results on the continued reluctance to report to the police and to feel confident in police reporting are significant. To address this, wider promotion of the policy is clearly needed in order to raise awareness. However, it is also important to point out that some of the reluctance to report may be part of the more general reluctance to report offences to the police, particularly those associated with sexual harassment and assault (CSEW 2017).⁶

⁶ <http://www.crimesurvey.co.uk/SurveyResults.html>

This report now turns to the qualitative data and a more detailed discussion from the focus groups and the individual interviews, expanding upon the key points that have been highlighted in the survey, as well as broadening the discussion and evidence base in order to meet the project's overall aims and objectives.

General Public: Women Key Findings

Location, frequency and time

It is immediately evident from all of the women's general public data that street harassment continues to be a persistent, widespread social problem for women in Nottinghamshire, despite the introduction of the policy. All women who took part in the focus groups and interviews reported multiple experiences of recent street harassment in Nottingham City Centre and in a wide variety of locations across Nottinghamshire. They recounted numerous stories of harassment in public spaces, happening on a very regular basis:

I do think it's a big problem because it does happen very frequently.
It happens on a day-to-day basis for a lot of women and young girls.

I would say it happens at least once a week. Maybe it's where I live
but, for me it is mostly sexual in nature.

People really need to do something about this because I have experienced
it on multiple occasions, and I know other girls have.

It does happen a lot, but people don't think much of it anymore.
It's just like 'Oh, that's happened again'. People just kind of accept it.

The normalisation of the harassment comes through very clearly in the final comment here, that 'people just kind of accept it'. This accords with the findings of recent research that, despite increasing evidence on the scale of the problem (YouGov 2016; Vera-Grey 2016), sexualized street behaviour is overwhelmingly normalized, which also inhibits women reporting it to the police, both nationally and internationally.

It is also reported as happening regularly in workplace public spaces, as in the following examples, where these women were working in the service industry:

I worked at [company name] and he [a customer] kneeled over the [counter] and took a picture of my chest, I reported it to my manager and he said, and I quote, I should be flattered that somebody would want to take a picture of me. And I said no, but he just took a picture of my chest, and he was like, 'Well I can't do anything about that, you should feel flattered'. And I wanted to ask, what if somebody took a picture of your daughter's chest?! Is that what you want somebody to tell her?

When I was waitressing I used to get it all the time constantly and they think that if you are being paid to waitress then you are like their property and they can treat you how they like. It was normalized because you were made to feel you were made to wear this outfit.

Many commented that street harassment gets much worse in summer due to different types of clothing, even if clothing choices are conservative:



It was last summer we'd got sandals on and just normal little summer dresses you know and it was just awful, men using sexual language like 'boobs' and 'tits' shouting and all that kind of thing.

It is notable that street harassment was reported as happening at all times of day, from early morning through to the evening:

A lot of the harassment I've experienced happens in broad daylight and people hear it and they don't do anything, they don't help you, they don't say anything back.

The nature of the behaviour changed once alcohol was a factor and harassment is clearly a regular problem in the night-time economy in pubs, bars and nightclubs:

I've had someone put their hand down my pants before in a bar when I was waiting for a drink... I shouted at him, pushed him away but there's not a lot really you can do, you could tell a bouncer I guess, but even bouncers can be quite rude...if they think you've had a drink and you've not, bouncers can be really quite patronising to you like 'alright then sweetie' or whatever, or 'you're looking good tonight'.

I think bars are actually worse than nightclubs, especially with middle-aged men who think it's okay to interrupt, as if a group of women are "fair game".

The comments you hear, of men on nights out being like 'Oh are we gonna go home?', or 'I'd shag you'....you don't always think about how bad that is. And it's not until the next day when you think oh god that was a bit creepy. And I've watched my friends be in situations where I'm like, that's vile, and I think I've got my wits about me, but a lot of people haven't, and that's where it's quite scary...especially for younger students.

I know, statistically in my head, if I was to be raped it would be somebody I know, but in my head, I'm crossing the road when I see a group of guys in the street, cause I don't know what they might do. I have been followed, in the middle of the night in Nottingham, Lace Market, might I add, by a guy who was like 'You're really pretty, and I'm like thank-you, and he was like 'No! I wanna talk to you, and then I'm like 'No thank-you'...I ran in heels and he was following me and I was like 'Let's be safe rather than sorry', I ran into a club... and I was like to a bouncer 'I don't know what he's going to do'. And he looked at me, and he was like 'I would walk you home but I'm not allowed to move from here', and I was like 'Is it okay if I stand here until he goes away...and he stood there for thirty minutes!'

Additionally, women also reported being followed home in the middle of the day. There were accounts of harassment occurring while women were on their own in public spaces, in groups, and also whilst walking with their children:

I even walking with my son as a baby in a pram would get pipped and things shouted out of windows from cars and you just wouldn't think that would happen, you know you're just walked down the road going to visit my mum with my baby with a changing bag on my shoulder and still you get people winding their windows down and shouting things.



They don't care if there's children around I have been to the theatre with my sister on a Sunday morning walking back to the bus in Nottingham, they've shouted, men, groups of men sat outside bars have started shouting really inappropriate things with three little children with us and you think it's ridiculous... I just flipped on that occasion and I went back over on that occasion and I said "there are children!", these are three boys as well I said "I don't want these boys seeing men behaving like that" it's atrocious, "we're on a family outing and we're going to get the bus – leave us alone!" It was ridiculous.

Participants also reported sexual harassment in schools as experienced by their daughters, younger siblings or themselves, often when walking to and from school:

I have been shouted out from a window in school uniform, "put more clothes on you slag", that still goes on.

Harassment was also reported as taking place within schools as well, which again accords with the findings of the survey:

There needs to be much more done in senior schools. The kind of comments you hear are worse than any night out in a bar.

Who is experiencing the harassment?

In terms of whether women thought this was more of a problem for them than for men, all women who took part in the focus groups and interviews thought it was more of a problem for women:

Yes. I think it's because of the sexual nature...You don't hear of it as much, or see it as much, of women being like "Oh you're fit" just down the street...maybe more on TV, so you know like, shows like Love Island and ... girls are always tweeting...but I suppose that just feeds their ego a bit...but it's not the same as walking down the street and someone being like "Nice boobs"...that that's scary for women, and you wouldn't say, or I've never heard of people being like "nice bum" to a boy when they're walking down the street...and I think that's why the victimisation for women is so much worse...it's like the sexualisation of it, and it freaks you out

But like, I even know people, like men, and boys, who kind of have it as well, like, but mainly on that part, it's where women are drunk where they do it, whereas men like usually do it like when they're in the car like or whatever. So I do think it's a big problem because it affects a lot of people generally, but mainly women...and especially because children are involved, I think that's a big problem, like for young girls.

These examples show that men can experience similar behaviours, but it's evaluated very differently (as discussed further below in the men's section).

In the following example, this woman reports a situation where she was the victim of physical assault in the middle of the day and the perpetrator had children with him when committing the crime – the victim here, (in the general public women's group) described this as an intersectional combination of gender and racially related abuse. She did not report this incident to the police, partially because no-one came to her aid and she felt that she did not have any witnesses to back her up, despite there being lots of people around:

A man hit me on the head in town and he was pushing a buggy with a baby in it, there was this thought like, 'oh you're a dad you wouldn't be violent towards someone' but this man hit me on the head, in, lots



of people around and no one did anything...he was just shouting abuse at me. you get these stupid men all the time and I thought 'Oh that's horrible' but then more distressing was the fact that no one did anything even though they were watching. I feel like if this was treated with more seriousness, I think the gravity of the situation the public could kind of get.

The harassment also occurred when women were evidently out with their partners, both in heterosexual couples and especially in lesbian couples. Two women below recount how the intersection of their gender and sexuality affects the type of harassment they have experienced:

I feel like it intersected quite a lot with my sexuality. So I would be more feminine presenting and I'd also date women who were more feminine presenting, so a lot of it would be like 'Yeah, gonna have a threesome' "Oh yeah, can I join in?". When you were waiting for the bus after a night out.

We'd go to clubs and we might be dancing, or occasionally have a kiss. I'm not a massive one for PDA [public displays of affection] I find them a bit overbearing sometimes, but you know, a couple who have been together many years, and I'd turn around sometimes and I'm not joking when I say this they'd been a queue of guys watching us. What is really weird...if I'm walking out, holding her hand, you maybe got certain communities or certain ages or males or maybe just men who are a bit pissed off and are looking for someone to take out their frustrations on, yeah we've had all of the comments.

These two examples serve to illustrate how women are consistently objectified and evaluated as heterosexual men's property, regardless of their sexuality.

All women participants consistently reported feeling intimidated, threatened and fearful due to these experiences. Intersectionality, as highlighted in the example above, is also a key issue that has come to the fore in the data. Members of ethnic groups experienced both misogynist and racist abuse in an integrated way, as we have already seen in the example of physical assault reported above. There were clear examples of how the type of harassment was exacerbated if women were from BME groups, where women tend to experience a combination of misogynistic and racial abuse:

I was with a friend when these two men by the shops, they were sitting outside the shop, and they said "oh Chinese Chinese mmm" or something. And my friend said why don't you say something back? But I felt I live on that street so I don't want to... and I get it so often that ... if you decide to battle it every time it's exhausting. It's also when it's evening I feel more threatened so I do tend not to go to that shop after a certain time.

Here the woman reports the sexual objectification of herself by two men on the street, which is directly combined with explicit reference to her ethnic identity. Where verbal abuse was reported, it was most often of a sexual nature, most often objectifying the body.

There was an awareness of an identifiable continuum from women in terms of the seriousness of the incidents that they had individually experienced, from verbal harassment through to physical assault, illustrated in the examples below:

I've had loads, and it's quite sad actually to think I'd have to try to laugh about some of the things that happened because, it's gone from being called an "F-ing slag" just cause I'm running along the road...man's driving along, winds the window down, calls me an "f-ing fat slag". I was



driving once and I pull up at the traffic lights and, I think he was walking across, and lights went green and I moved the car, and it was the "f-ing women drivers, what are you f-ing doing?" and all the usual things. Someone has actually come and spat at me in the street, a man came and spat at me in the street in town because he said I bumped into his girlfriend. I've had that and, the worst one was when I had a stalker for about four years. Somebody who was harassing me. I didn't know him... and it culminated in him seeing me and he smacked, he assaulted me, smashed me around the face. So yeah, that was pretty horrendous.

I have had builders screaming at me "Nice tits" from the top of a building...I've had guys scream at me from a passing car, I've had people turn around and come back and pull up next to me in a car whilst I'm by myself...it makes me feel like I'm about to take part in Taken [a film where a young woman is kidnapped].

These examples illustrate the connective thread of misogyny between sexualized and non-sexualised examples of abuse of women.

Coming back to the issue of intersectionality, this is also raised in reference to perpetrators and their age. Many younger women comment about harassment from older men, which makes them feel revolted, partly because they are young enough to be their daughters:

Another thing that makes it worse is when it's an older man. Like, for me, if I was walking down the street, and there was a twenty something lad or whatever, and he said "You're fit", I'd be like thinking 'Weirdo', and walk on, but if I was walking down the street and there was an older man, around my dad's age or a bit older, that's what I find really creepy. And I'm just like 'Er rapist'. And it's so bad that you just put the two and two together, but it's also like, is sexualised street harassment a gateway? If you're that type of person where you're gonna say that, what would you do to me in a dark alley?

There were a couple of drunk guys who were shouting "look at her arse" or whatever, and me and my friend were like you're tragic, because you're like fifty something, and you're shouting at two twenty year old girls, and it was a bit weird...I think I actually did turn round cos it was mainly based around my friend, and I said "you're embarrassing yourselves because she's young enough to be your daughter or granddaughter, so that's embarrassing".

In the following cases, which again echo the findings of the survey, women employed a range of responses to harassment, including ignoring it, walking away, trying to attract attention from a passer-by, or, phoning a friend or family member (or pretending to phone them), wearing headphones to block it out and occasionally shouting back:

I feel like often if you respond, they respond more so I would just leave it, I'd just ignore it and it will probably just go away. But if I responded they would have a full-on conversation with me about it. So it did make me feel quite unsafe, especially at night.

No, not really. I suppose the only thing I would probably say is that I don't like going out at night, but that's probably because my mum always said to me don't go out at night by yourself...if I do go out, I never walk by myself, or I do the fake phone call, I have the most elaborate conversations in the whole wide world, and I always make it like "Oh yes mummy I'm on my way", when there's nobody on the phone, I've done it when my phone is dead! Or I phone a friend, normally



I call my boyfriend, I'm like I'm walking home, or if my phone's about to die and I tell him if I'm not home in about twenty minutes call the police because something has happened.

I wouldn't walk through parks at night or down alleyways, or even streets I'd sometimes feel a bit iffy around. If I do I'm always on the phone, even if I'm pretending to be on the phone, I'm on the phone. That is definitely something I've been using for years. Especially when I was fourteen or fifteen and I used to go to the park at night, I would either force someone to walk in the same direction or I'd ring my mum and be like "I'm on my way home now", or I'd be texting someone and just say "even if you don't speak to me I'll just hold the phone up and scream if someone's coming".

When questioned about why they thought men engaged in harassing behaviour, some women felt that men were unaware of the extent of the harassment and its everyday impact on women:

I think a lot of well-meaning and nice men perhaps feel a little hurt by what they feel are sweeping statements about men and their attitudes towards women because in their minds they'd say I'd never tolerate that, I think it's more because they don't experience it, they don't experience it first hand and men don't do it when you're with a man, generally...and what I really hate the most is when people say that could be your mother, or your sister, or, and it's like, again, perhaps without meaning it, without thinking, its women as possession, and only being able to attach that kind of empathy to whether they belong to you or meant something to you, not as people.

Most women believed that those men who engage in street harassment do so to exercise power and control over women, and that their behaviour is meant to humiliate and intimidate, serving to exercise male dominance by putting women down:

I don't think its sexual, it's not an attraction thing, it's a power thing. To me, unconsciously perhaps, but men seem to own public space more than women, just in the way I see even young boys behaving like that. And that's not their fault [young boys] but it needs to be sorted out at quite a young age I think there's a distinction it's like when a man in a car on his own deliberately slows down and genuinely deludedly thinks that they've got some actual chance with you by being creepy, but with the groups of men its more intimidation, its more power, it's ownership of public space.

Women also believed that men excuse their behaviour using the 'compliment argument', where men justify their actions by stating that they are just giving a harmless compliment, although the women receivers are very clear that they did not view it as a compliment:

You know how some people say "oh it's someone just giving you a compliment" It's not. Sometimes it's a lot more than that, and it's scary being followed, being approached, people saying things to you it's not pleasant. So it's not something that people can sort of brush over, it's obviously quite a big problem.

When you're walking down the street and you see a stranger and you know (that they're sexualising the person in question), its just, ugh, you're thinking of me in a sexual nature, its scary. Its not a compliment, in no way shape or form.

Having said this, one respondent recognized that some women can sometimes view this kind of behaviour as a compliment and that this can confuse the issue when trying to explain to men where the boundaries of acceptable behaviour lie:

A friend of mine...she loves getting a wolf-whistling in the street and she thinks nothing of it if a man says, you know, "c'mon give us a twirl" and show us – she finds it, you know, really complimentary. And, I think, from a lot of men's perspectives they, you know, rightly or wrongly – that's not for me to say – that, oh, "we don't know what is considered a compliment anymore, what we are and aren't allowed to do, it is difficult!" Well, for me it is quite straightforward! {laughs} Some men, their perception of it is, you know, we see it as a compliment, and maybe that's problematic because they see, "oh, I thought it was a compliment!"

Similarly, another woman mentioned her perception that it can be difficult for men to know the difference between giving a compliment and committing harassment:

Men may not realise that their behaviour is upsetting, they may see it as a compliment.

These comments about men not knowing the boundaries are very similar to the negative commentary that appeared in the mass media when the Misogyny Hate Crime policy change was launched, which was used to trivialise the policy. Additionally, these comments accord with some of the comments of the police officers in this project.

What is clear here is that, whilst very few people in the research viewed any of these behaviours as complimentary, respondents were aware that this was how some men and a handful of women did perceive those behaviours, including wolf-whistling, cat-calling and other comments at the lower end of the continuum; this ambiguity, in part, influenced their decisions not to report such incidents as they did not feel they would be taken seriously by the Police:

I don't think I would ever bother reporting wolf-whistling or shouting out a car or pipping but I think it is a bit different when you are literally physically being harassed inside or outside of a club or event during the daytime or whatever. I would be more willing to report that based on the misogyny policy. I know some girls who are not bothered by that sort of thing but it really grinds my gears. If you want to try with me just speak to me – the distinction is it makes me feel they think they can just do that sort of thing they think that's alright, whereas for me it's the opposite and it makes me angry. It's objectifying me.

Behavioural changes

Next, we focus upon how women have changed their behaviour, often on a daily basis, demonstrating regular infringements on their human rights, in order to attempt to avoid harassment and abuse:

I was up the Forest Road area because a good friend lived there, and I was walking, and like a man was kerb-crawling me. And I didn't understand what he was doing because I didn't know what it was, and he undid his window and innocent me just assumed he was asking for directions, and he said to me: 'Are you working, and I didn't realise that he meant am I a prostitute, and I was like "no I've just finished work", and then I was like...you've got the wrong idea, and even then I was wearing a Barbour and leggings. So I wasn't even dressed provocatively, and even just from that, I won't go up there now...I think, yeah.

Another woman reported how members of the women's only running group that she organized last winter had deliberately chosen to come in winter when it was dark so that they wouldn't be seen on the street running in Nottinghamshire:

I organise running groups, these kind of couch to 5k programmes for women...I've only been able to do it of an evening and I've said to them 'gosh, I'm so impressed that you've turned out here in a winter's evening, seven o'clock and it's pitch black' and they say "no, this is why we've done it, because nobody can see us" and clearly fear of judgement is a bigger thing.

One women reported how she changed her behaviour on her walk home down an alleyway:

I run extra fast down the alleyway...I do change my behaviour and I have my phone with me on 999.

Women reported avoiding going out after dark, avoiding certain locations or venues, they did not use public transport, only went home in groups or caught taxis instead:

I don't like going from place to place, I'd rather stay in one place that I feel safe in and take a taxi home. I wouldn't walk home after dark now, but I think that's just a safety thing that I have always adhered to.

However, taxis were not always considered safe, and some women avoided using taxis for fear of travelling alone with a male driver. One woman had been locked inside a cab by a taxi driver.

Some women commented on their perceptions of how it restricts the movement of women in general:

I think it stops people from going in like particular areas, or walking a certain way...especially like women in the evenings, like if someone shouts something at you it might lead to something else...people might not wanna walk to places just in case, like that escalates to something like physical abuse, not just verbal comments or something like that... it'll definitely stop people from wearing certain things to draw attention to themselves. For example, you might not wanna wear a skirt that's quite short just in case someone shouts something at you, so you change the way you act and the way you behave to protect yourself

A number of women explained how they dressed more conservatively. In the next example, this woman explains the behavioural strategies that she employs to attempt to stop the harassment happening, in particular, by restricting dress to hide parts of her body:

I feel a bit embarrassed, I always feel that I need to be covered up all the time...I feel like oh I can't wear anything too tight, or I can't wear anything that will show my breasts, or anything of my figure, because I feel like somebody's going to do something that I don't appreciate...I'm a short person so if I do sit down I always sit down with my bag covering my chest, so that you can't see down my top, if that makes sense... I am very self conscious... I understand I have large breasts, however, I don't like it when people point that out. A guy on the tram once stood over me, and he says, 'Love, you've got a nice rack....and he just continued to stare at my chest'.



Furthermore, the following woman comments on how she also changes her dress and demeanour to avoid being 'perved' on:

It does change the way you are, because I am conscious about the things I wear, and even if I feel like I look really good in that, I'm also like is this a bit too short, are my boobs on show too much, are my arms out, would somebody look at me in a different way. Because I don't want that, I want people to be like you look nice, whatever, and to feel good in myself, I don't do it for the general public to perv me

Whilst the aforementioned examples are related to sexual forms of street harassment, similar responses were also employed to deal with other forms of misogynistic abuse which were often intersectional in nature. For example, a Muslim woman reports how she did not travel on a bus route for a whole year because of the combined racial and misogynistic abuse she had suffered from an 'old man' on a bus when she was pregnant, because she was too fearful to do so:

When I was pregnant there was an old man who came by and just called me bad names and he went, he left the bus...he was shouting at me and I was scared, and I was shocked and...I was thinking that he's going to go and that's it, but then he just looked at me and shouted some words, and...was screaming and he was furious, and angry, and his face...and then he left the bus and it was like, what's wrong? What happened? What's the problem?...I didn't use that bus for one year. Didn't take this bus for one year – I was pregnant and it affected me. I was using the tram for the next year. I was scared. I think this bus...old people take this bus. This company. I'm not gonna take this until I deliver my baby... I never expected something from somebody who's old. Usually it's teenagers who will say this. It was just sudden.

She then goes on to tell a story of another occasion that this combined racialised and misogynistic abuse has happened to her. On this occasion the target of the abuse was a friend who she was with at a bus stop:

A few months ago I was sitting in the bus stop with my friend, and she's covering her face, and somebody on the bicycle, he was going in the street and then, while he was going on his way, he just said the F-word and few words and, then continued ...she doesn't speak English, she said "what did he say?", [I said] "Things you don't want to know about". They kept saying things to me but I don't know what they're saying. I said "maybe that's good for you not knowing what other words", it's just...and now I didn't see her for the last two months. I don't know why, but she hasn't been coming to school, I think her husband is picking up the kids.

With the intersection of religion and gender, some women reported that the reaction of their Muslim friends who had experienced combined gender and religious hate crime is not to go out any more, at the advice of their husbands. In the following example, one woman is telling a story about one of her close friends who had been assaulted in a supermarket during the daytime in a Nottingham suburb, by another woman who had physically attacked her to remove her veil to shouted religious and gender-based abuse at her. At this point we were talking about whether her friend had thought about reporting the incident to the police:

I thought that she should do this. She said "I don't know, my husband isn't that much into it", her husband is studying at university and doesn't

want to get into trouble...I told her, there must be some cameras that can see, I'm sure you will have everything...she was like "I don't know, my husband is like, stay at home, I'll take you wherever you want, we can go together."

There is clear evidence of this incident really restricting her freedom of movement here – instead of reporting the incident to the police, the woman in question was too scared to and instead her husband decided that she would only go out with him present, which has significantly limited her freedom of movement. The focus group participant who is telling the story of her friend goes on to explain the rationale behind this in terms of both culture and in terms of a fear that the police will not take you seriously, which leads to a more general comment about the normalization of this kind of behaviour:

It's that culture of 'let's not cause any trouble' and, you know, 'it happens'...I remember people saying to me "oh, it happens all the time, what, do you need to go to the police every time somebody says anything to you?" It's that kind of culture and you just think... that, you know, it enables it. 'cause people think that it's normal, that it's normalising people saying derogatory comments to you because you're a woman.

Some of these experiences can be very damaging and the restriction on freedom of movement can be really limiting. One woman who experienced stalking and whose stalker was eventually charged by police reported how her behaviour had been seriously affected by her experience:

I didn't go out for a long time, I wouldn't go out on my own for a long time after that stalker. I couldn't, it was terrible, and that was just at the beginning, just a few years, just the words – just words on Facebook, and messages sent, and threats – words are so damaging. It's the potential behind the words.

Policy Awareness and Police Reporting

In terms of assessing people's awareness of the Misogyny Hate Crime policy, unfortunately it appeared that many women who partook in the study did not know about the policy's existence before the focus group/interview invitation:

No. I didn't even think that the street harassment thing was a thing. I just thought it was...obviously I've seen it in the news saying about wolf whistling and that you should take it as a compliment, and I was like 'It's not a compliment when somebody screams at you from a moving car, and then switches round and comes back, it just doesn't feel like a compliment to me. And like, I've never really heard in depth about it, but I've seen it in passing and thought okay, people really need to do something about this because I have experienced it on multiple occasions, and I know other girls have.

No. I had never heard about it. I knew that street harassment was a thing, but I didn't know that the police were involved in it. I didn't know that the police would ever do anything about it, that goes back on how I was saying that I wouldn't go to the police about things.

For those who did know about it, most were unaware that it was a Nottinghamshire-based policy only at first. Some remember seeing billboards at tram stops, posters in bus stops and on social media, whereas others do not:

I've seen it on the news, on the BBC website and I've seen it loads on social media, but that's partly due to who I follow on social media {{laughs}}

I moved [to Nottingham] at the end of 2016 and I'm a very infrequent social media user so I'd never heard of it. I hadn't seen publicity or anything. It would be great if there were posters about this where I live because the only posters there are about if you leave dog litter you get fined £75.

Before this [focus group] I assumed it was just about cat calling and not about behaviour in bars.

When asked whether they would have called the police before they knew about the policy, most women said that they would not report because they thought that they would not be taken seriously:

I wish I had reported some of the abuse I had whilst waitressing. I wasn't tempted because I thought this is how the world is sadly.

No, no ... I think its down to lack of education, I just thought it was something that I had to deal with...and I always thought the police was for serious crimes, so if I called the police I would feel like I was gonna be arrested for wasting police time or something, you know? So, apart from calling my friends, or running to a bouncer, or even calling my boyfriend, apart from that I've never thought "okay let me just call the police and tell them that a random guy is following me".

It's a fine line between compliments and abuse, and I think that's where the whole, "oh do the police take it seriously?" when those issues arise. Because a lot of the time, I mean I hadn't realized how I've actually probably been in loads of situations that weren't consensual or entirely legal and you just don't think. But equally, I just wouldn't go to the police.

In terms of whether women would now call the police because of the policy, if it is verbal harassment that has been experienced, then there is an observable pattern that women would not report, regardless of the Misogyny Hate Crime policy, partly because it is so endemic and normalised within society. The following illustration epitomizes this point of view:

I'd feel like I'm being dramatic...if it was just a verbal thing and no touching, even if they squeezed my bum on a night out I feel I'd being dramatic and that's just because I'm used to it.

There were a number of discussions here around the perceived seriousness of the offence and how important this is to affecting their decision to report:

I would definitely report it if there was physical contact.

Countless times I've had this done to me before, so what's the point of me going to the police station and sitting there for two hours with a policeman who probably just thinks 'why are you wasting my time?'

Despite this perception, it is worth noting that within the 174 reports, police have received a wide range of reports, from verbal abuse to sexual assault. Others do describe that the knowledge of the existence of the policy that they now have (from the focus group, on this occasion), would have meant that they called the police, in this particular instance, in terms of being followed, but also in terms of other forms of harassment; this woman comments that she will now change her behaviour because of the policy and she would report not just being followed, but also other offences which she characterises as 'gawking':

I would have known that I could have called the police. I would have called them and been like "this guy is following me, I'm scared and I don't know what to do"...I would have called the police now, but I was just like okay, the bouncer's here, I'm gonna stand with him because he looks big and bad, and if anything I could run in the club. So it was one of those things, but now I feel like now if you're gawking at me, I'll call the police.

I think actually making misogyny a [hate] crime makes you feel like "hey, you have done something really wrong to me, it's not okay, it is an offence"

I think I would report now, if, only if, I thought I was like followed by somebody, or constantly hurled abuse at by somebody in public who wasn't drunk and wasn't on a night out, purely because for me, for everything I've learnt and everything I've looked at, if somebody grabbed my bum in a club and I went to the police and said I didn't like it, they'd be like "oh well what were you wearing?", or maybe more in the courts, but if I tried to pursue it, it would be like "what were you wearing?", "were you drunk?", "did he buy you a drink?", and its all those little things.

Now I know that, especially in Nottingham, that you could go to the police for something like this, but I think yeah because before I was like it's frowned upon isn't it but there's nothing you can do about, the police don't care, whereas now, I do think knowing that Nottinghamshire Police would do something, that I'd be more likely to go but only because I know this and because I feel like I could back myself more. For people that maybe don't know about the campaign, I feel that without that they still might not want to.

However, there is still uncertainty about reporting. In the next example, this woman articulates how she wouldn't report to the police, but how her knowledge of the existence of the policy would encourage her to tackle the situation herself:

Um...I don't know whether it would encourage me to report it. But, if someone did it to me now, I'd probably turn around and say "you do realise that's a hate crime in Nottingham?" And they'd react to that, and I'd say like "that actually humiliates people, its embarrassing...this is actually a hate crime, I could report you for that". Because that would make them think differently rather than me going to report it. Because personally, I don't feel really victimised or distressed or anything like that, I wouldn't personally change the way I do things. But, I can see why other people do, so I personally wouldn't report it, but I'd say something to them.

In relation to whether the policy has made women feel safer, respondents commented that, although they do not believe that the policy has reduced street harassment, partly because of a lack of publicity and public awareness that it exists, and what it actually entails, there is a sense that some women do feel safer knowing that this policy exists and that the police may take them seriously. Some women also felt that they had something to challenge men with themselves, as the above example illustrates, so the policy acts as a form of empowerment for them by stating that their behaviour was illegal. This is also demonstrated in the following comment:

Um, probably more safe because I've actually got something to say to them now. Whereas before it was just like oh I can't really say anything because what are they going to say back? I've noticed that it doesn't like, before, with the guy in



Nottingham that I mentioned, I used to see him quite a lot, and he used to say things to other people, you could tell that people were staring at you a lot more when you were walking down the street, whereas now, recently, I've not really felt like that. So maybe, people are more aware of it now so they don't really say anything anymore.

Yeah, but I don't think I've ever experienced it badly. I'd say, like, I've had it more in nightclubs where you're just dancing with your friends and boys grab you. And you don't think of it in the moment, especially when you're on a night out with friends or whatever, you don't think of it as wow that's illegal, that's harassment, you're just like "oh god get off", and boys equally are like well "I just bought you a drink so of course you're gonna want to come home".

When discussing whether they thought the policy would encourage other women to call the police, there was a general sense that it would encourage this, because the policy would help to challenge current societal perceptions:

I think it's a great idea personally. I think of how much it angers me personally, and I know it angers a lot of other women, I was asking people how they felt about it, and how they feel about being grabbed or being shouted at, and putting the policy in place means that a lot of other places around the country have started to look at it as well. So I think it's very important.

Yes! I feel like when other women know that if you call the police something will happen, a lot of women will. Because I would have run to the bouncer and called the police then, rather than standing there for thirty minutes waiting, because there's always police officers around the town, that's just because of drunkenness and all of that, but I know they would've gotten to me a whole lot quicker, and I probably would have reached home a whole lot quicker, if I'd have just called someone or done something else rather than just be, you know, the scared girl.

Yeah. If it was known that you could report and that things were done about street harassment, so that someone was given an offence or charge or whatever, I think that they would, because women obviously don't like it.

I think it will, because I think it will make people realise that it's not just a normal thing to happen. I think it'll make women realise that you don't have to put up with it, and I think it'll make people that are more emotional or vulnerable than I am, it'll probably make them report it so they feel safer.

I saw all the media stuff about this policy a couple of years ago, saw it all over Twitter and thought, yeah that's fantastic, what a great development but I've not done anything about, I've received plenty of abuse. I suppose part of it is particularly the sort of stuff I face [harassment from male drivers whilst running], it's over so fast because they're gone in their car and what do you do?

Future action: Amendments and changes

In terms of views of what more needs to be done to give the policy a greater impact, women came up with a plethora of responses, including greater awareness raising through a sustained, high profile publicity campaign and the involvement of a range of organisations and stakeholder groups outside of the police, including education from primary school age:

I think starting a generation through schools and having education with co-ed education, modules talking about equality and talking about how you treat women and how you treat men and educating young boys as they're growing



older... talking about respecting women and what is acceptable and about what you can and cannot say.

The keyword is to respect each other...they need to learn from the very beginning from an early age.

I think, with the campaign, like I said, start with like school times, and with teachers as well, not just the students, like in the situation where the guy unhooked my bra (an incident that happened when she was a secondary school), I was made to feel like 'why would you smack him?'...It starts with the adults' reaction, because at the end of the day, they're older than I am, so if they're reacting like my reaction was bad, next time I'm just gonna stand there and take it, do you know what I mean?

I suppose more awareness, because I'm lucky that I know about it...being in Nottingham, whatever, but maybe just, even like TV adverts. Because you know how there's like the consent video for making a cup of tea? And then there was the bra talking...the government have realised that there's these issues, so in an attempt to let the public know its not okay to do that, they've released a TV campaign. So, maybe things like TV campaigns, radio shows, maybe more reaching out to the younger generation, so like on Radio One on Sundays, there's this thing where people can like ring up and discuss their problems, things like that.

Other ideas that are in the sphere of education, but which take a slight different approach, include the following suggestion for a woman who used to be a flight attendant:

I used to be a flight attendant for 15 years and we had this thing called the yellow card policy. When passengers were being unruly, we had the yellow card, we showed them the piece of paper, you do that again you'll be arrested when we land. Maybe some kind of yellow card system. If this is reported, if you get reported again, you'll be arrested, you'll be charged. You know, emphasising that it is a crime, not just misogyny and hate. You've committed a crime here! Because maybe they will register this in their mentality, in their lexicon, there is the word 'crime'.

Other suggestions included quasi-criminal responses, including fines:

Quantify it...Like they did with littering or smoking, or whatever, you could be fined up to £1000, you could be sent to prison.

Another women advocates that the police should 'name and shame' and have a 'rogue's gallery', akin to the kind of gallery that some workplaces have for people who have ASBOs:

Name and shame the people! Because they will think now, their family, oh my god, my cousins, my friends, my children, everybody...it's going into the record. Not only you, but everyone related to you...it's embarrassing, yeah

Public support for the policy

All of the women in the general public group were categorical that the policy should be kept and rolled out nationally:

It should definitely be a national thing and schools I think, educating at school level is key and more visibility of the policy would be good.

I totally would roll it out everywhere, and have a massive education programme to support it. I think the effect that it has on women's behaviour is so significant and mental health because it is



frightening and intimidating, that I think it absolutely should become the norm.

Keep it definitely, don't get rid of it! I think it's just difficult, because how do you reach everybody and equally then, will everybody come forward, I think if somebody has been a victim and especially if they have been a victim and the police haven't helped, then there's not much you can do to convince someone look, they are doing something now. So definitely keep it...the police response is so important...I saw something recently which said that since the policy there's been over a hundred reports, so it shows how high it is and that the police are doing something, but maybe more advertising of this, "it's not okay", you know "it's not okay", you know, it's okay for women to call the police, the police will now do something.

I think it's unquestionably required because, like I've said before, it's become a thing that's become normalised in society, through women and young girls as well as like men, because if men are growing up where they can just like whistle at someone for like no reason at all, then that's a problem that side, but also the way that we just have to accept it, that's a problem as well. I do think that the policy is a good idea to like, protect vulnerable people, because women do seem to be the vulnerable part of society in comparison to men, and it kind of marginalises women, segregates them from men, it says that women can be treated as objects whereas men can't, so I think it's kind of needed for that.

I don't think it should be dropped. I'd probably need to know a bit more about it as to whether it should be amended, but I think it should definitely continue. Cause it seems to me that it's made a difference, in Nottingham. So I think it should still be a policy.

We need to adapt it. This policing policy, I think it needs to start, it sounds stupid, but once you start educating girls from say primary school level, when they start developing, puberty and things like that, if somebody touches you inappropriately, somebody says something inappropriate to you you can call the police. When you start it from that age, then growing up into it you know that you can call the police, because it starts with education. With me, it took me having to reach university to know that I could call the police, all those other times I could've really used the police, so I just prefer it to stop with me, other than some other little girl who's sitting there with her backpack in front of her, so that some guy don't look at her chest.

Make the behaviour look stupid and ignorant within an advertising campaign...you could try and portray the ridiculousness of shouting out of vehicles.

There is a real need to go into schools and place the emphasis on this being a criminal offence.

Placing adverts in bars and in the toilets would be good too.

Evaluating policy language: 'Misogyny', 'Hate' and 'Crime'

A number of women thought that the term 'misogyny' should be changed and cited the following reasons for doing so:

It's a hard term. I think it scares people.

I had to Google it, I didn't know what it was and I have a degree.

It sounds like a term academics would use.

It's really hard to remember, it's a long word.

There must be a lot of people who struggle with the concept of it.

I don't think there is an understanding of what it is.

It is not familiar enough [a term] for a thing that you want to be talking about as often as you want to be talking about it.

The actual word misogyny doesn't really, if you haven't come across it before, it doesn't say it relates to women there's no part of it whereas a layperson you would think that it refers to females or women...I asked my nieces and none of them knew what it meant.

I do wonder about the term misogyny though, because if people aren't familiar with it and they look it up and it just says hatred of women or something they might not think... well that's not right. There might be some sexism within their family but they might think 'well that uncle doesn't hate me'.

Others thought that 'misogyny' could still be used, though they questioned 'hate' and 'hate crime':

I think we should keep the policy, roll it out nationally, keep the word misogyny but I'm not sure about the word hate... I think it could be misleading for people because a lot of it is not at least on a surface level doesn't seem like hatred. I would educate around how we can see misogyny as more than just hatred.

It's the danger of labelling it as a hate crime... that example I gave of my friend they're saying "you fat bitch", that is clearly hateful. Thinking about my own experiences well that's just crass stupidity on your behalf and I'm not sure whether people would think of that under that kind of umbrella term of hate crime so I think it will have to be made quite explicit about what is meant by that.

When you say 'hate crime' it kind of trivialises it. I think it's like "oh, it's not really a crime", like someone is being a bit rude.

Others thought that both misogyny and hate should be kept, though they acknowledged the challenges of doing so, particularly in terms of marketing, education and funding:

I don't think you can get away from it being what it is, but I think there's one hell of a branding exercise you know from an implementation science point of view. Making this normalised and sustained in societal practice, I think it needs a clever marketing campaign to make men really actually believe they're making themselves vulnerable if they continue to behave in that way and to highlight to women that maybe actually we have a duty to report all this to ourselves and to our friends, our daughters...I think that will be a huge challenge because of all the things we've just been saying.



Keep misogyny, same thing about hate, I still think that has the potential to mislead and could predicate under-reporting. I think definitely roll it out and real consideration, which is going to need a great deal of funding, about how it's marketed and branded. They could look at successful campaigns like This Girl Can, or joining up with Sport England and other governing bodies.

Others offered alternatives which they thought addressed the issue of 'gender' being much easier for members of the public to understand and this was a preferred choice for many:

I like gender hate crime instead, it's much easier for people to understand.

Finally, one participant drew attention to the need for sensitivity to how the policy could possibly incite racism in particular communities in Nottingham, through a fear that unfounded accusations of Misogyny Hate Crime may result, which are based on racist, stereotypical views held about Muslims in particular:

My slight reservation about rolling out a programme, obviously lots of nuances will be explored, I'm sure, is that because Sneinton has a particular kind of racial make-up, it's predominantly not white, it's predominantly Muslim, I worry that certain groups might be targeted for perceived misogyny because of whatever cultural, whatever, differences... there's already quite a lot of racial tension where I live between the white minority and the – I worry that certain racial groups might be targeted for it even – just based on perception or stereotypes of even unconscious bias.

Victim Data: Key Findings

Of those women who had reported to the police under the policy, and who were willing to speak to the research team, the examples of the harassment they had experienced ranged from being asked to get into a car, being pinched on the bottom whilst running, being verbally abused on public transport and being verbally abused by men in a van. As explained above in the Methods section, we will take a detailed case study approach to each of the four victims who reported to the police under the Misogyny Hate Crime policy in order to ensure that we examine, in detail, all of the different facets of the process as a whole.

We will begin with the four narratives of the events that were reported to police, as articulated exactly in their own words in interview with us as part of this study:

Case Study 1

It was very early in the morning, earlier than I would normally be going to work... it was quite warm...I had a black jacket on, and I was just walking to work, through the industrial estate, and it was before seven o'clock in the morning I think, and two men in a van pulled over and then shouted a couple of things and asked me to get in. And I kept my eyes ahead and just tried to ignore it. But it frightened me because they actually bothered to pull over. Usually I'm used to incoherent things flung out of windows, just as a form of intimidation, but that was a little bit more, you know, they got close...it wasn't an isolated street, but because they did that at that time in the morning there aren't that many people around, especially not on foot, there would be perhaps a few trucks pulled up, but you wouldn't look to truck drivers to protect me from that kind of thing...I mean I

like to think that if I kicked up a fuss somebody would notice but there was very few people around so ...it was leery, yeah, it wasn't any explicit sexual language used but the whole experience was really intimidating.

Case Study 2

Well the incident that I reported to the police was where I was just literally running down the street and a bloke grabbed my bum...it was really weird actually because he didn't *look* like the type, because sometimes you can tell when somebody's a bit dodgy and you think 'Oh I've gotta be a bit aware', but he didn't look like that at all, like, he had tennis racquets on his bag, he looked like he had somewhere to go, you know...And he just literally sort of, you know, grabbed me, and I was *really* shocked. You're just not ready for it! It was exactly like that. And I carried on running, and then I thought, hang on a minute, you cheeky fucker, I'm not having that. So I ran after him, and I can't remember what I said to him, but I probably said 'You cheeky fucker' and then I thought, hang on a minute! I've got a phone, I'm gonna take a photograph of this creepy git, so I tried to take a photograph of him, but he was a bit too quick and turned around and so I only got the back of his head ...it was a residential street somewhere I've run loads and loads of times before, and I think it was around six o'clock in evening.

Case Study 3

There's been a lot. But the one I reported to the police was, I was out running on a sunny day...and for some reason on this day, I was shouted at from moving cars about four or five times...I usually go jogging in the evenings...it was something sexual, or just demeaning, there was one in particular, he must have been louder, but there was an official van, a tarmacking company. And I thought 'You're at work, what's going on?' I specifically looked at the registration plate. And then he was gone and I went off running...then I saw a load of Tarmac vans, I took a photo of the van and then carried on...I got home and I didn't really know what to do...but then I thought I'll ring the non-emergency police number and they were really good.

Case Study 4:

I was sat down on the tram with my friend and this man just started making really weird comments...and I turned around because my back was to him and he just started shouting really weird stuff...telling me that "I wanted it" and that I was "a slut".

There were also a range of responses employed by women at the time and in the immediate aftermath of the incidents:

Case Study 1: I steadfastly ignored them.... because any reaction on my part would have given them some form of satisfaction.

Case Study 2: Well after that [taking photo of him] firstly I followed him for ooh, about a good mile, and eventually he turned down an alley and I thought I can't follow him down there, that's too much, so after that I put it [the picture] on the Nottingham Women's Running Page.

Case Study 3: I took a photo of the van.

Case Study 4: Me and my friend had to get off the tram earlier, at a different stop...so we got off and luckily I knew where we was but my friend did not know where we was but then I rang 101 and spoke to them [the police].

All women described a range of emotions in terms of how it had made them feel including intimidated, frightened, confused and angry:

Case Study 1: I just felt really angry. My boyfriend was really angry as well, he felt like sort of walking to work with me, which wasn't feasible. He felt like he should protect me from that sort of things, but that shouldn't have to happen should it? So yeah, I didn't feel more intimidated after the incident, I just felt angry which made me want to do something about. On the back of the incident I did report, I chose to take a different route. Both on foot and when I was cycling as I didn't really feel safe anymore. But I would tend to choose routes that were more busy for everyone you know, that particular incident happened on an industrial estate which is largely populated by men at that time in the morning, so it didn't really feel like there was anyone that I could look around to, you do look around to other people for moral support, even if it's just that they notice what's going on, but you get so many instances of people not doing anything, to be honest most people are frightened of intervening in these situations, but just the proximity of these people

Case Study 2: I was kind of torn between this hang on a minute, I will not be curtailed, I will not be frightened, and yet, I am. So that was really horrible. For a number of months it affected me. Partly because it was winter as well, that happened, I think it was September, or early October, so then it was the winter and of course then it was really dark, so I just didn't go out, whereas normally I probably would have gone out and I just didn't. I didn't go on the weekend. And I don't like running with other people so I didn't want to join a club, I want to run by myself. When I went out to run again I did run up that street but I was nervy, I'm aware and I'm watching, and I don't give anyone the benefit of the doubt, I think they're all probably a bit creepy and I feel like I need to be aware, and that's horrible, because that's like encroaching on the way I feel about my body on the street.

Case Study 3: I got home and I didn't really know what to do.

Case Study 4 -I'm definitely more cautious, especially on the tram and stuff.

All four of the women had chosen to report the behaviour because they knew about the existence of Nottinghamshire Police's Misogyny Hate Crime policy:

Case Study 1: Yeah, yeah, I did. I'd seen it on the BBC I think, and a few of my friends had posted about it on social media. I've got a lot of friends that are feminist, that includes men and women, and they were pretty pleased that we were pioneering a policy like that. I thought it was interesting, and good. I didn't really think about using it myself, and when I went and told my friends about the incident, a lot of male friends actually said you know this policy now exists and you know how easy it is to do it, so that's when I went online and I reported it. I think if I'd had to wait on a phone for a while or go through various different people, I might have been more reluctant...it did take me a couple of days to report it.

Case Study 2 - I think it was through Facebook, and it was probably through the Nottingham Women's Group

They also reported because they felt it was more serious than other examples they had experienced – they wanted it documented so police knew the extent of the problem or they wanted to prevent it from happening to other women:



Case Study 2 - I think was sort of just a bit outraged, and then they kept saying you need to report it you need to report it, so I did in the end, firstly because if he was a pest, if it was a thing he was getting used to doing it, or if it was something that he had just started to do, I didn't want other people to go through it. But I mean I've gotta say, it wasn't massively traumatic. But it was invasive and it affected my confidence, for quite a lot of months actually...

Case Study 4 - It depends on the severity of the harassment on me reporting, so like obviously because it was a tram and he was really aggressive then yeah, but in nightclubs and on nights out and stuff if I just walked past a lad saying something I don't think I would.

Three out of the four female victims were happy with the police response – what was important to these women was being listened to, being reassured by the police and feeling that they were being taken seriously – even if they realised that there was little actual action that the police could take in terms of finding and taking action against the perpetrator(s):

Case Study 1: Yes, yes. I did feel that they took it very seriously. I can't remember how long it was before I got a phone call back, no more than two days. And it was a lady asked if it was okay to talk and if it was the right time and it was, so I spoke to her for what must have been nearly forty minutes or something like that, she really went through it thoroughly. We quickly determined there was very little they could do in terms of catching the perpetrators, but I just thought that it was important to use the service and give them the information

Case Study 2: When I spoke to 101 they were really helpful, she suggested that somebody would, it was a woman on the phone I think, and they were really helpful, didn't make me feel foolish, because you know, you're kind of worried that you're gonna...cause its not a big deal, all of that thing, and you sort of minimize it, and then two guys came round, and they were really good. They came round within about an hour or an hour and a half, two male coppers, quite young, quite sort of, kind of beefcakey I would say, but they were really nice and they were really upfront about we treat this as a hate crime, which I think is a brilliant idea, and, and it should be a hate crime because it is, its misogynistic, and I'm totally happy with that, and they were really nice, and they took loads of details, and they were really supportive...they were a bit kind of big brotherly, sort of patriarchal, but I'm not sure guys can be any different faced with a woman in that situation.

Case Study 3: They were absolutely brilliant. And they said something like "Somebody will be in touch with you soon", and then I decided to ring Tarmac and got through to a woman who also took me seriously, I was really pleased about that, who said that somebody would contact me back. So then later on in the day, probably within an hour or so, I got a phone call from the police, who said they'd like to send some people round to interview about it, and then they came and did this interview, it was a man and a woman. And it was just brilliant. They both said it was the first time they'd done it, they were really supportive of the law and they took me through all of these questions, some of them weren't really appropriate because, well I guess it's just hate crimes in general, so there was a lot about religion, blah blah, but they were both are of that, and I could tell that they were almost please they'd had a chance to be there because they'd obviously had some training. They were happy about it. And they both said, probably nothing is going to happen, and it was more about statistics than anything else, but I do think that's fair because I wasn't, I didn't feel in danger, it wasn't an immediate danger

The police showing sympathy and empathy was crucial and this was evident if we contrast those victims who were satisfied and the one victim who was not:

Case Study 4: So we got off [tram] and then I rang 101 and spoken to them...the woman on the phone was really rude actually, so I was like (disapproving noise) "great, thanks for that". So I'm part of a Youth Commission on Policing and Crime and one of our main aims is misogyny and hate crime, so I was like "okay" and just assumed she'd understand, and she was like, "Misogyny's not a hate crime:", and I said "Yes it is, I know it is" and she just kept trying to tell me I was wrong. Then halfway through the phone conversation, she just turned around and went "Oh sorry about that, yeah you were right, it is a hate crime", so I was like "thanks for the support".

If victims were satisfied with the police's response then they indicated that they would be willing to call the police in the future:

Case Study 2: Yeah, they were really good, really good. I thought they were great. And I tell you what else as well, I would not have any hesitation in contacting Notts Police because of that, and because they treat it like a hate crime. I would be happy to talk to them, because I would expect to get, as I did, a sympathetic and empathetic response, you know? They took it seriously

Case Study 1: Yeah, but like I say there was nothing they could do, but the fact that they rang me back and took the time to have someone speak to me and check on my welfare was really good, far better than I would have expected really, because I know their services are cash strapped...the fact that they actually took the time to speak to me was really nice...Yeah. Definitely. And it kind of helped me think about what I could do in the future to help them, you know like in terms of remembering details...it would have been nice to whip my phone out but it was in my rucksack.

Case Study 3: The reality with this new law thing is that there's no way I wouldn't have rung up. I wouldn't have rung 999 or anything like that, but I would have rung up and I would have got it noted. Also, the contrast in confidence in what I couldn't do when the bus thing happened and what I could do when the shouting thing happened is a stark contrast, I feel so much more confident now that the police have started to record it

Case Study 4: I was like "excuse me, are you actually joking?" [to call handler] "I've been telling you since I rang up that this is what it is [a hate crime], what's happened to me, and you're not taking me seriously at all". She took details and then somebody rang me the next day saying "Do you want to do a quick survey" asking me how I felt, and about my mental health and stuff, and I explained to them that I'd got the video of who was doing it because my friend was sat opposite me and she videoed the whole thing, and they asked for a screenshot of his face, so I emailed them over and I got an automatic response. And I was like "Ok, I understand", this'll be sent out. And then I didn't hear anything for a good few months, and then a month or two ago, somebody rang me up asking me to rate my experience, and obviously I explained to them about the woman on the phone and how awful she was, and I explained to them that I'd not heard anything about it, you asked me for screenshots and nothings come back at all, and they were like "Oh, someone will be in touch soon". And when you (the interviewer/researcher) rang me the other day, I was like "Oh, maybe this is it". There was just that phone call, where they said, "How did this make you feel?" and I was like "Well rubbish actually, poor service I obviously felt that it was important to me to report it and to follow it through as well, I've not heard



anything but to rate your service and I don't want to rate it!" I would have thought they would have been more up to date on the definition of things, because Nottinghamshire is one of the first places to report and record misogyny as a hate crime, so I would've thought that everyone would've been really on top of that it's made me feel a bit like what is the point?

All four women who had reported felt that the existence of the policy would encourage other women to report in future:

Case Study 1: Yes, I think it would. I definitely know one other person that I know that's reported something under the policy, and yeah, I definitely think it would cos it's giving us more of a voice, all my friends say it's a good thing and want to use it if they can, but I suppose it's...cause you know, you have second thoughts about whether...cause I knew there wouldn't really be anything that the police could do, but again when I thought about it I thought that it was important to report it, so I suppose, yeah, people shouting at you out of vans on a daily basis, there's very little the police can do about that and if everybody reported that...(laughs)

Case Study 2: I think that them (the police) seeing it like that will give women the confidence that it will be taken seriously, and therefore encourage them to report it.

Case Study 3: Yes, there's a pathway, that's exactly how I would describe it, I wouldn't have known before, like with the bus thing, I would just not have known if they'd have taken it seriously at all, why I would have been doing it, because nobody is going to be arrested or anything like that, and quite rightly really, I mean it wasn't a major incident, but nowadays I know that they're actively collecting statistics, and it fits in with that whole Me-Too movement doesn't it, when although people have been saying it forever, when you get some actual statistics, you can see it easily and something can be done. So its confidence in the system, that they are going to take it seriously and that something is going to be done, and that there's a reason for doing it even if somebody isn't going to be penalised for it.

Case Study 4: I think it would depend on the form of harassment. I think like when its really aggressive and really scary, I think women would report it, but when it's a stupid little comment, I don't think that women are gonna think too much into it. Women also felt the policy helped them to feel safer, not necessarily because there would be immediate reductions in street harassment, but just by knowing the policy was there and that the police would take them seriously:

Case Study 1: Not safer, to put it that way, but definitely more like I could do something about it if it happened again. It's useful. I do feel like I'd be taken more seriously. So I suppose, essentially, the knock on effect is that I feel a bit safer in that I know I'd be taken seriously if I reported another incident like that, one that I thought years previously would be shrugged off.

One victim reported how the police told her to take precautionary measures which she was not pleased about as it put the onus on her, although she understood why she was told this:

One thing the police did say which I wasn't massively pleased about, was, the female officer, right at the end she said there are some precautions that you need to take, like 'Don't go out on your own, don't have our headphones in, have our phone with you, I mean its all sensible stuff, but also fuck off sort of thing, but



she was aware of what she was saying, that I was having to change my behaviour because of someone else.

Women came out with a range of suggestions as to how reporting could be encouraged, but most of this was to do with raising awareness of the policy and reporting it to the police. This accords with the findings from the general public and also the findings from the police, that more publicity was needed around the policy. Additionally, women also felt that a joint response from organisations in Nottingham was required in terms of challenging the behaviour of employees and customers. Furthermore, working within educational establishments to ensure a cultural shift in attitudes was essential so that this was no longer seen as a socially acceptable practice.

In terms of whether the policy should be continued, all women were in clearly in favour of this:

Case Study 1: Well definitely continue it. I'm not familiar with the entirety of the policy, in terms of my contact with it, it's been really efficient. So for me it, it's working and I'm happy with it.

Case Study 3: Yes, absolutely, definitely, because I would guess that man on the bus, it's not the first time he's done that. And I would guess it gets more serious than that. And we need a more robust system of dealing with sexual assault etc. And I think it starts from recognising the smaller bits, its all part of the same culture isn't it?

Case Study 2: I posted on the Facebook page, because I posted it on the women's running page, and then somebody shared it onto our local community page, which is a really excellent page and I was contacted by loads of women, and some men, who said it happened to my daughter, it happened to my wife, this happened to me, a similar types of thing, and it impacted them this way, and there was loads of support, absolutely loads of support. But what I think is, these guys that do this shit, they are husbands fathers brothers boyfriends, what is the difference between me, a woman just wandering down the street, and their partner?

However, there were comments regarding the importance of advertising the policy much more visibly:

Case Study 1: To add to my encounters I had I saw the big billboards they have in town which was really handy. If I needed any more encouragement that was it. And I think that probably sent a message to the kind of people that might be perpetrators of that kind of thing that something would be done about it, not that I think that those kind of people have got much thought about punishment or retribution but if it gave them pause then. I'm trying to think what else in practical terms. It's so hard to. You could say put more people out on the street, put more people on the beat, but they're not gonna do it around them. I think they'll do it around female police officer!

Although this concludes our consideration of the four victims who reported, we also want to include one further example here, which was picked up in the women's general public category, where one woman had experienced stalking for four years. The stalking that is reported started before the Misogyny Hate Crime Policy was introduced, and although this victim did not 'officially' report the crime as part of the policy, she did report the perpetrator several times to the police. On reflection, she does think that it played an influence in helping to convict the perpetrator in the end, as she believes that the CPS were influenced by the introduction of the Misogyny Hate Crime policy. However, similar to the woman in Case Study 4, this victim is very dissatisfied with the responses that

she received from the police. She had reported the stalker to them on multiple occasions and felt that she was not being taken seriously:

When this happened with this stalker, when comments from police were just along the lines of “just ignore it”, you know, and a female police officer said to me after he had assaulted me, “well, you know, you should really feel lucky he didn’t do some of the more serious things he was threatening to do and all you got was a slap around the face” {{laughs}} And so it went on and on and on, and then eventually this Crown Prosecution Service picked it up and said, actually he’s stalking you, he’s harassing you, and he’s assaulting you, so...all the police officers didn’t wanna know, then CPS picked it when he actually...he was going to my gym, taking pictures of himself in the gym and posting them – he was stalking me!

Focus group Facilitator: This was before the policy was in place?

He got sent to prison after the policy. So, it was interesting, I think, that once the policy was in place was when the CPS picked up and said, actually, he’s all of these things. Police officers, still at that point weren’t really interested, so I’d be interested to know if, you know, the police officers have any training – the frontline police officers – if they have any training with this new policy, and if they get told what is and isn’t a hate crime, because it seems to me that the majority of them – you know, I think four or five police officers I’ve dealt with along the way – weren’t interested and just thought they were petty comments and I should, you know, just ignore them even though they were so damaging. You know, I couldn’t have any public profiles – I did, like, I had a picture taken and, [by] a friend of mine who’s a photographer, I was in my Master’s cap and gown and it was posted on his website, and he saw it, and he posted all these really horrible comments underneath it...and he was just so invasive in every part of my life. I couldn’t have a profile while at university, I had to come off Facebook, so many things just to keep him away from me. Now, he’s in this psychiatric unit, hopefully it’ll be...but you know, his whole family and everybody got involved with the police and said “we’re really worried about this woman that he’s got an infatuation with”...He had done it before, twice before, to two other women. And these two other women ended up moving cities.

There are a number of issues raised here, particularly around police taking the reporting of this crime seriously, and also various issues raised around police training. We will come back to address these in the section on the police’s reactions to the policy, detailed below.

General public: Men

Experiences of harassment: Who, where, when and how

In the data sample of focus groups and interviews with men, a handful of men had experienced street harassment, most often either being called ‘gay’ or someone had tried to/had physically assaulted them in the street. Male members of ethnic minorities reported racist street harassment, but were very clear that this was not gendered:

It’s not gender-related. No, no it was racially-based. Just racist remarks, as people walk by.

Overall, many men struggled to come up with examples of street harassment that they had witnessed themselves – this was in stark contrast to the women’s focus groups and interviews who were instantaneously able to provide multiple examples that had left an impact on them. Some men had a good understanding of what it was, for example, defining it as an ‘invasion of physical and emotional space’, whereas others struggled to come up with definitions or examples they had witnessed. Often men did have a number of experiences to share through vicarious experience, citing incidents that had happened to women members of their family, friendship groups or their work colleagues in Nottinghamshire:

My wife has also had people try and grope her in the street or in public transport you feel someone grope you or something like that, and the difficulty there of course, is first of all identifying who it is, for sure, because people are cunning like that, they’re clever and they try and you know... but also the fact that it’s deemed not acceptable [...] but the person knows that the person receiving that can’t easily report it. It makes an environment in which people can try their luck. She’s had a few experiences like that.

I was talking about this with my partner sort of the last week or so and she told me a horrific story about how a guy who’d approached her when she was out with her mates, she’d turned him down kind of thing, he was being quite lecherous and she left the club and he followed her out and punched her in the face, for turning her down, for not accepting his advances and you know saying ‘who do you think you are’ that sort of stuff and he only just lamped her... I’ve had girlfriends before who’ve been felt up being outside, just in the street as well, outside Broadway Cinema you know she’s having a cigarette and a drink with friends and a guy put his hand right up her skirt.

In the above example, with his partner who was punched in the face, she chose not to report this to the police for the following reasons:

She made a real scene about it and called him out in front of everybody, y’know, big crowd of people, really went for it and my partner would have been able to recognise that guy in an identification line-up or whatever, but didn’t report it as a crime. She’d felt she’d dealt with it, she really y’know went for the guy. And made a very, and humiliated him and felt like that was justification. In actual fact, yeah, because of that she could have reported it... I mean she should have done, she went to QMC, but again she was a bit drunk and wasn’t perhaps in the right mind, she was so shocked by what had happened anyway.

The following participant recounts a story of an incident that happened to his girlfriend travelling on public transport a few days before the data were recorded:

The other day actually, she said to me that some guys, I think they were drinking on the train, so it’s kind of the alcohol thing again, but it was like the middle of the day, so there were other people around, and they were like “oh come and sit on my lap” as she was just walking past, and that was the middle of the day. I think that if they were on their own they wouldn’t have done it, but because they were in a group, it’s like lad culture.

The following male participant mirrored a good deal of the points that were covered by women in the general public groups, that street harassment happens at different times

of day and that alcohol is a key factor exacerbating the problem, especially in the night-time economy. Again, as we have seen above, he focalises his experiences through his partner as he does not have any first-hand experiences to report:

It depends on the time of the day really doesn't it? A lot of the articles that are written in the papers are about wolf-whistling, cat-calling, you know guys hanging outside of cars and vans shouting things at women whereas when it tends to be alcohol – I'm only going through the experiences I have talked to my partner about this – erm in the evening it seems to be you know because of the element of alcohol and people being out and in heightened emotional states that then it can become more aggressive and you know if you're in a pub, a bar or whatever then the approach can be different to perhaps if somebody was approaching you during the day erm things like it's the accepted norm for women to be approached and the language used can probably be quite aggressive and those sort of things where it falls into harassment rather than what people would typically say is the attempt to engage with the opposite sex.

Similarly, the following participant argued that harassment gets worse in the space of the night-time economy, due to alcohol and how that has become normalised, which direct accords with some of the experiences of the women in the general public group when talking about the normalisation of harassment on nights out:

it seems to be worse on nights out...alcohol – in my view, from what I've seen, seems to make it a lot worse. It just...mainly guys think it's ok to go up to girls and start harassing them, and touching them, and...it's almost like it's normal. They think it's normal – it's not, but they think it's normal. And that's not right.

One man admitted engaging in it himself, but only when in a group and only in a nightclub environment. He stated that he would never engage in such behaviour on a street because there are different rules in these different public spaces:

I would never do that on my own. With a big group of lads, or whatever, yeah I've definitely done it... I can't remember doing it in the street, at least I don't think I have, but in a club you probably would. I think there are unwritten rules in a nightclub...not really unwritten rules, but if you're flirting with a girl at nightclub...it depends how into the conversation you are. I think people are a lot more tactile in clubs, that's just a thing because of drink or whatever, but then out in normal public, I don't think you'd get it as much. I still don't think people would call the police, I think they'd just like a lot of women, a lot of my friends would just put their head down and ignore it, or shout something back, if it was verbal for example.

In the next example, the male participant tells of how his friends have engaged in harassment in his presence, but he has not partaken in this activity himself, even when those with him have done so:

you still get guys, even some of my male friends, saying derogatory things, so that's not right... I can't say things specifically {{laughs}} So, "she's got a nice arse" or whatever. You think, don't talk to that girl like that! They're not a possession, they're not a thing that you can use for...sex, or whatever else. They're a human being, treat them like that!...I don't wanna know them guys who are saying that, I don't want to associate myself with them. I've actually got rid of a really good friend before – in first year I was really good friends with this guy and he was a little bit like that. He just wasn't respectful to girls at all. And I...I was quite good friends with him for a year, actually, and then I just got rid of him. That was the reason why I got rid of him, because of this reason.

Next, we pick up on the 'not a compliment' discussion that has been focused on above in relation to women's responses. Here, one of the male participants tells a story about an incident that recently happened to one of his female work colleagues in the middle of day, illustrating how being followed is not just a problem that women experience at night-time:

I heard an interesting story yesterday. My colleague had been approached by a stranger who didn't present as being kind of aggressive in any way but was expressing that he liked her – this is a complete stranger on the street during the day – and complimented her, or what he termed as a compliment, and she felt uncomfortable because it was very different from how people would normally talk to you on the street. And later on he started to follow her and then invited her in, kept saying 'oh you're so pretty, come in and we can have tea together' and he was from a different culture so her reaction was to politely say 'no thank you' and move on but it was an interesting story because you've got a bit of a mix of things there. You've got a cultural difference, you've got behaviour that would be threatening to a person that's receiving it but from the person's point of view they might not perceive it as being threatening. But I think most people would feel uncomfortable in that situation because you're kind of like "oh this is a bit odd" and of course if she had have gone on it would have been more dangerous.

The following male participant had recently called the police to an incident he had witnessed on the street in the middle of Nottingham City Centre:

I witnessed one a few weeks ago, or well, months ago, walking down the street and, think it was near Clumber Street, and I think it was a guy with his group of friends, and a girl with her group of friends – or what appeared to be – and they appeared to, from what they were saying, to have been in some sort of relationship, and the guy who had shagged some other girl and...it was that bad, I actually called the police 'cause it was that bad. I thought, somebody is gonna get hurt there, so I thought, I'd better call someone, so I did. And, and...I don't know, I walked straight past, 'cause I thought, I'll call the police, they can deal with that...He was saying – I can't remember the exact words – but he was saying things that were something along the lines of 'you are this, you are a slag, you are...' something...something a bit distasteful words to her. Just being not very nice to her, really. I can't remember the exact words but yeah, it was something along those lines, and...I thought that was...somebody needs to do something...it doesn't even sound that bad when I'm saying it now, but it was, the way he was shouting at her was quite horrible, actually.

The vast majority of men who took part thought that street harassment was overwhelmingly a problem for women and girls:

It's almost exclusively from males. There may be situations such as hen parties where environment mixed with drink may mean it happens in other direction "but that's only 2% I would say".

I can imagine it happening [women's harassment of men], but not commonly", maybe in a ladette mentality, but certainly not the norm.

While we want a world in which men and women are equal and there are some people that would argue that's been achieved. I personally don't believe that that's been achieved because of things like this, and while there are incidents that are unreported on both sides, I still think that the balance is more skewed towards women having these issues more than men.

However, one man did report being harassed in the workplace by a group of women, which he describes as one of his motivations for coming along to the focus group:

Part of the reason I'm here is that I've had experiences in the workplace that are extremely distasteful, threats and misandry and I challenged them. I challenged them a lot and then I went formal with it...I got to the point where, I am going to compel and that involved challenging managers and bosses which was extremely erm yeah...I don't think many people believed me when I said that you know there's protected characteristics and I had made the analogy of "can I walk around" and so people were saying things like "stupid man" in the workplace loudly, women, and I made the analogy "am I allowed to walk around and say 'stupid xyz' insert protected characteristic" and they didn't get it they didn't understand they didn't know their own policies and procedures and that was quite disappointing.

This is the only reported example of misandry in the dataset, which draws attention to a lack of knowledge of harassment policies and how they should apply to everyone in particular workplaces.

Behavioural changes

The following example mirrors exactly what the women in the general public group reported, that they will use mobile phones as a safety device. This man talks about how his wife will very often phone him on her way home when she is walking through certain locations in Nottingham City Centre:

So quite often she will let me know, either I'm talking to you now because I'm on my way home. By being on the phone it means that to anyone else that might want to do her harm. And when she's described where she is, I've never felt a threat at that place. Now obviously there are places in town where anyone might feel a bit kind of... but then that's made me think, when I am in those really dodgy places that make me feel at threat, she's feeling like that now in a place I wouldn't normally? And so that has made me think 'oh well that's interesting' because that is something I don't have to deal with, that she does so obviously that's taking up her mental space, that I'm just blissfully unaware of.

Motivations for harassment

When asked what they think motivates people to engage in harassment, many of the participants debate a group or 'pack' mentality that encourages such behaviour:

I can't imagine lone builder wolf whistling a woman, but much easier to see how it'd occur as a group, similarly a lone woman is unlikely to shout at a man on a night out but a group of drunk women is a lot more feasible.

Being part of a group helps excuse it and there's a certain anonymity. There's a lot of experiments, well the internet is the ultimate experiment to do with anonymity and being able to get away with things you wouldn't say to someone to their face. So I think the more people are involved in an activity, the more likely people will engage in it [...] Generally speaking, when you're talking about sexual assault it's usually an individual but when we're talking about this it's going slightly wider groups.

The responses as to why street harassment happens in the first place reveal a number of interesting patterns that give insight, from a male perspective, into the motivations of why other men engage in such behaviour:

It's a performance. So if a male does it, it's a performance of what he thinks it is to be male, so I can think of examples where guys in the workplace have been



very edgy about what they talk – I remember being asked whether I was a 'legs or a tits man', that was the actual word used. In the workplace by the deputy team leader in front of everyone...he also had undressed women photos on his phone.

I think...guys just thinking of...I don't know, probably a bit of an ego thing. Guys think they can do that, think they're above the law, or above moral reasons, and that moral things don't apply to them – oh, I can do that, 'cause I'm a guy – whatever, no, that's not right. There's probably some other reasons but yeah, I feel ego is probably a big part of it.

When you're of an age where, rightly or wrongly, the people around you influence you more than you influence yourself and its that pressure of fitting in that maybe allows that to happen.

Similarly, this participant cites 'lad culture' and draws attention to the fact that he thinks it is more about the group than it is about 'the girl':

I think a lot of it is lad culture. When a group of lads get together they do it a lot more. If they were on their own they wouldn't do it I don't think. Its just that when you've got a group of lads, that happens. Mainly. I don't really see it out of that...to be honest, I think that a lot of it, they're not really even doing it to speak to the girl. They're just doing it as a laugh between themselves, they're not doing it thinking that its going to affect them, the victim. Its more, just, how guys, banter.

The next participant states how he would never engage in such behaviour:

I would never ever want to make anybody's life worse, and by doing that I know I would if I was to go up to a young girl, say, and start harassing them, that would definitely distress them, and that is definitely not what I want, at all.

Evaluation of the policy

When asked whether or not they thought the policy is necessary, the overwhelming majority of men thought that it was. The following participant categorically supports the policy and expresses his support of Nottinghamshire Police for being 'leaders' in this area:

I think it's absolutely brilliant, I can't believe it's not been done already, like...I can't believe...well, it's my understanding that the rest of the country are looking into, certainly some police forces are looking to adopt this policy. I think that's a massive step in the right direction, and I'm glad Nottinghamshire are being leaders, if you like. Yeah, should have been done years ago.

He then goes on to articulate his own understanding of the policy and categorically expresses his support for it being rolled out across the country, partly because he views Misogyny Hate Crime as worse than other hate crimes:

My understanding is that Nottinghamshire Police will be prosecuting people who...basically harass people in the street or wherever, unwanted harassment, they will prosecute people now, and that's the right avenue to go in my opinion. I mean, there probably is something...police forces have used all the laws to prosecute people, I don't know, I'm not a police officer, but I think now it's specifically categorised and labelled, defined as misogyny, as a hate crime itself, so they can use them powers to prosecute people where appropriate, and I think that's absolutely the right way to go.

The same participant then compares it to other hate crimes, arguing that misogyny hate crime is worse:

I think all hate crimes should be looked at, but...I think that this one is...bad. It's probably a bit worse, because it's guys, more so, guys that think that they can talk to women who they may perceive as vulnerable, or more vulnerable than themselves, so they potentially feel like they can prey on them. That's not right...this is an example of a good policy in my opinion

Another participant is also very keen to express his approval and support for Nottinghamshire Police for trailblazing this initiative:

Well done Nottinghamshire for leading the way and making a stand...words can hurt as much as anything else so it was absolutely the right thing to do".

This participant also praises Nottinghamshire Police for trying to address this issue which is clearly impacting on the everyday lives of the women and girls that he knows:

From what I know of girls, and what people tell me, they seem to think...well, it is, a big problem, and it affects their behaviour. Some girls feel like they can't go out wearing certain things, because they know they're gonna get touched up or get certain comments from guys, and that's not right. But yeah, I feel like that's a massive problem. And I'm glad the police around here are trying to change it.

Another adds his support on the following grounds:

Presumably this sort of policy would plug the gaps where the current laws around stalking, harassment and assault and other things like that don't quite catch.

The following comment illustrates that the policy may have some way to go if it is to bring about a change in behaviour, but nevertheless, it should be kept as it raises the right 'conversations and debates':

I don't think its changed how I act, or my feelings about it, and whether it (the policy) works I don't know but anything that raises the conversation and debate is worthwhile.

I think it will bring that minimum for the majority of people up to a certain standard, so most of society has at least a minimum understanding of what misogyny is, and what we should potentially do about it, and how we should be treating people cos I think people sometimes seem to think, 'it's never been a problem before, I've always said this', that doesn't make it right, just because you've been saying certain things to people for the past twenty years, that doesn't make it right.

The following person states their dismay that the policy needs to exist at all and they argue that education from the victim's perspective is crucial:

It saddens me that it even needs to exist in 21st century society. Would someone learn by being punished for misogyny? Education really needs to be in place to empathise and recognise from the victim's perspective why this is wrong, rather than just saying "oh naughty – have a fine" there needs to be something in place that gets the perpetrator to recognise that it's wrong.

The less supportive comments focus on the alignment of the 'less serious' crimes such as 'leering' being covered and if this could damage perceptions of 'genuine crime':

I'm just wondering how are we correlating those things like if I, because in some of the documentation I read like leering gets I mean, that's very vague and, leering, and how does that correlate to, link to you know genuine crime, genuine damaging to society and the individual. Seems like quite a leap.

Maybe they're trying to do this legislation or whatever, engineer a process where they, the 'I was just joking' defence, because like racism, you can't use the 'I'm just joking' defence any more and rightly so, but I still think it's pretty common for people to say something quite edgy, 'oh I was only joking!' 'oh, were you really?' political correctness that's the big thing, but take responsibility for your words, you just said it.

The following example illustrates how one man categorically supports crimes at the lower end of the continuum being included, including wolf-whistling, and all forms of verbal harassment and how the policy itself has had an impact upon him and has made him actively think about this:

I think I never really thought about the low-level stuff, such as, just as an example, wolf-whistling a girl in the street – that's not right, but I never thought of it as a crime, and I thought about it and I thought – well yeah, it should be a crime. Girls don't want to be wolf-whistled in the street, that's horrible! That's not...that's gonna distress somebody, so why should they be subject to that, why shouldn't we do something about it? So actually, although I didn't really think about it before, when I read about this – and that was one of the examples – I thought, actually, yeah, I do support that. That is absolutely the right thing to do. Whether the actual punishment in the end – I don't know what the punishments really are – whether they'll be effective or not is another argument, but just to categorise it as a hate crime and convict people, I think it's absolutely the right thing to do. How they go about punishing – do they have some sort of programme to teach people – I don't know the right answer for the punishment, but absolutely putting it as a hate crime is the right answer in my opinion...that's why I'm glad that this has been brought to the attention of society now, because now it's being dealt with, people are saying no, we're not having this, stop it.

He also comments very positively on how the policy would make him change his behaviour if he saw harassment on the street:

If I was to see that in the street now, I might be more inclined to do something about it..., say I was to see somebody talking in the street and a girl would say 'no, go away', maybe five or ten years ago I would have walked away, but now, I don't think I would. I think I'd have to do something. I don't think I could let it lie now...I would be more inclined to report it to the police. It's the more, the lower levels – what would I do? I guess, if it was something like, say, like builders wolf-whistling, that certainly might make me think about giving their employer a call. I'd certainly think about doing that – if they've clearly got a sign [...] I'd give them a quick call and say "you've got to sort out your builders".

A different perspective is put forward here, with this participant who argues that lad culture needs to be respected when discussing the boundaries of where a street harassment continuum begins:

Its gotta be quite a long way away from the like upskirting and all of that stuff. Cause, I dunno, I think it really depends on the context of it as well. Because obviously you can't just shout at somebody "your boobs look nice", or whatever, but then again, I think if you're just talking to your mates and people overhear it

that can't be deemed as it, because that's lads just having fun, whereas I think like if it was continuous as well, one comment may be flippant or whatever, but then if its pestering kind of, and you're saying more than one thing, I think that would be deemed as more.

One male participant draws attention to the need for a very clear distinction to be made between 'harmless' banter and harassment:

I think you've gotta have like, definitive guidelines, and publicise them, so you know where the crossover is. Cos a lot of it could be like harmless banter, but there's gotta be like examples, so obviously you wouldn't be able to list every example of it, but you can always relate to certain things.

It is important to note that the national definition of hate crime is "any crime or incident which is perceived by the victim, or any other person, to be motivated by hostility or prejudice" and therefore it would not be possible to definitively give a list of possible hate crimes.

A less supportive perspective is put forward from the following male participant, who argues that there has not been enough information in the public domain about what the policy actually entails, particularly from the perspective of perpetrators, who may be completely unaware that they are actually committing a hate crime:

There's nothing I've found even when researching it, that said about what they were targeting or how they were dealing with it or what the penalties were, and if I was a member of the general public I wouldn't even have a clue about any of that. I can't imagine that its affected that many people in the general public I think a lot of people wouldn't know they're committing it. I mean victims would probably know it more. But I think perpetrators in a lot of cases wouldn't know they were committing it. And if they did advertise it more of this is actually a crime now, then people would think twice about it. But because people don't know that it actually is a crime, because its not nationally spread either, just being locally I dunno if that's a good of a thing as it being nationally.

He then goes on to make the point that a lot of the touching that goes on in clubs or pubs, in his friendship circle, is dealt with as follows:

I think a lot of its dealt with personally as well. So, for example, if my girlfriend, if a random person touched her bum in club, touched her inappropriately, me and my friends would sort it out rather than getting anyone else involved, so she wouldn't go up to bouncer and say this person's touched me or whatever, I think in a lot of cases, the victim will just deal with it... I don't know how lengthy the process would be either cause I don't know how good the conviction rate would be. I think they'd just be like I can't be bothered to be embroiled in something like that...I think if it was something major like stalking, then they would and upskirting they would I think.

Finally, to conclude this section, in terms of how the policy can change men's attitudes and help to bring about social change, the following person argues that the most crucial argument to use for the policy to succeed is that making Misogyny Hate Crime helps men too – it is not an attack on them, but instead helps men to eradicate the behaviour of a minority of men and this is the message that needs to be made. One of the most effective ways of achieving this is through the creation of male role models:

The convincing argument is that it benefits men as well, the campaign



needs to be “there for the long haul” to move beyond the initial knee-jerk reaction to the messages. There is a role here for “real, prominent male role models lending their voices.

Future directions and impact: Education

In terms of making a real and sustained difference, as with the women in the general public group, the vast majority of men explicitly highlighted that improving education is essential if the policy is ever to have a long-term impact:

I think education is definitely the long-term sensible solution to this... If you educate people now about how you treat each other, whatever their background, and I think that the idea of not just sex education but relationship education, personally I’m a big fan of that idea. I think you will create a generation where people start to be kind of be aware that actually you can’t treat people like that, wherever it’s coming from.

Nothing will change unless you change the mind-set of those people [who commit MHC]. Education to reflect on the crime is “more powerful”, to groups of men who might not be fully aware of the impact it might be having on the victim, so education might put in a step of reflective hesitation.

I think education. Trying to get people to understand how people are feeling, how women might feel when they’re harassed. Letting people know that...that’s not right. Letting people...from an equality perspective, I think, it’s potentially the case that women are more likely to have – to be subject to it, and more likely to get away with it, because of things like the media. The media plays a massive role in these kinds of crimes, these kinds of things, these kinds of influences on society. Because the media – in my opinion, I don’t like the media. The majority of it don’t seem to respect women at all. Even when some of the newspapers do talk about famous women, powerful women, there’s still a little bit of sexism in there a lot of the time...I think it influences public perception of women, or at least affects it. And I think it does do for the worse, yeah, and I think they may even do it on purpose, and I don’t think they should be allowed to get away with it, but they do.

I think it’s education really rather than criminalising it. I don’t know how well its gonna ever be enforced at the lower end, but there’s nothing in school that talks about that, I’ve never been taught anything in school about that like, teach that within sex ed.

When talking about impact, the following comment draws attention to the need for a significant publicity campaign, not necessarily about the policy itself, but instead, about publicity surrounding convictions:

I don’t think it will until you start to see people getting done for it. Until it’s a big news story that someone’s been done for it, then I don’t think until then it will hit home on people. I wouldn’t really see it as a thing until like, there’s loads of proof, not just a fine or punishment but a focus on education, there needs to be compulsory sessions to stop and think of the impact of your behaviour on that person.

Just punishment might build up resentment in perpetrators, in a school-context there is a need for understanding why the behaviour is wrong and this often means it doesn’t happen again.

I know that some schools are starting a project where they’re trying to do relationship training, like relationship kind of understanding as part of the broader



sex education agenda so it's not just about the mechanics of sex but it's actually how to treat people with respect and how to not get yourself into situations perhaps that could harm you.

We need to educate people what is a crime and what is not a crime, how to handle it, how to report it, talk to your family about it etc etc and that seems to be part of the reason for the law is to get women to report which we need, men don't report either obviously, men don't report domestic violence enough.

There's going to be a cause and effect by you acting in a certain way or this is going to be recognised having more people report it. Again we all talk about education and that's far more effective than any of these things - sort of saying actually "it's going to be a crime". I think in terms of reporting it, yeah it would.

I don't think that's a problem really that is women-only I think it is more women that get that. But, I think it needs to be way more way more advertised to make a difference. I think it needs to be advertised where the perpetrators are going to be, I dunno where it is being advertised...they should put it on the bins around Nottingham, cause I read them all the time as I'm walking past and I think loads of people would see it

Evaluating the policy language: 'Misogyny' 'Hate' and 'Crime'

When asked whether the term 'Misogyny Hate Crime' should be kept, similar to the women in the general public group, the men also questioned whether members of the public were aware of what misogyny was:

Do enough people understand what misogyny is?

There's a difficulty around the word misogyny, but words such as racist, homophobia were difficult words when they were first used, but maybe it needs to be there's a word for this and this is what it is get used to it folks because this is a word we need to use.

Misogyny is perhaps a word that people aren't massively familiar with.

Others question the usefulness of the term 'hate crime':

Hate crime perhaps intimates a physical act as opposed to verbal act.

A number of respondents in the survey advocated a change of name to the policy. In the focus groups, one person suggests 'sexualised harassment' instead as an alternative term, as, in his opinion, it moves away from the harshness of the term 'misogyny':

'Sexualised harassment' says what it is. Misogyny hate crime gives impression of spousal murder. Are elements of harassment like wolf whistling or taking up skirt pictures necessarily 'hate'?

However, as is evidenced in the report and the nature of what has been reported to the police, it is clear that harassment is not just sexualised. The following person argues that 'hate' is too strong and that 'harassment is different from hate':

You've got hate and you've got harassment and I see those as very two distinct words...you can harass people without hating them, but hate is very very very severe.

The following participant argued that this policy would benefit from using more simplified language to enable it to function properly and more effectively:

If you think about laws that work they're very elegant and very simple, so is there a simple way of describing this? It's more like a prejudicial crime, you're inherently going in with a pre-judged view of how that reaction will happen, rather than hate crime, there is a difference.

This person also perceived the term 'misogyny' and 'hate' to be too negative. Instead, he advocates a different approach to change people's attitudes to improve reporting behaviour:

The focus on 'misogyny' and 'hate' is overly negative. It would be better reframed as a narrative of equality, freedom and the positive aspect, or emphasising what is lost when it [harassment] happens.

However, a handful of men did think that it was a good idea to keep the 'misogyny', provided that there were better attempts to educate the general public on the actual meaning term:

There needs to be a clear understanding of the word misogyny via advertising with relatable case studies is necessary, developing what misogyny actually is with male role models who could take a prominent part in developing the policy would help it appear to be non-threatening.

The following male participant acknowledges how movements that challenge are traditionally difficult to gain public support, but that does not mean the term 'misogyny' should definitely be lost. He advocates continuing with the terms so that it names exactly what it is that is being committed:

Movements that have really challenged something do jar initially... it should continue and it should be rolled out.

Another man clearly argued that policy adjustments to include harassment of men through misandry would really miss the point and be damaging to the cause:

If policy adjustments are made to include men and misandry it misses the point. It doesn't need to include all genders. It's women who are in the majority of the firing line and if you take that away and make it about men as well it sort of waters it down.

However, other respondents argued the opposite:

I think it should include misandry as well. 100%. Absolutely. I do have a bit of a problem with misogyny as a hate crime. It's not a massive problem but I could certainly critique it. Probably in some detail. I'm not entirely happy with it, but I'm fine with it, but as long as it applies to men as well. It occurred to me if we want women to report, we've got another 30 million people in the country called men who might help women to report things to the police? And then maybe men report as well? And maybe that's a way to raise awareness of all the sort of protected characteristics issues around race, religion or belief in sub-cultures...I don't think it could ever succeed unless it was inclusive. It will absolutely fail if it only gives women protection and men not because that's not equality before the law. There will be unintended consequence to that.

All men who took part in the interviews/focus groups thought that the policy should be continued, either as it is or with some form of amendment to the wording, described

above, though most of of them had not heard of the policy prior to the focus group taking place.

Additionally, there was some scepticism expressed about whether or not the police would actually bring charges against anyone:

It's one thing to have a crime, but is it really enforced? Is it taken seriously?...Has anyone been arrested and charged?

Again, a more sustained marketing campaign where these issues are addressed could really help here, alongside a discussion on the importance of improving confidence in reporting.

Another participant makes a similar point from the perspective of aiming to bring about gender equality [an issue raised by some of the male and female respondents and some police officers]:

This is not going to create an equal society by having this, simply because it's framed in a way that it's only affecting a gender and you're absolutely right that that is the way forward... you would have to nullify those arguments because there are things that happen to men from women ok in the minority as far as we see it but they do happen and that negates it so in order to be completely inclusive it would have to, and to nullify the people who would use it as an excuse to void their political agenda... you would have to be completely inclusive. To call it misogyny as a hate crime is almost to hand those people who would foil it for a political agenda, falls into their lap.

He then brings up the potential consequences of the naming of the policy for non-binary groups and how this could be problematic for these members:

To those that feel they don't conform to either gender and who as a result are probably statistically more likely to suffer from any kind of abuse or anything like this, they may suffer as a result of it being specific because they may not happen to be the gender that is specified or they may identify as the gender - all those issues - and they'll fall through the net too.

Though it is worth noting here that transgender hate crime is already a separate category of its own already sits separate to the misogyny hate crime category.

Another male participant stresses the importance of how humour gets misappropriated and is used as a defence for people to hide behind:

It feels to me that there's filters in front of our communication too often, by humour, the use of humour is often misappropriated. Getting men and women to talk like this properly perhaps because I think it's really useful here with you guys, [agreement] would perhaps be a better way to hear what a young woman's experience is nowadays would really help.

The following participant argues that the policy should be kept, but needs to be articulated much more clearly:

Yeah, definitely needs to be clearer. I don't think they can chop it yet, its not been enforced that long to get the chop. I think they need to be clearer on whether you're going to get spoken to or not spoken to at the moment, and I think it needs to be tougher.

In the following discussion around whether or not the term 'hate' should continue to be explicitly named in the policy, one of the male participants made the following comment:

Maybe we tend to think in cold way 'I dispassionately hate that and I know that, but maybe there's something about something else where my behaviour towards *this* – which I don't think I hate – goes into hatred and surprises me in someway' I mean road rage is a good example of that where I don't know that person to hate them, but the way in which I'm behaving towards them is hate".

This male participant disputed the word hate, because women are not a minority category in society, which he argues then makes it very difficult to enforce:

It's hard because in my view while I'm behind the reasons for it, I can see it would present problems because I think it's easier to... for anyone to get their head around let's say hating someone because, let's say hating someone because of the colour of their skin, while we don't like it as an idea I think anyone can understand that simply as a concept. 'You look different from me. I don't like you.' But I think you touched on the idea that men and women equal numbers, women are not a minority, in the same way that other categories are... So in a way I like the idea, I wonder how practical, or how easy it will be to implement. That's the main obstacle that I think that there might be.

A similar point is made below, regarding the position that some men would argue in their defence, that they are trying to get close to women, that they 'love' women, they do not hate them, which marks this out as being very different to people's general lay conceptions about 'hate crime':

I think the word 'hate' is an issue in this particular context as well because unfortunately the motivations of some of the perpetrators. They would describe themselves as being attracted to, rather than hating so they would argue 'I don't hate women, I love women'. Now I know in my heart that they are, I'm thinking of a particular context, probably misogynistic, so I understand that as misogynyny.

Therefore, as with the women's focus groups and interviews, there are some differing views about whether the policy name should be kept, though again the most concerning point here is the lack of understanding that members of the general public will have about the term 'misogyny' and how this may work to exclude people.

The Police: Key Findings

In terms of findings generated from the police focus group discussions, it was suggested that the media publicity around the policy had been fragmented and at times unhelpful either because the coverage had been misleading or because there had been insufficient coverage. Officers pointed out that whilst there had been some national press attention there was not much press coverage or awareness raising locally in the city and even less in the county. Officers were of the opinion that this may have had an impact on reporting rates, particularly in the county regions. Officers suggested that they had dealt with very few examples overall.

This is interesting to note, because one of the initial concerns that officers initially had about the introduction of the policy was about increases to police workload, albeit these preliminary concerns had proved to be unfounded and officers had noticed little impact on their workload since the policy had been in force:



I think (local area) had the odd job, but not the influx expected. I think suddenly it was thought we'd get all these phone calls, but there's not been

I've not seen a great deal of extra incidents

There were a number of reasons put forward by police officers for why this might be, including a lack of awareness or willingness to report:

I think potentially it happens, but do the people out there know that they should be ringing in. I've only ever had one and that was a building house renovation and the neighbour went out to work she was sort of scared of the builder and that's the normal thing – you've got a large group, safety in numbers they think they can shout something. But I still think people aren't deciding to ring it in and reporting it.

It was also suggested by officers that the national media interest had served to trivialise the policy through a continued focus on 'wolf-whistling':

I think that the reporting of comments that don't constitute a criminal offence wasn't necessarily thought of beforehand and then the media got hand of it and blew it out of all proportion and started calling it a campaign against wolf whistling...essentially watered down what it was all about and what it was brought in for

Notwithstanding, it was suggested that the policy may have had a positive impact on reducing these sorts of incidents. For example, there were some examples of women ringing the police about being harassed by men on building sites. Officers felt that the policy may have had a 'knock on effect' as it had given the police a reason to go to building site managers and this may have made a difference to the behaviour of some men in these industries:

Because it was so well publicised [by initial media coverage] people have had to either change because of work policy that's come along, or maybe some people have just wised up a bit – like the builders – and thought maybe 'actually what I'm doing here is wrong, so I'll keep it shut'.

Officers stated that some companies had taken action by giving warnings to employees or made it a 'sackable offence':

What has changed – I spoke to a builder, apparently a lot of building companies are putting in a policy now that if they shout stuff they get sacked...part of their regulations now, some building companies.

Rather than...going to the police they might be going to the building company rather than us...that's what we found with a few people – report it to the company they're working for and sort it with them, which is why they've got these policies in place ... and get them sacked which is more of a problem for them than getting spoken to by the local cop

Officers also suggested that there was a clear distinction between the city and regions outside of the city including towns and rural areas and that street harassment was more of a problem in the city, in part, due to the night-time economy:



When we did the training it was picked up on quite quickly that it was relatively a city centre kind offence...I'm not saying it doesn't happen in [local town] but when you walk into a town centre and you're wolf whistled or heckled or followed home by a drunken person, where we work they either don't report it or..

Initially, where they said it came from, it was more in the city, and supposedly women, girls night out, were feeling less safe and that there was more street harassment, and that it was impacting upon them feeling safe...erm, that's where I thought it originally came from...it was around, supposedly, trust and confidence and all that, people feeling safe on a night out.

However, it was felt that once the initial publicity had died down, so did the rates of reporting. Even in the city and particularly in the outer-city areas, according to the police, people appeared to know little about it, so could not be expected to report on a crime they knew nothing about. Overall, therefore it was implicit that much of this activity was still not coming to the attention of the police which, as will be stated shortly, officers felt was largely to do with the mandate around the policy.

In terms of the training received on the policy, both male and female officers were somewhat critical, being uncomfortable with the content and the delivery of the training:

A lot of the training provided by the police and partner agencies is particularly poor...if they [the trainers] are not and never have been practitioners and a lot of them are not and never have been trainers, they don't have any formal qualifications in training and never have been a practitioner in the field, so I'm not sure why they're stood at the front of the classroom... the trainers are poor their subject knowledge is poor, they don't know what they are talking about and that was one of the problems with that training.

It appeared that the content and format had served to alienate the police and undermined the purpose of the training, rendering it less effective. There was also a sense that the policy relates to less serious offences because there was too much focus on wolf-whistling and on the individual person that was doing the training, to a large extent therefore, this had served to trivialise the topic in the eyes of the police:

That's the negative side of it, is that, when we had the training, that was the one that was brought up...that's the one people think of, but it was brought in for more serious ones.

We can contextualise this feedback within the context of other research on police training and police culture. In previous research on hate crime training undertaken with Nottinghamshire Police by one of the authors of this report, police officers expressed dissatisfaction with hate crime training. Officers criticised both the content and format of training, in particular, online training which they felt lacked human input, but also some training delivered by police trainers involving slide presentations. A preference was expressed for training in the form of workshops with input from victims and external agencies. Having said that, the design of training needs to take account the culture of policing and incorporate officers into the training by making use of their skills and expertise. Drawing on Trickett's (2016)⁷ research with Nottinghamshire police officers on hate crime training and given the criticisms made by officers in the current evaluation of

⁷ Trickett, L. and Hamilton, P., 2015. The policing of hate crime in Nottingham. A view from within: police perspectives and issues (Updated 2016).

the misogyny training, we make several recommendations for future training of the police below.

We should also remain mindful of the cynicism felt by the police towards any form of organisational change, particularly in a climate of austerity, which can help to explain the resistance discussed by officers about the introduction of the policy. This may help us to better understand some of their criticisms of the training. As previously stated, police officers were concerned that the policy would result in an increased workload for them, which in reality proved to be unfounded. Moreover, our findings suggest that the police also had and continued to have reservations about the language of the policy and its implications. The majority of officers who participated in the focus groups were not in favour of the introduction of the policy and remained fairly dismissive of it. There were three main reasons for this. Firstly, officers felt that the policy was not needed because if there was an under-lying offence then that would be already covered under existing laws such as sexual assault, battery or public order offences and the police claimed to be already dealing with these types of behaviours:

It's been clarified now because we've had more training but a lot of its covered under existing legislation under the Harassment Act, under the Public Order Act... and its sort of like...is it (harassment) a step below that...and it is really because it's a non crime incident, but a lot of the things that get reported to us would be dealt with anyway under the Harassment Act of the Public Order Act for things that have been said to people on the street that could also have a misogyny element to it....

I think, I think the problem comes in that if we had...I don't want to belittle it, but a misogynistic initiative given to us, the vast majority of people who would seem themselves as a victim of that don't think it's a police matter. Whereas we still get the misogynistic incidents come in, but whereas (colleague) mentioned earlier, they are a higher level of that and they fit into everything else...

I don't think it's needed, it's just a box on a form and we'd deal with it anyway, we don't need to have a label and a ticky box.... because we still look at the initial offence that has been committed

We don't need a misogyny policy in my view, you've got the offences. If you feel harassed by something you've got the offence, you don't need a misogyny policy

Despite this, there was contradictory evidence at times, when the police also claimed not to have dealt with these types of behaviours before. The distinction here appeared to be between what the police perceived as criminal behaviour that was already covered by other offences including assault, harassment or public order and incidents that would previously have been filtered out:

It's an incident as opposed to a crime; the policy covers incidents not just crimes so it's the person's perception

But that was confusing, is that all the talk in the press, in the press releases was of hate crimes and they were saying all these things were crimes and they are not, they are an incident. If they constituted a Public Order offence, if someone caused harassment or distress there was a sexual offence or an offence against the person then they would be recorded as a crime investigated as such, and the qualifier 'hate crime misogyny' would be added but the others are hate incidents, before the policy they would be screened out by call takers.

Another reason for resistance to the policy was because of the categorisation of the activities as a 'hate crime', which officers felt was problematic for a number of reasons.

Firstly, because some officers felt that hate crime itself was something of a difficult category and was not always to do with 'hate':

The hate crime label is confusing to me...and the definition of a hate crime is hatred towards a protected characteristic, so for instance two people in a car park they get out and start arguing, one person turns round to another and says a hateful word, to me that's not necessarily a hate crime, to me that's an argument about a parking space and they've just picked up on the first characteristic they've seen, so it could have been big nose, big ears what have you.

Secondly, because the types of activities that were covered in the policy were not really 'hate crimes':

but yeah it was a bit of a shock and the pre-warning of it, and it was like we've always dealt with jobs – if a woman was abused down the street we would, there's that thing does it need to be a hate crime I don't know, is it a hate crime?

The police here were making a distinction between racial, religious and homophobic offences which they felt were to do with 'hate' or at least 'dislike' and the misogyny policy which they felt was not really to do with hatred of women:

I think hate is a very strong word...I think at the time there was quite a few eyebrows raised in the police and in the wider community if you like maybe you're using a sledge hammer to crack a nut...to label an idiot or a bloke wolf whistling a woman walking down the street who he finds attractive, he didn't see anything wrong with it, she may or may not see anything wrong with it, to label that as a hate crime everyone was a bit 'whoa come on!'. I think to class it as a hate crime is problematic.

Having said this, the understanding of the police was in line with the understanding of some members of the general public and the some of the national press coverage which is connected to a narrow understanding of 'hate' and 'hostility':

I think the problem is misogyny traditionally is called women hating and there's – to start the word hate and permeated through it. It's not – I don't see it as a hate crime.

Given this questioning of whether or not it is hate, it may be that training on hate crime requires a re-think – what is key, in our opinion, is discriminatory attitudes, prejudicial targeting and power dynamics. In terms of misogyny, we would add that prejudicial targeting is bound up with a sense of entitlement on the basis of gender often implicated in the adoption and the performance of a heterosexual macho masculinity – none of this however appeared to have come through in the training as perceived by the officers.

Secondly, it was suggested that the policy meant that a lot of activities that were not crimes were being included, although this point, of course, is an issue that relates to hate crimes more generally. This meant that the police viewed the policy as largely a 'net-widening' and thus largely futile exercise:

Who are we benefitting to keep labelling crime and incidents and never prosecuting anyone? Because on the streets at the moment you feel we're going through the motions of, we crime everything.

I don't think there so much a hate crime as a hate incident...it's not actually a crime to shout at somebody, it's the language they use and what they're saying, so if there's an offence in that we can look at the Public Orders Act, whereas the incident itself is actually just a hate incident as its probably a one off.

The trouble is you're going round recording things all the time rather than actually dealing with them.

I just wonder if it's a society issue, because, you know, as police, we've done diversity to death, so I'd like to think as an organisation and as individual officers we get it, and wider society don't...and that's apparent from all the stuff that's come out recently with, you know, the film industry, and other organisations, and wider society are all way way behind where we are as an organisation with a lot of these issues, so when suddenly we're given another box to tick, ...if something needs highlighting as a misogynistic incident then so be it, but I think, you know, to reflect what's already been said, I think we were already picking up any issues that were populated, for want of a better word, we were already picking them up.

This led to police officers depicting the policy as another example of 'over-recording', and as such that it was simply a 'paper exercise' that required another 'box' to be ticked:

There's no point continuing it unless it leads to a prosecution...if you deal with a job that's got a race element to it, it's racially aggravated. So what's the point in having something if it's not to change what's going to happen on that offence...most of the ones we deal with is a crime with maybe that element on it – not many of us have had one – but does it make any difference? To the victim it might because you're accepting the fact that what they're telling you is because they feel it's because of their gender. But if it's racially motivated, homophobic or whatever they add some extra punishment, this isn't – it's a paper exercise.

A related issue is that the policy creates a false sense of expectation – raising the idea that people will be found and prosecuted and then they are not. However, in the women's general public focus groups, it is notable that conviction is not the key thing motivating women to report – instead it is the fact that they are being taken seriously that matters. The women who had reported were acutely aware that conviction was unlikely as they did not know their perpetrators. Instead, it was the ability to report and be taken seriously that was crucially important to them.

Therefore, the police considered the use of 'hate crime' here to be an unhelpful term that simply generates more paperwork for the police as they have to do separate risk assessments etc, albeit at present the policy does not appear to have greatly increased the workload of the police.

For the aforementioned reasons, officers questioned whether some of the activities covered under the policy should be tackled through educational means rather than through the police:

I think...the response on social media when Notts Police put it out there...a lot of people weren't overly pleased with it to be honest... I think its an educational issue more than anything.

A lot of it's disrespect, but it's alright teaching us about it, but where's the education going out to the wider community to raise that awareness? The way it's been publicised gets people backs up – the example of the wolf whistling thing – like they said 'sledgehammer to crack a nut' but you know to tackle it and educate people to treat people like they'd expect to be treated themselves, it's not hitting them with a stick, it's changing people perceptions...if you feed them not beat them you get a better result.

If someone making a comment towards a woman is that a hatred of a woman or is it an inappropriate way of approaching a human being...its not motivated by



hate it's motivated by 'that person's got antiquated ideas of what a woman looks like and I'm going to show my appreciation of it totally inappropriately'.

Evaluating the language of the policy

Officers also felt that the term misogyny was not clearly understood by police officers themselves or by members of the public, including men and women. Here, there was also discussion about how it was a snobbish term, only really understood by academics and that it would not be understood by the general public who the policy was actually brought in for. There was a strong sense that this was very confusing for members of the public and that it should be more clearly articulated. The lack of understanding around the specific meaning of the term may then result in mixed messages being received about what types of behaviours were classified as 'misogynistic':

I think some people are confused over what we're trying to achieve, we're not trying to stop the sort of innocent things

Aspects of misogyny can be confusing, at the top end where you've got a clear sexual predator or someone who has violence towards women that's quite clearly misogynistic. But at the lower end it comes very much down to the individual and their perception of what's happened to them...two people can have comments made to them, one can take it as flattery, the other person can take it as insulting, being misogynistic.

It was also suggested by a number of officers that it incorporated some behaviours that were fairly trivial, did not warrant a police response and that it involved a waste of resources without being backed by a mandate from the public:

I think, probably most people, would agree with this, but we police by consent from the general public, the public never gave a mandate to do this, and it kind of felt like a bit of a vanity project...and therefore nobody was really bought into it, the public weren't bought into it, and therefore it fails

I struggle with it in all honesty. I just think if someone wolf whistles you when you walk past a building site, "So what? Really?" If someone came up to me in a gym and said "you look good in your lycra" I'd take it – "thanks!" I can see where they are going with it but I feel sorry for blokes because they must be confused by what they can and can't say, and its alright for women is it to go 'cor you look..' because there's nothing the other way round and women do it just as much as men do it, its acceptable to, so I just struggle with the whole thing.

I don't think it's been useful to anybody. Honestly, I don't think anybody's took it on, the public definitely haven't, we don't get anything reported...Its frustrating in the media, even though, like I say, its covered under other stuff. I think, in the end, its actually wasted a lot of police time and resources because if you look on the police staff side of things, someone's had to program the systems so that there's now a tick box for somebody in the control room...to tick a box. And then they've had to have training to actually tick that box in case it comes in...its creating work that didn't need to be created...it's just the extra time and effort to make sure its separated out from what we're already getting picked up

Officers stated that they responded to all offences in a non-gendered way, but that if the policy was to be retained then it should be 'gender hate crime' so that it also included crimes/incidents against men as the misogyny policy was exclusionary. This echoes the

point made by one of the men in the general public group which have highlighted above.

It also was stated that, whilst men might experience much less of these types of behaviour, they did still sometimes experience them and that this needed to be acknowledged:

I don't see why a separate [category]...you can use gender – it shouldn't matter if you're male or female. I know its picked up on because its identified as more female, it happens to men as well – not as much I accept...there's that thing 'why has it been given a separate name?' If we're sat there with any offense and we feel it's only happened for that reason because they're male or female you can tick that box...

Well, I think on that one, if you've having a box targeted because I'm a woman, lets have a box I'm being targeted because I'm a man...I wouldn't dream of pinched someone's arse in a pub but if someone pinched my arse it wouldn't bother me! (male: That's covered under sexual touching, under sexual offences)
M: Exactly, but I still wouldn't report it. It just wouldn't bother me...it just wouldn't really bother me...do you understand?...There's obviously people that are like that and then there's other people that are not like that.

Use of the term misogyny also served to ignore some crimes by women against other women i.e., did not recognise that women could also be misogynistic in their attitudes to others. In short, the police felt that the term was unhelpful and the box was too narrow:

There's always that factor that it's said it's a man against a woman, we're not in that day and age anymore. You know, a woman can abuse another woman...it was just boxed into 'it's a man against a woman'. It isn't. It can be a woman against a woman, a man against a man it could be any of that...the box needs to be bigger.

Although overall there was little positive feedback about the policy from officers, a few did feel that the policy had raised awareness that certain types of behaviour were no longer considered acceptable:

It makes you more aware...what even you thought were acceptable, or perhaps a little bit of banter whatever, it makes you more aware that it's not acceptable. Things change don't they?

Officers also felt that the policy might be of more relevance to those who were more 'vulnerable' in some way, but that overall the existing laws were sufficient to deal with these activities.

In summary, the findings indicate that the police are viewing this largely through a policing lens in terms of what it means for them as officers (i.e. considerations of impact on daily policing) which is to be largely expected. Indeed, the main issue appeared to be the inclusion of crime incidents in addition to criminal offences which the police did not see as part of their mandate. This is interesting, given that hate crime policy more generally requires the police to record hate incidents in addition to hate crimes. Additionally, research has found that officers become desensitised over the course of their policing careers which affects their perceptions of what is 'real crime' and 'real' policing (Trickett 2016). Certainly this may help to understand why the police largely trivialised the policy in an arguably similar fashion to elements of the mass media.

Moreover, whilst the police who participated did not appear to think that the policy is useful, their perceptions are very much out-of-line with that of the general public, both

women and men, who do give a clear public mandate supporting the policy. Women had experienced a wide range of these behaviours, many of which already fell under criminal offences, but which they had not reported. Moreover, it may be that more nuanced answers could have been obtained if the budget for this current project had stretched to undertaking interviews with individual officers. The use of focus groups, particularly with groups sharing an occupational culture, leaves little room for dissent. Having acknowledged that, these findings on how frontline officers actually view the policy are of course imperative to any continued implementation of it both in Nottinghamshire and beyond. Moreover, whilst the general public is largely in support of the policy, the responses from officers correlate with the survey responses which indicate that personally people may still be largely unwilling to report to the police.

Overall Summary of Findings

- Misogyny Hate Crime is highly prevalent but still significantly under-reported, and continues to be so, two years after the inception of the policy in Nottinghamshire. This is partly due to the 'normalisation' of these incidents and people's lack of knowledge that the policy exists
- Members of the public often struggled to know what Misogyny Hate Crime actually meant. Members of the public and the police viewed the term 'misogyny' as too elitist/academic. Members of the public also struggled to define 'hate crime'
- Even when physical or sexual assault takes place, participants are still reluctant to report, often through fear that the police will not take their complaints seriously, or through a fear that they will be blamed. This is common across all hate crimes
- Within certain contexts, such as the night-time economy, groping and sexual assaults are commonplace and normalised
- Of those members of the public who knew of the existence of the policy, most were unaware of what the policy covered, exactly how to report the crime if it happened to them, and what would happen to them if they did report
- Women have been forced to change their behaviours in multiple ways on a daily basis. They often feel intimidated and live in fear of what may happen to them in public spaces, which is an infringement of their human rights
- Of those women who reported, those who had positive experiences praised the police for taking them seriously – they reported that knowing the policy existed made them feel safer
- Once the focus group/interview participants who did not know about the existence of the policy had it explained to them, they thought it should definitely be rolled out nationally and kept, with a name change
- Women from BME groups often experience Misogyny Hate Crime and racial hate crime simultaneously and feel doubly vulnerable to attack
- Harassment of women in public spaces is a form of gaining power for certain men. Many other men find this behaviour completely unacceptable and want to prevent it from happening
- Men in the general public group really valued the opportunity to be consulted and want to help by being integrated and included in discussions and training
- Changing attitudes is crucial and education is key to this being achieved. The younger people are when this educational process begins the better
- A multi-agency approach is needed to work alongside the police in the longer term to bring about social and cultural change

Overall Recommendations

- The policy should be rolled out nationally to increase publicity and reporting – there is clear support for the policy from both women and men in the general public and from victims who have reported Misogyny Hate Crime.
- Consideration needs to be given as to whether the policy should be renamed to 'gender hate crime' or similar, or whether education about what the terms 'misogyny' and 'hate crime' mean would be a better approach.
- To address the concerns of the general public not understanding the term misogyny and in response to it being described as elitist and exclusionary, we recommend that gender-based hate crime is used instead. It is really important that the term is not perceived to be classist and that it is something that can be clearly understood by all of the general population.
- The general public need to be educated about exactly what 'hate crime' is – a focus should be placed on explaining that hate crime involves the *prejudicial targeting* of people on the basis of a protected characteristic such as gender, that it involves an assertion of power over another that is experienced as *hostile behaviour* rather than a narrow focus on 'hate'.
- To address the lack of awareness of the policy's existence, there needs to be a sustained publicity and educational campaign around the policy, as many members of the general public in Nottinghamshire were unaware that it existed
- Education is crucial to making the policy a success and to driving behavioural change. In terms of formal education, this needs to start at an early age and be embedded in the school system at primary level in PSHE, where the focus should be on healthy relationships and mutual respect for all. This work should continue in colleges and universities.
- A broader educational campaign should be delivered by multiple agencies and by as many different stakeholder groups as possible, at local and national levels, to bring about sustained societal change
- Intersectionality is crucial to making the policy a success. Bringing in intersectionality as part of the training to capture different groups who face different challenges with misogyny hate crime is crucial to ensure the policy protects different groups equally
- It should be made clear that the majority of men do not engage in these behaviours and we must involve men on this journey to tackle harassment of women and girls
- As well as the police, multiple agencies and organisations have an important role to play in tackling Misogyny Hate Crime – this includes employers, schools, colleges and universities and a range of other organisations

Recommendations for campaigns

- The key focus of any educational campaign should be on men who engage in these behaviours being the ones who need to change. Other countries have used other men as role models to deliver the message that these behaviours are unacceptable and criminal
- Men frequently claim ignorance of how harassment makes women feel and how damaging it can be to their freedoms and rights. There is a need for men to become acutely aware of how women feel when they experience street harassment at all ends of the 'harassment continuum', including how it affects them physically and emotionally, and how it restricts their behaviour.
- Frame harassment as a human rights issue – the right to use public social space without harassment is being infringed upon for women; make clear how much women's use of social space is restricted compared to men's – draw attention to the multiple adjustments they make to their behaviour that men do not have to think about
- Emphasise that street harassment involves an invasion of emotional and physical space, it limits people's freedoms and has social costs. This can be framed within



a human rights narrative and/or citizenship narrative as well as from the perspective of bringing about gender equality in society to address the UN's Sustainable Development Goals 2030; i.e., explain that street harassment is not a 'compliment' – it objectifies women; explain how it is perceived by those on the receiving end, how it increases fear of sexual assault and results in restriction of movement and how this results in unequal treatment for women

- It is essential that men and boys are involved in these campaigns and that there is not only a focus on 'healthy relationships' but also a specific focus on masculinities that questions why some men act in negative ways that impacts on women and girls (and, at times, other men).
- Such initiatives should be delivered by men to boys and girls within educational establishments such as primary and secondary schools and in universities and colleges. In primary schools there are not enough male teachers and positive male roles models should be sought out. Such educational packages should examine masculinities and point out how men and boys can achieve healthy identities and relationships without acting in ways that impact negatively on others (There are various online resources created, particularly in the US, which show some very effective ways that men can help with this)
- Use films/narratives that seek to empower, rather than only portraying women/girls as victims, e.g., through a film with a boy 'Imagine if – you had to consider what you wore everyday, if you could not go where you wanted to go' – using women's narratives from this study to construct media to deliver the message across. Cartoons could also be used on posters to tackle street harassment – e.g., Be part of the action – Say No to Street Harassment in Nottinghamshire. Or 'this is normal behaviour for women in Nottinghamshire' – Let's make this a thing of the past – using references to antiquated male behaviour i.e., make street harassment a taboo through social shaming
- Even if the interventions with men have to be framed through women in their families and friends (critiqued by some as viewing everything through the male gaze), this may still be an effective training tool to initially engage in empathy and increase knowledge and understanding, particularly when men have not experienced street harassment

Policing Recommendations

- Consideration needs to be given as to whether the policy should be renamed to 'gender hate crime' or similar, or whether education about what the terms mean would be a better approach.
- The policing policy needs to be promoted much more widely and rolled out at a national level, following the recommended name change
- Although the police struggle to see a need for the policy, there is contradictory evidence from the general public who categorically see a need – women consistently experience a wide range of these behaviours without reporting to the police
- Evidence from victims and those who have not reported demonstrates that officers need to ensure that they continue to give empathetic and sympathetic responses to female victims and take them seriously – this is crucial, even if perpetrators cannot be traced – to members of the public, being taken seriously is key, and often they are realistic in knowing that conviction rates are going to be low, as most incidents take places very quickly with little time to get descriptions etc.
- When the police give women advice about keeping safe, there is a need to make sure that it is couched in a way that does not suggest that they are to blame

Recommendations for Police Training

- Explain clearly that the behaviours covered in the policy are not new and were largely already covered by criminal offences (which may be a baseline crime for a hate crime prosecution in limited circumstances), but that the policy is really



aiming to improve the recording and responses to crimes and incidents which are not currently being reported

- In addition, clearly explain that one purpose of policy is to record some incidents in order to reassure the public, support victims and improve intelligence gathering
- A refresher course on hate crime more generally should take place, emphasising that it is wider than hate, and about prejudicial targeting based on personal characteristics often involving assertions of power. Also that hate crime includes the recording of incidents and that the misogyny policy follows this format. There was too much emphasis from officers on the misogyny policy not really being about hate crime – so an emphasis on why these behaviours are indicative of contempt for women and may also involve expressions of hostility is important
- Ensure the police are trained to see the importance of the policy for women in wider society, how it has a negative impact on them and infringes on their basic rights, including their everyday health and well-being, and not simply view it through a policing lens (in terms of what it means for workloads etc.)
- The policy needs to be describing and understood as a multiple gendered experience that is intersectional, emphasising different experiences for different groups. This can be delivered through a variety of different training media (films, videos, social media etc.)
- Avoid a focus on single individual experiences to move away from accusations of a personal 'crusade' and instead focus on multiple experiences of different intersectional groups of women and girls
- Avoidance of training that appears to 'lecture' the police, ensuring that their knowledge and expertise as officers is fully appreciated and taken into account
- Involve a 'train the trainer' model i.e., a group of officers or retired officers deliver the training in conjunction with input from the public, films, victim testimonies from multiple groups and include the life experiences of existing officers by enabling them to use their own experiences and bring these into the training room
- The role of an 'expert trainer' needs to be designed very carefully – external agencies alone cannot do this as they lack policing expertise or knowledge, which leads to police officers 'shutting down' during the training
- Person-centred learning for the police, along with active workshops, would be a more effective method to bring in police experiences and expertise using case studies from the city and county.
- A wider debate about gendered victimisation more broadly for women and men in society needs to be encouraged, with the key message being how the actions of the police are part of a broader social picture in which we all have a part to play.

Appendices

Table 1.1

Do you think the sort of behaviour mentioned above is a social problem?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	561	94.8	95.2	95.2
	No	28	4.7	4.8	100.0
	Total	589	99.5	100.0	
Missing	System	3	.5		
Total		592	100.0		

Table 2.1

Do you think this sort of behaviour is a particular problem for women?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	488	82.4	90.4	90.4
	No	52	8.8	9.6	100.0
	Total	540	91.2	100.0	
Missing	System	52	8.8		
Total		592	100.0		

Table 3.1

In your opinion what is this sort of behaviour?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Non-Criminal	25	4.2	4.8	4.8
	Anti-Social behaviour	225	38.0	43.3	48.1
	Criminal	270	45.6	51.9	100.0
	Total	520	87.8	100.0	
Missing	System	72	12.2		
Total		592	100.0		

Table 4.1

Did the incident have any long term impact on you?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No, it did not impact on me	105	17.8	24.9	24.9
	Felt anxious	76	12.9	18.1	43.0

	More vigilant	113	19.1	26.8	69.8
	More suspicious of strangers	65	11.0	15.4	85.3
	Other please specify	62	10.5	14.7	100.0
	Total	421	71.2	100.0	
Missing	System	170	28.8		
Total		591	100.0		

Table 5.1

**In your opinion what should be done
about this behaviour?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nothing it's not a problem	4	.7	.8	.8
	Nothing, there are criminal offences to cover this	20	3.4	3.8	4.6
	It should be treated as a criminal offence to treat someone in this way	181	30.6	34.8	39.4
	Education should be used so that people know that it is not acceptable	237	40.0	45.6	85.0
	Other- please specify	78	13.2	15.0	100.0
	Total	520	87.8	100.0	
Missing	System	72	12.2		
Total		592	100.0		

Table 6.1

Did you report to the police? If yes, did the misogyny hate crime initiative influence your decision to report it?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	6	1.0	15.4	15.4
	No	33	5.6	84.6	100.0
	Total	39	6.6	100.0	
Missing	System	553	93.4		
Total		592	100.0		

Table 7.1

Do you think the misogyny hate crime policy change is a good idea for Nottinghamshire?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	453	76.5	87.1	87.1
	No	67	11.3	12.9	100.0
	Total	520	87.8	100.0	
Missing	System	72	12.2		
Total		592	100.0		

Table 8.1

In your opinion should the Nottinghamshire Police Misogyny Hate Crime policy be:

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Continued	331	55.9	67.1	67.1
	Discontinued	32	5.4	6.5	73.6
	Amended in some way	130	22.0	26.4	100.0
	Total	493	83.3	100.0	
Missing	System	99	16.7		
Total		592	100.0		

Table 9.1

Police Action: Nothing

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Selected	5	.8	100.0	100.0
Missing	Not selected	587	99.2		
Total		592	100.0		

Table 10.1

Police Action: Reassured me

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Selected	8	1.4	100.0	100.0
Missing	Not selected	584	98.6		
Total		592	100.0		

Table 11.1

Police Action: Conducted a risk assessment

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Selected	2	.3	100.0	100.0
Missing	Not selected	590	99.7		
Total		592	100.0		

Table 12.1

Police Action: Tried unsuccessfully to find the perpetrator

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Selected	13	2.2	100.0	100.0
Missing	Not selected	579	97.8		
Total		592	100.0		

Table 13.1

Police Action: Spoke directly to the perpetrator

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Selected	9	1.5	100.0	100.0
Missing	Not selected	583	98.5		
Total		592	100.0		

Table 14.1

Police Action: Gave the perpetrator a warning

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Selected	4	.7	100.0	100.0
Missing	Not selected	588	99.3		
Total		592	100.0		

Table 15.1

Police Action: Prosecuted the perpetrator

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Selected	3	.5	100.0	100.0
Missing	Not selected	589	99.5		

Total	592	100.0		
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Table 16.1

Police Action: Other- please specify

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Selected	8	1.4	100.0	100.0
Missing	Not selected	584	98.6		
Total		592	100.0		

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