Original Article

Invisible Scars: Understanding the Experiences of Hate Crime Among Chinese Residents in Edinburgh

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Abstract

This study investigates the definition of hate crime and the experiences of Chinese residents in Edinburgh who have faced such incidents post-COVID-19, giving voice to this marginalised group's 'invisible scars'. It explores the underlying dynamics of hate crimes, emphasising the process of 'othering' or 'differentiation' based on victim vulnerabilities, often intertwined with offenders' feelings of anxiety and fear about their life conditions. Specifically, the research reveals the tendency of Chinese individuals to underreport hate crimes, especially microaggressions – victims' possibility of reporting is highly linked with the perceived personal impact of the offence. Furthermore, the study examines the reasons behind this reluctance to report, such as the perceived imbalance between the costs and benefits of reporting, a normalisation process, lack of familiarity with hate crime laws and legal procedures, and negative perceptions of the police.

Introduction

Hate crime, a pressing global concern, inflicts tremendous emotional and physical suffering on marginalised individuals and communities. In the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic, there has been a noticeable escalation in hostility and hate crimes directed towards Chinese people.[1] This surge in animosity has further instigated a disturbing trend of stigmatisation and 'othering' of Asian communities.[2] As a result,

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1.. Chelsea Gray and Kirstine Hansen, 'Did COVID-19 Lead to an Increase in Hate Crimes Toward Chinese People in London?' (2021) 37 J Contemp Crim Justice 569.
2.. Angela R Gover, Shannon B Harper and Lynn Langton, 'Anti-Asian Hate Crime During the COVID-19 Pandemic: Exploring the Reproduction of Inequality' (2020) 45 Am J Crim Justice 647; Brendan Lantz and Marin R Wenger, 'Anti-Asian Xenophobia, Hate Crime Victimization, and Fear of Victimization during the COVID-19 Pandemic' (2023) 38 J Interpersonal Violence 1088.

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the living conditions and overall well-being of marginalised groups within diverse societies have been severely compromised.[3] These unsettling developments underscore the urgency and significance of addressing hate crimes in our global community.

Regrettably, existing literature often fails to differentiate between diverse Asian subgroups, instead opting to categorise them all under the general label of 'Asians'.[4] This oversight is concerning because each Asian subgroup has its unique culture and language, and they experience and perceive hate crimes differently. Lumping them together as one homogeneous group risks misrepresentation and oversimplification of their unique experiences with hate crimes. Therefore, this research focuses on the perspectives and experiences of Chinese residents in Edinburgh who may be subjected to hate crimes. It aims to better comprehend the complexities of hate crimes, identify the barriers to reporting them, and suggest ways the police could improve their response to these incidents. Specifically, it investigates who Chinese residents might discuss the incidents with, whether they report the incident to the police, reasons for potential underreporting, and their attitudes towards the local police in Edinburgh. By giving voice to these often silent or 'invisible scars', the study could enhance our understanding of the hardships faced by this community, thereby addressing a knowledge gap.

In addition to library-based research, this study employs a qualitative approach to explore the experiences and perceptions of Chinese residents in Edinburgh. The methodology chosen is one-to-one semi-structured interviews. The interviews were conducted in Chinese. In consideration of the word count limit and the coherence of the narrative, I have chosen to include only the English translations of quotations in the main body of the text, reserving the original Chinese quotations for the appendix. All quotations have been codified (e.g. Q1, Q2, Q3,…). Before the commencement of the research, all recruited interviewees gave informed consent for the use of their data in producing research outcomes. To ensure anonymity, all names used in this article are randomly chosen Chinese names instead of their actual ones. Identifying characteristics were removed, except for gender and the duration of their stay in Edinburgh.

Given the non-universal usage of terms in academia, this article will adhere to a clear terminology rule to facilitate understanding and reduce confusion. The term 'hate crime' is employed in a broader sense, encompassing not only offences that are serious enough to prosecute and incur criminal liability but also less severe offences/incidents that merit attention. The terms 'hate incident' and 'lower-severity incident' are specifically used to refer to these less serious offences. To describe everyday, frequent and minor forms of abuse, the phrase 'racial microaggression' alongside 'hate incidents' is used.

What Is Hate Crime

The term 'hate crime' has gained significant attention and usage in public and academic discussions as a result of anti-hate crime campaigns during the previous century. These campaigns emerged in the US and later spread to Europe during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.[5] These campaigns actively advocated for the rights of minority groups, women, LGBT individuals, members of subcultures and people with disabilities. In the 1990s, racist attacks notably increased in communities transitioning from predominantly white to multicultural.[6] This was often due to some white residents resisting the idea that minority

3.. Stevie-Jade Hardy and Neil Chakraborti, 'Increasing Problems, Increasing Indifference' *Blood, Threats and Fears: The Hidden Worlds of Hate Crime Victims* (Springer International Publishing 2020); CA Fan and others, 'The Experience of Hate Incidents Across Racial and Ethnic Groups During the COVID-19 Pandemic' (2022) 10 Front Public Health 1.

4.. Chunrye Kim, Claire Seungeun Lee and Hyeyoung Lim, 'Hate-Motivated Crime/Incidents Against Asians in the United States of America: A Systematic Review' (2023) 13 Race Justice 9.

5.. Jon Garland, 'The Victimisation of Goths and the Boundaries of Hate Crime' in Neil Chakraborti (ed.), *Hate Crime: Concepts, Policy, Future Directions* (Taylor & Francis 2017).

6.. Neil Chakraborti and Jon Garland, 'Perpetrators of Hate Crime', *Hate Crime: Impact, Causes and Responses* (2nd edn, SAGE Publications Ltd 2015).

groups should have equal access to housing and other social resources.[7] This pressing situation has made hate crime an important issue to be addressed.

The first task is to conceptualise 'hate crime'. When people hear this phrase, the initial understanding that often comes to mind is that hate crimes should be motivated by hatred. However, academia and policymakers have expanded the definition of hate crimes, concluding that hate crime encompasses a broader range of factors than hate alone.[8] For a crime to be categorised as a hate crime, it does not need to be motivated by hatred.

Conceptualising Hate Crime

Defining Hate Crime Within the Social Structure. Hate is a complex term whose interpretation can vary significantly among individuals. It has crucial implications for defining and understanding offences within its encompassing framework.[9] While hatred and hate crimes may seem contemporary, they have roots deeply embedded in history. For example, throughout the colonial era, harm driven by racist attitudes and ethnocentrism consistently emerged.[10] Drawing on the historical patterns, Perry suggested a way to define hate crime from a social context and structural perspective: the 'hate' is not solely or always an emotion; instead, it can signify rigidly structured patterns of oppression.[11]

According to Perry's framework, hate crimes could reflect the power dynamics between majority and minority groups. Here, the perpetrator, usually one of the majority, tends to reinforce the stigmatisation and marginalisation of the minority, maintaining his/her perceived privilege.[12] When minorities challenge this unjust hierarchy, perpetrators may react with hostility. They use hate crimes as a means to reassign victims to a 'subordinate' identity.[13] This reinforces the dichotomy between the 'Self' and the 'Other' (in other words, 'doing difference') to re-establish the perceived 'correct' power dynamics and societal positions.[14]

As such, victims are selected mainly based on their membership in a particular social category, a symbolic status.[15] They are targeted not because of their personal identities but rather because of the societal attributes they represent.[16] These crimes are committed as a method to assert dominance over victims' affiliated groups and reinforce their perceived marginality. While framing a theory around power dynamics and group affiliation can shed light on societal structures where everyday victimisation, domination, and subordination occur and highlight the influence of certain groups (white heterosexual males),[17] such a perspective is not without its limitations.

7.. Ibid.

8.. Stevie-Jade Hardy and Neil Chakraborti, 'Visible yet Invisible: Challenges Facing Hate Crime Victims', *Blood, Threats and Fears: The Hidden Worlds of Hate Crime Victims* (Springer International Publishing 2020).

9.. Neil Chakraborti and Jon Garland, 'Understanding Hate Crime', *Hate Crime: Impact, Causes and Responses* (2nd edn, SAGE Publications Ltd 2015).

10.. Carolyn Petrosino, 'Connecting the Past to the Future: Hate Crime in America' in Barbara Perry (ed.), *Hate and Bias Crime: A Reader* (Taylor & Francis Group 2003).

11.. Jennifer Schweppe and Barbara Perry, 'A Continuum of Hate: Delimiting the Field of Hate Studies' (2022) 77 Crime Law Social Change 503.

12.. Barbara Perry, 'Defining and Measuring Hate Crime', *In the Name of Hate: Understanding Hate Crimes* (1st edn, Routledge 2001).

13.. Ibid.

14.. Barbara Perry, 'Accounting for Hate Crime: Doing Difference' in Barbara Perry (ed.), *Hate and Bias Crime: A Reader* (Taylor & Francis Group 2003).

15.. Richard A Berk, Elizabeth A Boyd and Karl M Hamner, 'Thinking More Clearly About Hate-Motivated Crimes' in Barbara Perry (ed.), *Hate and Bias Crime: A Reader* (Taylor & Francis Group 2003).

16.. Schweppe and Perry, 'A Continuum of Hate' (n 11).

17.. Jon Garland, 'Difficulties in Defining Hate Crime Victimization' (2012) 18 Int Rev Victimol 25.

Firstly, this theory fails to clarify the direct causation between the broader structural context and the actions of each perpetrator.[18] Viewing hate crime purely as a mechanism of oppression or subordination may exaggerate these factors in cases where the perpetrator's motivations are more mundane – such as thrill-seeking, boredom, jealousy, convenience or unfamiliarity with 'difference'.[19] Second, this theory often presumes that the perpetrators of hate crimes are mostly strangers to the victims,[20] which has been challenged by subsequent research. Many offences are committed within the victim's community. Based on the location of the incident, it is not difficult for the victim to recognise the perpetrator as a fellow inhabitant of the same neighbourhood.[21] This suggests that perpetrators are not absolute strangers to the victims.[22] In fact, a significant proportion of hate crimes are committed by the victims' neighbours, colleagues, classmates or caregivers.[23] Lastly, this framework may be less effective in some cases. For example, there are situations where a perpetrator might not be able to determine a victim's group membership (like being a refugee) solely based on what they can visibly observe about the victim. Besides, targeted individuals may not always come from disadvantaged backgrounds. Therefore, it is imperative to delve deeper and scrutinise the definition and nature of hate crime more closely through a different perspective.

Understanding Hate Crime Through Differentiating. While Perry's perspective that views hate crimes through the lens of social structure has faced significant criticism, one of the core attributes of hate crime – the act of 'doing difference' (differentiating or othering) – has been widely accepted and developed by a substantial body of research.

Basically, perpetrators engage in othering based on their perception of what is different and vulnerable rather than merely on victims' membership in a particular identity group.[24] Our social context shapes our schemas, encompassing our knowledge about, expectations for and attitudes towards specific groups of people.[25] Once a schema is activated, it serves as a cognitive filter, influencing how offenders perceive and process information about an individual. It subsequently reinforces stereotypes of specific groups. For instance, people tend to perceive their in-group as more diverse than out-groups, thereby forming polarised views of out-groups rather than rational and comprehensive.[26]

In this regard, offenders target not the symbolic status of victims but their actuarial status.[27] For example, a group of street thugs may target a homosexual individual, not because of the individual's sexual orientation per se, but because they stereotype the individual as being vulnerable or belonging to the upper-middle-class and, therefore, less likely to fight back.[28] In this scenario, the victim's group affiliation merely serves as a marker to obtain pertinent factual information, which is the actual motivation behind the crime.[29] Similarly, if an offender targets a refugee, the refugee's identity can hardly be the reason for the attack because refugee status is not visible in everyday life.[30] Instead, the offenders

18.. Pual Iganski, 'A Victim-Centred Approach to Conceptualising "Hate Crime"', *Hate Crime and the City* (Policy Press 2008); Neil Chakraborti and Jon Garland, 'Reconceptualizing Hate Crime Victimization Through the Lens of Vulnerability and "Difference"' (2012) 16 Theor Criminol 499.

19.. Chakraborti and Garland, 'Perpetrators of Hate Crime' (n 6); Yan Zhang, Lening Zhang and Francis Benton, 'Hate Crimes against Asian Americans' (2022) 47 Am J Crim Justice 441.

20.. Berk, Boyd and Hamner (n 15).

21.. Gail Mason, 'Hate Crime and the Image of the Stranger' (2005) 45 Br J Criminol 837.

22.. Ibid.

23.. Hardy and Chakraborti, 'Visible yet Invisible' (n 8).

24.. Ibid; Chakraborti and Garland, 'Reconceptualizing Hate Crime Victimization' (n 18).

25.. Phyllis B Gerstenfeld, 'Committing Hate: Who and Why', *Hate Crimes: Causes, Controls, and Controversies* (4th edn, SAGE Publications, Inc 2018).

26.. Ibid.

27.. Berk, Boyd and Hamner (n 15).

28.. Ibid.

29.. Ibid.

30.. Stevie-Jade Hardy and Neil Chakraborti, 'Everyday Hate', *Blood, Threats and Fears: The Hidden Worlds of Hate Crime Victims* (Springer International Publishing 2020).

might assault the refugee based on more discernible characteristics, including appearance, skin colour, gender, clothing and religion.[31] Such characteristics are usually used as tools to target minority groups based on perceived vulnerability or difference, which indirectly implies a sense of inferiority in the eyes of the perpetrator.[32] Visible signs of difference, along with economic, structural, political and cultural inequality, collectively increase the vulnerability of certain population groups.[33]

While this definition of hate crime advocates focusing on the differences and vulnerability of victims, this focus does not fully encompass some types of hate crimes. For instance, according to some studies on hate crimes against Asian residents, perpetrators did not see their victims as vulnerable but as 'model minorities'. The success of this group in areas such as economics and education can be seen as potential competition or even threats.[34] The offenders of hate crimes against Asian individuals are not necessarily more racist than most other white residents and often live in exploited, deprived and neglected conditions.[35] They continually compare themselves with Asian people, viewing themselves as 'weak, disregarded, overlooked, unfairly treated, victimised without being recognised as victims, made to feel small'; in contrast, their Asian victims are perceived as sources of shame, deemed 'powerful, in control, laughing, successful, arrogant'.[36] In such scenarios, neither power dynamics nor visible vulnerability of victims can fully explain the motivation and nature of these offences. The perpetrators do not attempt to maintain a privilege they do not possess, and the victims might not be economically or socially disadvantaged in the perpetrators' eyes either. Instead, these hate crimes are driven by the perceived socio-economic instability in the perpetrator's own life, and the perpetrator attributes these challenges to the victim's group. This misdirected blame fuels a mix of emotions, including shame, anger, hostility and jealousy, ultimately resulting in hate crimes.

On the other hand, there is no inherent conflict between the emotional basis of offending and the 'differentiating' when we try to define hate crime. In fact, these mixed emotions can be seen as consequences of the 'differentiating' process. While perceiving the ascent of 'others' on socio-economic ladders and their increasing benefits within society, a group of people experience increased fears and anxieties about their life conditions; therefore, they may commit hate crimes to halt this progress and send the message 'you are not welcome' or 'you do not deserve this'.[37] The essential element is that hate crime is rooted in 'differentiating'. Perpetrators do not need to belong to an upper class and be powerful; victims do not need to be lower class and vulnerable; the dynamic can be reversed.

In sum, there is no universal consensus about the concept of hate crime, reflecting the inherent complexity of the issue. However, existing scholarly contributions have been instrumental in shedding light on explaining hate crime and elucidating the relationships between social contexts, prejudices, emotions and acts of hatred.[38]

Recognising Hate Crime in the UK Police: The Stephen Lawrence Examination. It is challenging to provide a single and definitive conception of hate crime within academia. Various sociological concepts have been proven very useful; however, they are often too broad and complex for the police to comprehend and determine whether a reported incident should be recorded as a hate crime.[39] It is also complicated for

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31.. Ibid.

32.. Neil Chakraborti and Jon Garland, 'Racist Hate Crime', *Hate Crime: Impact, Causes and Responses* (2nd edn, SAGE Publications Ltd 2015).

33.. Stevie-Jade Hardy and Neil Chakraborti, 'Everyday Contexts', *Blood, Threats and Fears: The Hidden Worlds of Hate Crime Victims* (Springer International Publishing 2020).

34.. Zhang, Zhang and Benton (n 19)

35.. Larry Ray, David Smith and Liz Wastell, 'SHAME, RAGE AND RACIST VIOLENCE' (2004) 44 Br J Criminol 350.

36.. Ibid. 356.

37.. Mark Austin Walters, 'A General Theories of Hate Crime? Strain, Doing Difference and Self Control' (2011) 19 Crit Criminol 313.

38.. Stevie-Jade Hardy and Neil Chakraborti, 'Implications for Scholarship', *Blood, Threats and Fears: The Hidden Worlds of Hate Crime Victims* (Springer International Publishing 2020).

39.. Nathan Hall, 'Defining and Conceptualising Hate Crime', *Hate Crime* (Taylor & Francis Group 2013).

the police to define prejudice within the context of their everyday practical activities.[40] Official definitions often vary significantly between different countries and within them. However, the landscape began to shift following the murder of Stephen Lawrence.

The racially motivated murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993 has had a profound impact on the understanding and recognition of hate crimes in the UK. Stephen Lawrence, a black teenager, was attacked and unlawfully killed by a group of white youths in an unprovoked act of racial hatred.[41] This shocking incident exposed significant deficiencies within the police force, particularly in their handling of the case and their treatment of Stephen's family.[42] In the aftermath of the murder, Sir William Macpherson's report strongly criticised the presence of 'institutional racism' within the criminal justice system and made recommendations for improving the response to hate crimes.[43] While initially focusing on racial and ethnic policing, the Macpherson Report subsequently sparked broader discussions concerning the treatment of various minority groups by the criminal justice system.[44]

In the UK, the definition of hate crime is guided by the definitions of racist offences detailed in the Macpherson report. The report defines a racist incident as 'any incident which is perceived to be racist by the victim or any other person', which is victim-orientated.[45] Although there is no universally agreed definition within academia, this definition has been officially adopted by the government and various agencies. However, it has its limitations. It solely refers to racist crimes and lacks a very clear distinction between incidents and crimes, which made some police officers confused when recording.[46]

Subsequent hate crime guidelines, published by the College of Policing and the Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland, made efforts to distinguish non-crime hate incidents from hate crimes, further refining the framework.[47] The definition of an incident provided by the National Standard for Incident Recording Counting Rules is commonly used to determine whether a non-crime hate incident should be recorded – a non-crime hate incident is defined as 'a single distinct event or occurrence which disturbs an individual's, group's or community's quality of life or causes them concern'.[48] The current approved Code of Practice on the Recording and Retention of Personal Data provides further guidance for police officers in England and Wales on how they should respond to non-crime hate incidents.[49]

It is cheerful to observe how policy guidance and legislation have progressed to tackle hate crime. However, questions persist about the efficacy of these current policies in encouraging victims to

40.. Mark Austin Walters, 'Conceptualizing Hate Crime for Restorative Justice', *Hate Crime and Restorative Justice: Exploring Causes, Repairing Harms* (Oxford University Press 2014).

41.. William Macpherson, 'Report of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry' (Home Office, 1999) vol 1, ch 1 <https://assets.publishing. service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/277111/4262.pdf> accessed 10 July 2023.

42.. Ibid. ch 6.

43.. Ibid.

44.. Stevie-Jade Hardy and Neil Chakraborti, 'Relevant yet Irrelevant: Challenges Associated with Hate Crime Policy', *Blood, Threats and Fears: The Hidden Worlds of Hate Crime Victims* (Springer International Publishing 2020).

45.. William Macpherson (n 41) ch 45.

46.. Paul Giannasi, 'Academia from a Practitioner's Perspective: A Reflection on the Changes in the Relationship between Academia, Policing and Government in a Hate Crime Context' in Jon Garland and Neil Chakraborti (eds), *Responding to Hate Crime: The Case for Connecting Policy and Research* (Bristol University Press 2014).

47.. Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland, 'Hate Crime Guidance Manual' (2010) <https://www.hatecrimescotland.org/ wp/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/Association-of-Chief-Police-Officers-in-Scotland-Hate-Crime-Manual-2010.pdf> accessed 21 July 2023; College of Policing, 'Hate Crime Operational Guidance' (2014) <https://www.iow.gov.uk/azservices/ documents/2880-College-of-Policing-Hate-Crime-Operational-Guidance.pdf> accessed 20 July 2023.

48.. National Policing Improvement Agency, 'National Standard for Incident Recording Counting Rules' (2011) 4 <https://assets. publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/116658/count-nsir11.pdf> accessed 11 July 2023.

49.. Home Office, 'Non-Crime Hate Incidents: Code of Practice on the Recording and Retention of Personal Data' (2023) <https:// www.gov.uk/government/publications/non-crime-hate-incidents-code-of-practice/non-crime-hate-incidents-code-of-practice-on-the-recording-and-retention-of-personal-data-accessible> accessed 5 July 2023.

report incidents.[50] Those initiatives cannot eliminate the underreporting issue, as studies indicate that the public lacks awareness and knowledge of such laws and policies.[51] Further discussion on the barriers to reporting will be developed in the subsequent sections.

Harms of Hate Crime

Hate crimes cause not only physical harm but also considerable emotional damage to victims.[52] According to empirical research, the most prevalent and frequent form of victimisation is minor attacks, such as racial microaggression.[53] Even though many of these assaults may not legally qualify as 'crimes' but rather incidents, their significance does not diminish. These isolated events might appear trivial, but for many victims, they are a distressing routine part of their daily lives. The cumulative effect of these incidents could disrupt their core beliefs, personal sense of security and self-concept.[54] As a result, victims may weaken their social ties and view their surroundings as more hostile and less trustworthy, with increased fear of future victimisation.[55]

The emotional harm caused by hate crimes is often more severe than that caused by other types of crimes. According to available data, a higher percentage of hate crime victims report feeling emotionally impacted by the incident (96%) compared to victims of other crimes (83%), and a more significant proportion of hate crime victims describe feeling 'very much' affected (36% vs 15%).[56] This pattern has been consistent over time since 2017.[57] In detail, victims of hate crimes often experience a greater loss of confidence or heightened vulnerability after the incident.[58] A major reason why hate crimes cause more harm than other types of crimes is that the victims' particular characteristics, which become the targets of the perpetrators, are often unchangeable. These characteristics include race, residential community, gender, sexual orientation and religion.[59] Consequently, victims are often unable to prevent secondary victimisation and the far-reaching harm to other individuals in their minority groups.

Hate crimes cause not just individual suffering but also bring a sense of vulnerability and uncertainty to the wider communities of victims. This is particularly true in Asian communities. Studies have shown that the traumatic experiences extend to the larger community, affecting not only those who have been directly targeted but also those who share their ethnic or cultural identity.[60] That is why hate crimes are often regarded as 'message crimes': through acts of 'othering', the perpetrator communicates to the victims and their communities that they are lesser and unworthy of respect.[61] The harm model proposed

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50.. Kris Christmann and Kevin Wong, 'Hate Crime Victims and Hate Crime Reporting: Some Impertinent Questions' in Neil Chakraborti (ed.), *Hate Crime: Concepts, Policy, Future Directions* (Taylor & Francis 2017).

51.. David Gadd, 'Racial Aggravation or Aggravating Racism: Overcoming the Disjunction between Legal and Subjective Realities' in Neil Chakraborti (ed.), *Hate Crime: Concepts, Policy, Future Directions* (Taylor & Francis 2017).

52.. Stevie-Jade Hardy and Neil Chakraborti, 'Invisible Harms', *Blood, Threats and Fears: The Hidden Worlds of Hate Crime Victims* (Springer International Publishing 2020).

53.. Hardy and Chakraborti, 'Everyday Hate' (n 30).

54.. Ibid; Mark Austin Walters, 'The Harms of Hate Crime: From Structural Disadvantage to Individual Identity', *Hate Crime and Restorative Justice: Exploring Causes, Repairing Harms* (Oxford University Press 2014).

55.. Kathryn Benier, 'The harms of hate: Comparing the neighbouring practices and interactions of hate crime victims, non-hate crime victims and non-victims' (2017) 23 Int Rev Victimol 179.

56.. Home Office, 'Hate Crime, England and Wales, 2019 to 2020' (2020) 28 <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/925968/hate-crime-1920-hosb2920.pdf> accessed 20 July 2023.

57.. Ibid.

58.. Ibid.

59.. Jack McDevitt and others, 'Consequences for Victims: A Comparison of Biasand Non-Bias-Motivated Assaults' in Barbara Perry (ed.), *Hate and Bias Crime: A Reader* (Taylor & Francis Group 2003).

60.. JA Chen, E Zhang and CH Liu, 'Potential Impact of COVID-19-Related Racial Discrimination on the Health of Asian Americans' (2020) 110 Am J Public Health 1624; Hsiu-Lan Cheng, 'Xenophobia and Racism Against Asian Americans During the COVID-19 Pandemic: Mental Health Implications' (2020) 3 J Interdiscipl Perspect Scholar 3.

61.. Paul Iganski, 'Hate Crimes Hurt More' (2001) 45 Am Behav Scient 626, 630.

by Iganski divided the impacted individuals and communities into five types, from the epicentre to the outskirts of the harm caused by hate crimes.[62]

1. The initial victim who is directly affected.
2. The initial victim's 'group' in the neighbourhood: The detrimental effects of hate crimes extend beyond the individual victim to his/her neighbourhood. Those who know the victim or hear about his/her experience may feel the aftershocks of such crimes, which can even ignite retaliatory acts and communal tension.
3. The wider group beyond the initial victim's neighbourhood: Individuals who share the victim's characteristics and become aware of the incident may experience the impact of the hate crime, reacting as if they, too, were direct victims.
4. Other targeted communities: Other minority groups might feel restless and unsettled after hearing about a hate crime. For example, an attack on Black individuals could induce fear in other racial communities because they believe they might be next.
5. Societal norms and values: Hate crimes offend against collective societal values and breach the moral code shared by society at large.

In other words, individuals and communities are more likely to perceive a tangible threat when an incident occurs close to them geographically.[63] They identify with the victim and exhibit heightened empathy due to shared characteristics. This empathy can trigger group-based emotions such as anger and anxiety, causing people to view hate crimes as threats not only to an individual but to the community as a whole.[64] Just like the direct victims, those who are indirectly impacted often display shifts in their behaviour. They may adopt defensive or even retaliatory actions and alter their social interaction patterns.[65] Consequently, hate crime unquestionably increases the feelings of marginalisation and disadvantage that minority groups encounter. For instance, individuals with traits similar to those of the victims might show much less trust in the offender's community; they may start to feel like outsiders and believe others are reluctant to help them out.[66] In addition, upon learning about hate crimes in communities where ethnic minorities are targeted, non-targeted residents may be more inclined to blame the minorities unjustly.[67] This could, unfortunately, lead to further exclusion of these minorities from their communities.

In sum, hate crimes inflict deep physical, emotional and societal harm, affecting not only the victims but also their communities. They amplify feelings of vulnerability and fear, disrupt social interaction, and even incite blame towards minority groups. The severity and widespread impact of these crimes underscore the urgency and importance of understanding the experiences of affected individuals and communities.

62.. Ibid. 629.
63.. Mark A Walters and others, 'Group Identity, Empathy and Shared Suffering: Understanding the 'Community' Impacts of Anti-LGBT and Islamophobic Hate Crimes' (2020) 26 Int Rev Victimol 143.
64.. Jenny L Paterson, Rupert Brown and Mark A Walters, 'Feeling for and as a Group Member: Understanding LGBT Victimization Via Group-Based Empathy and Intergroup Emotions' (2019) 58 Br J Social Psychol 211; Mark A Walters and others, 'Hate Crimes Against Trans People: Assessing Emotions, Behaviors, and Attitudes Toward Criminal Justice Agencies' (2020) 35 J Interpersonal Violence 4583.
65.. Barbara Perry and Shahid Alvi, '"We are All Vulnerable": The in Terrorem Effects of Hate Crimes' (2012) 18 Int Rev Victimol 57.
66.. Ibid.
67.. Chloe Keel, Rebecca Wickes and Kathryn Benier, 'The Vicarious Effects of Hate: Inter-Ethnic Hate Crime in the Neighborhood and Its Consequences for Exclusion and Anticipated Rejection' (2022) 45 Ethnic Racial Stud 1283.

Invisible Scars: The Underreporting of Hate Crimes Among Victims

Even though policymakers and police in the UK strongly encourage victims to report hate crimes, especially given the victim-centred approach to identifying hate crimes, the issue of underreporting remains substantial. The latest Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) for the period 2017/2018 to 2019/2020 estimated an average of 190,000 hate crimes annually,[68] in contrast to 124,104 hate crimes officially recorded in 2019–2020.[69] Notably, this gap persists despite the CSEW's methodology, which excludes data from minor victims, offences against society, businesses, institutions, as well as victims who did not reside within England and Wales (e.g. short-term visitors).[70] This implies a large number of incidents remain unreported and unnoticed by the police. Similarly, the issue of underreporting is also significant in Scotland.[71] Scotland recorded 5738 charges related to hate crimes in 2022–2023,[72] while the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey estimated that the police usually remain unaware of 60% of crimes across all types every year.[73]

The issue of underreporting extends beyond official figures and is well-documented in the research literature, both in the UK and other jurisdictions.[74] Moreover, quantitative research suggests that victims of hate crimes are less likely to report their experiences to the police than victims of other crimes.[75] This is not surprising mainly because most hate crimes are single incidents of harassment, which might not necessarily be deemed criminal acts.[76] These less severe incidents often go unnoticed by both the police and the victims themselves, making it unrealistic to expect victims to report all such incidents. As a result, many hate crimes remain 'invisible' to both the police and the general public and are less likely to prompt further police action or lead to an arrest than non-hate crimes.[77] In addition, disparities in reporting rates exist within different types of hate crimes. It has been found that victims from ethnic minority groups are substantially less likely to report their experiences compared with other victims.[78] A recent study focusing on Asian victims in the US has corroborated these findings,

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68.. Home Office, 'Hate Crime, England and Wales, 2019 to 2020' (n 56) 19.

69.. Home Office, 'Hate crime, England and Wales, 2021 to 2022' (2022) <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/hate-crime-england-and-wales-2021-to-2022/hate-crime-england-and-wales-2021-to-2022> accessed 20 July 2023. This report includes Greater Manchester's 2019–2020 data, which was absent from last year's report (2019–2020) because of a delay in submitting the data.

70.. Home Office, 'Hate Crime, England and Wales, 2019 to 2020' (n 56) 5.

71.. Scottish Government, 'An Updated Study into the Characteristics of Police Recorded Hate Crime in Scotland' (2023) <https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/research-and-analysis/2023/01/updated-study-characteristics-police-recorded-hate-crime-scotland/documents/updated-study-characteristics-police-recorded-hate-crime-scotland/updated-study-characteristics-police-recorded-hate-crime-scotland/govscot%3Adocument/updated-study-characteristics-police-recorded-hate-crime-scotland.pdf> accessed 15 July 2023.

72.. Crown Office and Procurator Fiscal Service, 'Hate Crime in Scotland, 2022-23' (2023) <https://www.copfs.gov.uk/publications/hate-crime-in-scotland-2022-23/html/> accessed 20 July 2023.

73.. Scottish Goverment, 'Scottish Crime and Justice Survey 2019/20: Main Findings' (2021) <https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/statistics/2021/03/scottish-crime-justice-survey-2019-20-main-findings/documents/scottish-crime-justice-survey-2019-20-main-findings/scottish-crime-justice-survey-2019-20-main-findings/govscot%3Adocument/scottish-crime-justice-survey-2019-20-main-findings.pdf> accessed 21 July 2023.

74.. Neil Chakraborti, 'Responding to Hate Crime: Escalating Problems, Continued Failings' (2018) 18 Criminol Crim Justice 387; R Barry Ruback, Andrew S Gladfelter and Brendan Lantz, 'Hate Crime Victimization Data in Pennsylvania: A Useful Complement to the Uniform Crime Reports' (2018) 33 Violence Victims 330; Wesley Myers and Brendan Lantz, 'Reporting Racist Hate Crime Victimization to the Police in the United States and the United Kingdom: A Cross-National Comparison' (2020) 60 Br J Criminol 1034.

75.. Susann Wiedlitzka and others, 'Perceptions of Police Legitimacy and Citizen Decisions to Report Hate Crime Incidents in Australia' (2018) 7 Int J Crime Justice Social Democracy 91; Frank S Pezzella, Matthew D Fetzer and Tyler Keller, 'The Dark Figure of Hate Crime Underreporting' (2019) Am Behav Scientist 1; Frank S Pezzella and Matthew D Fetzer, 'Victim Underreporting', *The Measurement of Hate Crimes in America* (Springer International Publishing 2021).

76.. Christmann and Wong (n 50).

77.. Brendan Lantz, Andrew S Gladfelter and R Barry Ruback, 'Stereotypical Hate Crimes and Criminal Justice Processing: A Multi-Dataset Comparison of Bias Crime Arrest Patterns by Offender and Victim Race' (2019) 36 Justice Quart 193.

78.. H Zaykowski, 'Racial Disparities in Hate Crime Reporting' (2010) 25 Violence Victims 378.

revealing that Asian victims are notably less likely to report racially motivated crimes to the police than other groups.[79]

The responses from the interview participants echo previous findings on this subject. Throughout the interviews, participants were asked to imagine a scenario in which they were walking down the street on a regular day when someone suddenly shouted racially abusive words at them. When queried about their possible reactions to such an incident, the majority of participants, four out of five, mentioned that they would choose to ignore the perpetrators and walk away.

> My immediate reaction must be ignoring him. You see, many people around here smoke marijuana and their mental state might not be stable. Getting into an argument with them could be troublesome. (Li Hong, male, living in Edinburgh for about three years, Q1)

> I might pretend that I didn't hear or see anything, continue walking and ignore them. (Wang Lili, female, living in Edinburgh for about two years, Q2)

> I was actually shouted at before. I just ignored it and walked away. I probably wouldn't care, mainly because it didn't cause more [serious] impact on me. So, they can shout all they want, and I just ignore them. (Liu Xiao, living in Edinburgh for about three years, Q3)

> I would likely [pretend] I didn't hear it, ignore it and just move along quickly. (Zhang Jing, female, living in Edinburgh for about one year, Q4)

One interviewee explained that it is challenging to imagine such a scenario but believed he would probably freeze in response. Upon further questioning their likelihood of reporting such an incident to the police, all participants indicated that they would not report such a minor offence. Furthermore, four participants offered voluntary recollections of their own experiences of hate crimes in Edinburgh. The incidents they encountered ranged from verbal abuse, such as being shouted at by teenagers on the street or targeted by individuals from a passing car, to minor physical aggression, like throwing an item at them. Some even faced economic fraud explicitly aimed at Chinese people before. These participants also affirmed that they did not make any formal complaints about these incidents to the police. Moreover, according to their responses, Chinese people around them would also likely remain silent rather than report to the police or seek official assistance.

> I think [people around me] feel the same way. If it's a physically violent attack or a robbery, they'd call the police. If it's just verbal, they might let it go. That's the way it is with people I know, including my friend who had a cigarette butt thrown at her. She didn't do anything about it in the end. (Wang Lili, Q5)

When asked under what circumstances they would report a hate crime to the police, all participants stated that they would consider reporting if they were subjected to an actual or immediate threat of injury. For instance, this could involve a severe physical assault (e.g. being attacked by a heavy item or a knife, being chased) or robbery. Additionally, some interviewees added that if they ideally had clear evidence of the incident, such as a recording or a photo of the perpetrator, they were more likely to report it. Indeed, according to previous research, the likelihood of reporting increases significantly when a hate crime involves weapon use, physical injury, property loss or psychological trauma.[80] Generally, victims are likely to report non-violent and non-serious hate incidents only when these

79.. Brendan Lantz and Marin R Wenger, 'Are Asian Victims Less Likely to Report Hate Crime Victimization to the Police? Implications for Research and Policy in the Wake of the COVID-19 Pandemic' (2022) 68 Crime Delinquency 1292.

80.. Zaykowski (n 78); Wiedlitzka and others (n 75); Lantz, Gladfelter and Ruback, 'Stereotypical Hate Crimes and Criminal Justice Processing' (n 77); Pezzella, Fetzer and Keller, 'The Dark Figure of Hate Crime Underreporting' (n 75); Besiki Luka Kutateladze, 'Hate Crime Victimization and Reporting Within Miami's Queer Latine Immigrant Population' (2022) 46 Law Human Behav 429.

offences occur repeatedly, as this increases the likelihood of identifying the perpetrator and the perceived probability of effective police intervention.[81]

Based on the responses from five interviewees, instead of calling the police, Chinese individuals tend to remain silent. Sometimes, they may share their experiences with friends and family members or post about these experiences on social media. These actions serve both as a means of emotional relief and as a warning to other Chinese people to avoid potentially dangerous locations or individuals. If the incident involves minor aggressions, some choose to retaliate against the attack.

All the research findings above depict a disturbing reality where victims of hate crimes often bear their suffering in silence, with many incidents not reaching the notice of the police. When these crimes remain unreported, police officers cannot recognise their occurrence, thus being unable to record the incident, incorporate it into official statistics, or utilise their power to arrest and prosecute the offender.[82] Consequently, the perpetrator escapes punishment. Moreover, official statistics serve as a critical guide for law enforcement to allocate resources effectively. With the underreporting of hate crimes, the police cannot direct adequate resources to the communities where they are most needed.[83] This could inadvertently perpetuate the frequency of such crimes, exacerbating the suffering of victims and their communities. Ultimately, the symbolic significance of hate crime laws and policing policies, which are meant to manifest society's rejection of prejudiced abuse, could be undermined.

Unveiling Invisible Scars: Understanding Why Hate Crime Victims Often Do Not Report to the Police

As discussed in the previous section, victims tend not to report hate crimes to the police, potentially triggering a vicious cycle (as depicted in Figure 1). This section will delve further into the reasons behind this reluctance to report, drawing insights from both current literature and the experiences of Chinese individuals residing in Edinburgh.

Victims Regard Costs as More Than Benefits by Reporting to the Police

Cost-Benefit Analysis. Some victims regard lower-severity hate incidents as insignificant, with no substantial loss. These issues are perceived as minor and private instead of something that external organisations, including the police, should intervene.[84] Chinese individuals also share this perspective, as indicated by their answers regarding how they would respond to incidents like being shouted at on the street (as discussed in the previous section). Li Hong's statement reflects the attitudes of some Chinese residents towards hate incidents.

> Li Hong: As long as he [the perpetrator] is not stopping me from doing anything I want to do, I don't see it as a problem. If he does impede me, there's still no need to call the cops … [hesitates] I might call them, but it depends on how the situation develops.

> Interviewer: What would it take for you to decide to contact the police?

> Li Hong: If it's a physical attack, I'd call the police. If there's no physical attack, I'd just fire back verbally. It doesn't matter, right? Everyone swears … but this does not really matter. For me, as long as it's not physical, it's not a big problem. (Q6)

81.. Christmann and Wong (n 50).

82.. Zaykowski (n 78); Phyllis B Gerstenfeld, 'The Hate Debate: Constitutional and Policy Problems', *Hate Crimes: Causes, Controls, and Controversies* (4th edn, SAGE Publications, Inc 2018).

83.. Lantz and Wenger, 'Are Asian Victims Less Likely to Report' (n 79).
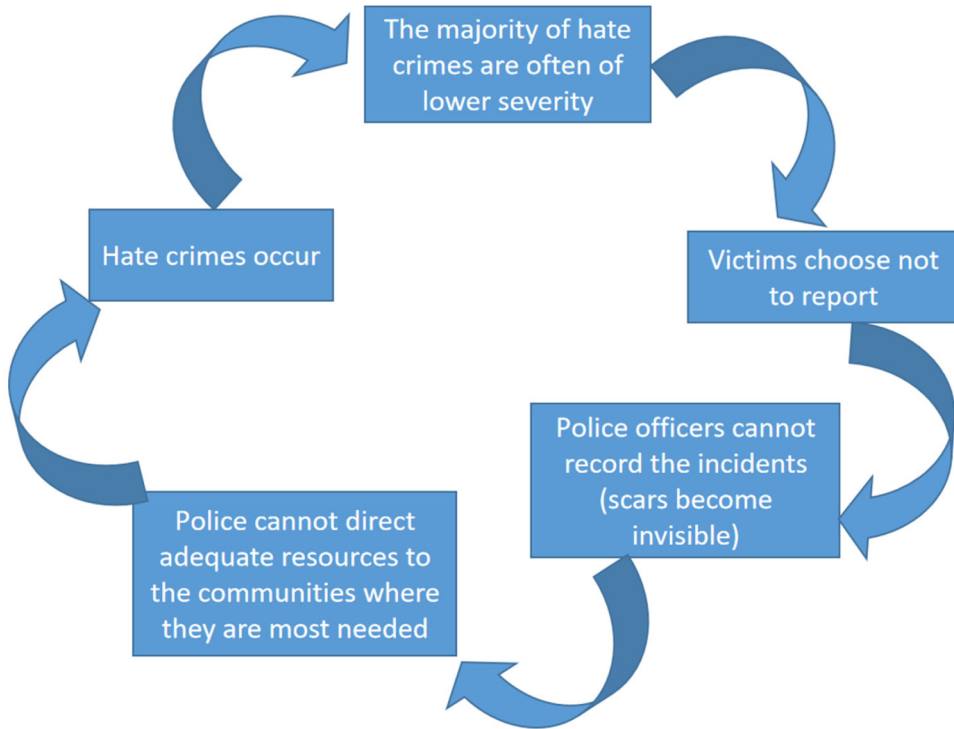
84.. Christmann and Wong (n 50).

Figure 1. The vicious circle of hate crime.

   This observation is consistent with expectations, as victims are naturally more concerned about their safety and personal belongings and would only report when they are assured that the police would take definitive action in response to these severe harms. Rational Model of explaining underreporting assumes that victims often engage in a cost-benefit analysis, either consciously or unconsciously, when deciding whether it is worth the effort to contact the police and file a report.[85] In other words, if the victim has suffered physical injury or significant loss, the perceived benefits of reporting to the police are naturally higher. Conversely, if only minor injuries or loss are involved, or if there is no loss at all, victims might not see any substantial benefit in seeking police intervention. The potential benefits that victims consider vary widely: victims of violent or sexual crimes need immediate aid and protection from the police; as for victims of property crimes, they may need to file a report to recover the lost item or obtain financial redress in the form of compensation or insurance payout; reporting a crime to the police can also help individuals achieve a sense of justice and confidence.[86] On the other hand, the potential costs that may dissuade victims from reporting encompass loss of time, inconvenience (for instance, the need to contact the police initially, then visit the police station and give a statement; if the offender is prosecuted, victims have to attend the court to provide evidence), as well as emotional tolls caused by the offence and

85.. Wesley G Skogan, 'Reporting Crimes to the Police: The Status of World Research' (1984) 21 J Res Crime Delinquency 113; Wesley G Skogan, 'Contacts Between Police and Public: Findings from the 1992 British Crime Survey' (HM Stationery Office London, 1994) <http://www.skogan.org/files/Contact_Between_Police_Public_Hors_134.pdf> accessed 30 July 2023.

86.. Roger Tarling and Katie Morris, 'Reporting Crime to the Police' (2010) 50 Br J Criminol 474; Diego Torrente, Pedro Gallo and Christian Oltra, 'Comparing Crime Reporting Factors in EU Countries' (2017) 23 Eur J Crim Policy Res 153; M Xie and EP Baumer, 'Crime Victims' Decisions to Call the Police: Past Research and New Directions' (2019) Ann Rev Criminol 217.

the complicated procedures.[87] We can understand this process of consideration by the statement of Chen Yang (male, living in Edinburgh for about one year):

> I have a concern that calling the police might end up being pointless. The police might not have enough evidence, or they might not be able to solve the issue. Going to the police station to handle this is a big burden for me, emotionally, in terms of time, and energy-wise. Ideally, I'd want to be sure that the police would indeed do something about it. Even if they can't resolve it in the end, I hope at least they'd take it seriously. If I could ensure that, I'd be more proactive in calling the police. (Q7)

Similarly, Wang Lili and Zhang Jing also mentioned that the legal procedures are very cumbersome and time-consuming. Therefore, they believe it is a waste of time to call the police for minor offences, such as being shouted at in the street.

On the other hand, victims' cost-benefit analysis is not always 'rational'. Victims may not be capable of or have enough information to fully evaluate the costs and benefits of their decisions. The costs and benefits of reporting are not always objective; instead, they are often shaped by the victims' personal expectations and perceptions. For example, victims' perception of the severity of hate crimes is usually different from the reality: Despite four out of five interviewees sharing their personal experiences of racial assault, each of them still perceived the frequency and severity of hate crimes in Edinburgh as low. They regard their victimisation experiences as personal and uncommon rather than recognising that Edinburgh actually has the second-highest number of reported hate crimes in Scotland.[88] Victims' perception of the severity of a specific offence could also differ greatly from the police's understanding (refer to Figure 2). From a law enforcement perspective, any offence that causes discomfort or concern to the victim warrants reporting. This viewpoint often contrasts with those held by the victims themselves.

In addition, the subjective cost-benefit analysis process is significantly influenced by socio-ecological factors, including the characteristics of the offenders and the relationship between the victim and the offender.[89] From the explanation by Liu Xiao about why she did not report juvenile racist offending, we could get a glimpse regarding how the characteristics of offenders may cause underreporting:

> When I first came here, my [Chinese] roommate told me that even if teenagers here committed a crime and were caught, they wouldn't be punished, and that teenagers often do these kinds of things, like shouting at people they come across. My roommates said there's nothing they can do about it because these teenagers won't be punished. (Liu Xiao, Q8)

When abused individuals perceive that the perpetrators, such as a group of teenagers, are unlikely to be punished, they may find the benefits of reporting the incidents to the police diminished, believing that justice cannot be achieved through reporting.

Furthermore, based on existing research, victims are more inclined to report an incident if they can identify the perpetrator, as a clear identification reduces the uncertainty surrounding the offender's description and provides clear evidence for police investigation.[90] However, the likelihood of reporting is diminished when the offender is someone with whom the victim has a close social relationship, such as family members or neighbours.[91] This reluctance is due to concerns about privacy and fear of potential retaliation.

87.. Tarling and Morris (n 86).

88.. Scottish Government, 'An Updated Study into the Characteristics of Police Recorded Hate Crime in Scotland' (n 71).

89.. Heike Goudriaan, *Reporting Crime: Effects of Social Context on the Decision of Victims to Notify the Police* (Heike Goudriaan 2006); Xie and Baumer (n 86).

90.. Aikins Amoako Asiama and Hua Zhong, 'Victims Rational Decision: A Theoretical and Empirical Explanation of Dark Figures in Crime Statistics' (2022) 8 Cogent Social Sci 1.
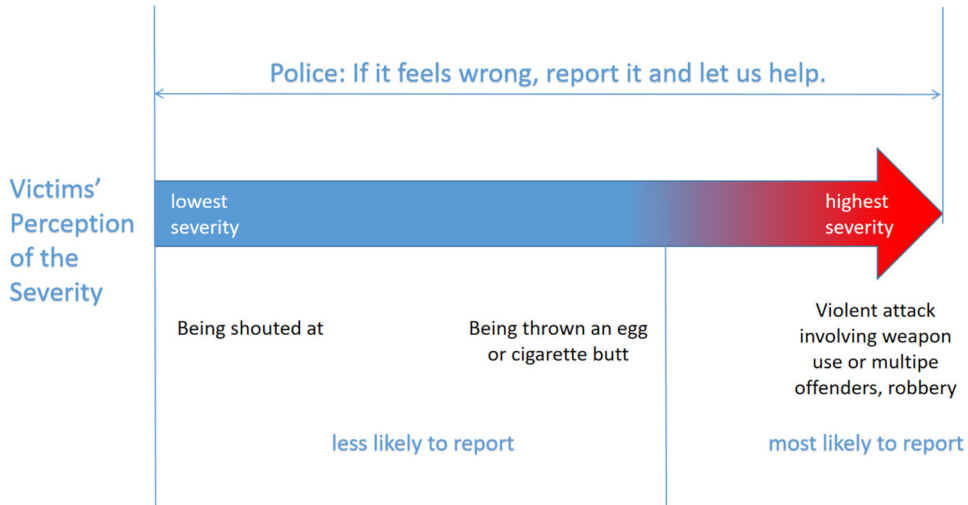
91.. Tarling and Morris (n 86).

Figure 2. Different understandings of hate held by victims and the police.

Clearly, the decision-making process regarding reporting is quite complex. It is influenced by various situational elements and differs significantly based on the individual's thoughts and beliefs.

Why Do Chinese People Often Perceive Hate Incidents as Less Serious?. Among all the factors considered in a victim's cost-benefit analysis, their perception of the severity of a hate incident plays almost the most substantial role when deciding whether to report the incident.[92] Comprehending why victims, particularly Chinese individuals, regard some incidents as less serious is vital in understanding their decision not to report.

Normalisation Process. Previous studies on the LGBT community have shown that downplaying the severity of hate incidents could be a result of victims normalising their recurrent experiences of abuse and hostility. They might perceive hate crimes as commonplace and trivial, viewing them as an everyday consequence of being 'different'.[93] This finding is also evident among the Chinese individuals interviewed.

> It's hard for me to associate acts of racial discrimination with crimes, as what I usually encounter are verbal mockeries. I may not see this as an attack; I simply think they are impolite and have some prejudice towards us foreigners. (Wang Lili, Q9)

Li Hong's experiences can further illuminate the process of normalisation: He often saw individuals whom he referred to as 'mad men' verbally abusing not just him but also locals on the street. The locals, in response, merely nodded and did not seem particularly bothered. From his perspective, there wasn't a significant difference between the abuse targeted at him (as a Chinese) and the abuse targeted at local white residents. By labelling perpetrators as uncontrollable, abnormal individuals who attack everyone indiscriminately, victims do not expect these offenders to adhere to social norms and values. This kind of labelling allows victims to normalise an offender's deviant act: 'He is a mad man, so no wonder he acts this way'. Under this circumstance, it seems that the best solution is to 'mind my own

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92.. Ibid.
93.. Chakraborti, 'Responding to Hate Crime' (n 74); Neil Chakraborti and Stevie-Jade Hardy, 'LGB&T Hate Crime Reporting: Identifying Barriers and Solutions' (University of Leicester, 2015) <https://www.tandis.odihr.pl/bitstream/20.500.12389/22287/1/08623.pdf> accessed 23 July 2023.

business', viewing such incidents as a routine part of their local environment.[94] Gradually, victims would become less sensitive to less severe incidents that frequently occur in everyday life.[95]

Another instance is Liu Xiao's failure to report juvenile offending (see Q3). Besides her belief that teenagers usually do such things and will not be punished even if she reports them (see Q8), she also mentioned:

> I feel like if I react strongly, they might be even happier, like they've achieved their goal. If I don't respond to them, and act like it's not a big deal, then they won't feel like they've won, and they won't get any satisfaction. (Q10)

From Liu Xiao's point of view, there is no reason to be troubled by those mischievous adolescents. As part of the normalisation process, people often view teenagers' misconduct as typical 'naughty' behaviour in their lives and a normal part of their maturation process.[96] Instead of designating the adolescents' behaviour as severe, passers-by likely allow them to act as they please. Compared to offences committed by adults, those committed by adolescents are often seen as less deserving of formal intervention.[97]

Victims' Difficulty in Recognising a Hate Crime. From the quotation of Lili's statement (Q9) above, it is evident that victims often struggle to recognise what constitutes a hate crime, thereby underestimating its seriousness and opting against reporting such incidents to the police. Such a lack of understanding could stem from the complexities surrounding the concept of hate crime. When it is challenging for academia to converge on a single definition, it is unreasonable to expect that victims without specialised knowledge could recognise a hate crime in an everyday setting. According to interviewees' responses, the term 'hate crime' is not easily understood at first glance. Three interviewees asked for a translation into Chinese and still found it confusing even after a direct translation was given. On the other hand, when terms such as 'racially motivated attack' or 'prejudice-motivated attack' were used, they understood the concepts more clearly.

Moreover, victims' difficulty in recognising a hate crime can be traced back to the complex terminology used by criminal justice agencies. While these terms may be clear to those working within the sector, they often cause confusion among the communities they are intended to protect.[98] In recent years, the term 'hate crime' has been frequently used in the titles of UK policing policies and promotional materials. However, a closer look reveals a lack of consistency in terminology. For instance, Police Scotland explains what a 'hate crime' is in their 'Hate Monster' campaign material on their website,[99] but they use the term 'hate-related incident' in their online report form. This inconsistency could confuse victims when deciding whether to report. On the other hand, an understandable term or label could allow people to identify a hate crime and increase victims' willingness to contact the police.[100] While police officers understand that the term 'hate crime' includes both crimes and offences,[101] victims

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94.. Lieve Gies and others, 'Hate Crime During the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Qualitative Study of the Experiences of an Ethnically Diverse University Student Population' (2023) 3 COVID 151.

95.. Matteo Vergani and Carolina Navarro, 'Hate Crime Reporting: The Relationship Between Types of Barriers and Perceived Severity' (2023) 29 Eur J Crim Policy Res 111.

96.. Iain R Brennan, 'When is Violence Not a Crime? Factors Associated with Victims' Labelling of Violence as a Crime' (2016) 22 Int Rev Victimol 3.

97.. Ibid.

98.. Rebecca L Wickes and others, 'From Hate to Prejudice: Does the New Terminology of Prejudice Motivated Crime Change Perceptions and Reporting Actions?' (2015) 56 Br J Criminol 239; Barbara Perry and K Samuels-Wortley, '"We're Not Where We Should Be": Enhancing Law Enforcement Responses to Hate Crime' (2021) 63 Can J Criminol Crim Justice 68; Louise Mullany and Loretta Trickett, 'The Language of 'Misogyny Hate Crime': Politics, Policy and Policing' in Louise Mullany (ed.), *Professional Communication: Consultancy, Advocacy, Activism* (Springer International Publishing 2020).

99.. Police Scotland, 'Hate Monster Campaign' (2023) <https://www.scotland.police.uk/advice-and-information/hate-crime/hate-monster-campaign/> accessed 20 July 2023.

100.. Wickes and others (n 98).

101.. Scottish Government, 'An Updated Study into the Characteristics of Police Recorded Hate Crime in Scotland' (n 71).

and their communities do not know it. As Lili stated, the words 'hate' and 'crime' sound very severe to her and do not correlate with everyday microaggressions. For Chinese people and other foreign residents, understanding hate crimes is obstructed not only by language barriers but also by the complexities of grasping the terminology of a foreign criminal justice system – both in its literal sense and metaphorically.[102]

Victims' Perceptions of the Police

Unfamiliarity With Police Services and Practices. The likelihood of victims reporting is also influenced by their knowledge of police services and practices.[103] Such knowledge encompasses their awareness of existing laws, policies and procedures. If they possess sufficient knowledge, they are capable of perceiving an incident as a criminal offence, understanding their rights as victims and becoming aware of all available reporting channels.[104] When victims lack familiarity with hate crime laws, they are likely to identify an incident as a hate crime and report it to the police only when the incident aligns with the stereotypical definition of a hate crime, which often involves a violent attack.[105] While the UK police have made positive and progressive strides in recording and responding to hate crimes, it appears that victims of such crimes are not fully aware of or understand these changes.[106] Unaware that it falls within the police's purview to respond to even lower-severity hate incidents, they rarely consider seeking police assistance, instead opting for other forms of help or bearing all the pain on their own.

All interviewees in this study expressed that they had no understanding of UK hate crime laws and regulations, the reporting procedure, or how the Edinburgh police may process hate crime reports. For example:

> I'm not sure about the process of reporting to the police, like whether I need to remember what that person [the perpetrator] looks like, where and when [the perpetrator] showed up, and other sorts of information. (Liu Xiao, Q11)

> I actually know nothing [about hate crime]. I am completely unfamiliar with the field of hate crimes, and I'm also unclear about what laws are violated by actions such as shouting at me. (Wang Lili, Q12)

Moreover, they are unclear about the general operation of the Edinburgh police and the actual efficiency and effectiveness of their work. Li Hong and Zhang Jing described the Edinburgh Police as nearly 'invisible' in everyday life, except for the occasional passage of their loud, noticeable cars. Ideally, Chinese people may be more inclined to report to the police if they know that it is the police's duty to respond to such incidents and take the reporting seriously (see Chen Yang's Q7).

The lack of familiarity with the Edinburgh Police among Chinese residents can be attributed to the unique characteristics of this population group in the city. Even though the available data is limited, it can be tentatively concluded that the majority of Chinese residents in Edinburgh are international students. According to the 2011 census (when this article was written, the ethnicity data of Scotland 2022 Census has not been released), 8076 people in Edinburgh identified themselves as Chinese, comprising 1.7% of the city's population.[107] The University of Edinburgh's website indicates that there are

102.. Nathan Hall, 'Policing Hate Crime in London and New York City: Some Reflections on the Factors Influencing Effective Law Enforcement, Service Provision and Public Trust and Confidence' (2012) 18 Int Rev Victimol 73.

103.. Ibid; Katherine A Culotta, 'Why Victims Hate to Report: Factors Affecting Victim Reporting in Hate Crime Cases in Chicago Original Scientific Papers' (2005) 13 Kriminol Soc Integr Casopis Kriminol Penol Porem Ponas 15.

104.. Stevie-Jade Hardy, 'Layers of Resistance: Understanding Decision-Making Processes in Relation to Crime Reporting' (2019) 25 Int Rev Victimol 302.

105.. Lantz, Gladfelter and Ruback, 'Stereotypical Hate Crimes and Criminal Justice Processing' (n 77).

106.. Chakraborti, 'Responding to Hate Crime' (n 74).

107.. The City of Edinburgh Council, 'Ethnicity and Related Themes: Ethnic Group, Country of Birth, National Identity, Age and Year of Arrival in the UK, Religion, Languages' (2013) <https://www.edinburgh.gov.uk/downloads/file/24253/ethnicity-and-related-themes-topic-report-for-edinburgh> accessed 16 July 2023.

around 5000 Chinese students studying here annually.[108] Although these figures do not provide a comprehensive and latest picture of the Chinese community's structure in Edinburgh, they do shed light on the transient nature of this group. The majority of these individuals live in Edinburgh for a relatively short period and often depart after completing their studies and obtaining their diplomas. The transient nature of their stay in the UK could lessen their motivation to grasp the intricacies of the local legal system, especially since their primary focus is often academic pursuit. The likelihood of not reporting to the police may also be increased by the language barriers that they may face. The limited duration of their stay may also restrict their chances of interacting with local police, leading to a lack of understanding of available police services and recording procedures. As shown by the interviews, four out of five participants had not interacted with the Edinburgh Police during their time in the city. This unfamiliarity could potentially discourage them from reporting hate crimes, especially compared with locals:

> Don't we often see police cars rushing past on the streets with their sirens on? I think it might be that we [Chinese people] don't often call the police. Perhaps other people call the police more frequently [than us]. (Zhang Jing, Q13)

> I personally feel that people here [locals] are more willing to speak up and seek help when they encounter problems. Chinese people might tend to bear things on their own. (Liu Xiao, Q14)

The unfamiliarity with their environment and local police services often leads Chinese residents to adopt more conservative strategies for addressing issues (e.g. telling friends or family members), as these present fewer uncertainties. Reporting to the police, on the other hand, introduces an element of unpredictability that can be daunting. This way of addressing issues further intensifies the prevalent problem of underreporting, rendering the 'scars' inflicted by such incidents invisible.

Distrust in the Local Police's Response to Hate Crimes. While a lack of knowledge about available police services is a factor, the willingness to utilise such services is an entirely different matter. Reporting a crime is a formal act that derives its meaning and practical implications from the institutional system it is part of.[109] The act of reporting ties the victim into wider institutional structures, namely the justice system, which encompasses police, prosecution, courts, prisons, other public services and private institutions such as insurance companies.[110] In this context, an individual's attitude towards the police and their expectations of how the police might handle their issues carry great weight in determining whether to seek police assistance.[111]

Extensive evidence highlights a pervasive lack of trust and confidence in the police. This lack of trust stems from (a) doubts regarding the police's ability to respond to hate crimes effectively and (b) concerns about the respectful treatment of hate crime victims by the police.[112]

First, one common doubt about police effectiveness is that many victims believe the police might not deem their experiences significant or act upon them proactively.[113] The type and severity of victimisation often influence this perception: the less severe the harm, the more likely victims are to believe that the

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108.. The University of Edinburgh, 'China' (2023) <https://www.ed.ac.uk/studying/international/country/asia/east-asia/china> accessed 16 July 2023.

109.. Torrente, Gallo and Oltra (n 86).

110.. Ibid.

111.. Culotta (n 103); Hall, 'Policing Hate Crime in London and New York City' (n 102).

112.. Wickes and others (n 98); Phyllis B Gerstenfeld, 'Hate Crime Victims', *Hate Crimes: Causes, Controls, and Controversies* (4th edn, SAGE Publications, Inc 2018).

113.. Gerstenfeld, 'Hate Crime Victims' (n 112); Jennifer Paterson and others, 'The Sussex Hate Crime Project: Final Report' (University of Sussex, 2018) <https://www.sussex.ac.uk/webteam/gateway/file.php?name=sussex-hate-crime-project-report.pdf&site=430> accessed 23 July 2023; Pezzella, Fetzer and Keller, 'The Dark Figure of Hate Crime Underreporting' (n 75).

police would not take substantial action.[114] This belief not only reflects a cost-benefit analysis but also a lack of confidence in the police's ability to handle microaggressions. For example, both Lili and Xiao expressed doubts about the police's response to incidents they viewed as low severity.

> If it's just verbal abuse, I don't know how the police would handle it. I can't really picture the police arresting someone for that. Once the verbal attack happens, the person might be long gone and I don't think the police would do much. (Wang Lili, Q15)

> I think the police might just go through the motions since there's no property damage or physical harm or anything. But they might try to soothe your emotions, get the details of what happened, that sort of thing. If there are similar reports, they might investigate further? After all, I don't have a picture of that guy, and [the police] can't confirm anything. It feels difficult [to take further action]. (Liu Xiao, Q16)

Second, victims might also be hesitant to report due to the perception that police officers are insensitive, indifferent, or culturally misaligned with the victims, potentially treating them with bias and no empathy.[115] For example:

> On the one hand, [I] might have some stereotypes about the local police, thinking they might not care too much about foreigners. Also, I'm not really convinced about their efficiency. I feel like even if I report this to them, it might not change much. They [the police] aren't foreigners, so they see things differently from us. As locals, they probably don't face this kind of [racist acts] much. They might just call that guy [the offender], have a chat, and call it a day, treating it kind of lightly. (Zhang Jing, Q17)

Similarly, in a US study, victims from diverse minority groups believe that police often treat people unequally based on class, race/ethnicity, and language preference: Police often favour the wealthy over the poor, white individuals over black and Asian individuals.[116] Negative attitudes towards the police are significantly more prevalent among LGBT groups than others. These attitudes often result in a decreased likelihood of reporting crimes to the police for assistance and a reduced willingness to cooperate with the police in maintaining community safety.[117]

Such distrust in the police is often deeply embedded in a victim's personal experiences with law enforcement. Past unpleasant encounters with police officers and criminal justice agencies can compound their mistrust and vulnerability, making them hesitant to engage with law enforcement.[118] For instance, victims usually have to face the situation where police officers leave them alone even after they have repeatedly reported and requested serious action.[119] This kind of experience reinforces the belief that reporting the incident would lead nowhere. While police may take initial actions to record victims' reports, it does not necessarily mean they will pursue charges or advance criminal justice procedures. Many reported cases tend to be dismissed. This is highlighted by the frustrations

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114.. Hardy, 'Layers of Resistance' (n 104).

115.. Hall, 'Policing Hate Crime in London and New York City' (n 102).

116.. Yuning Wu, 'Race/Ethnicity and Perceptions of the Police: A Comparison of White, Black, Asian and Hispanic Americans' (2014) 24 Policing Soc 135.

117.. Rhissa Briones-Robinson, Rachael A Powers and Kelly M Socia, 'Sexual Orientation Bias Crimes: Examination of Reporting, Perception of Police Bias, and Differential Police Response' (2016) 43 Crim Justice Behav 1688; Christine R Serpe and Kevin L Nadal, 'Perceptions of Police: Experiences in the Trans* Community' (2017) 29 J Gay Lesbian Social Serv 280.

118.. Stevie-Jade Hardy and Neil Chakraborti, 'Invisible Victims', *Blood, Threats and Fears: The Hidden Worlds of Hate Crime Victims* (Springer International Publishing 2020).

119.. Jane C Healy, '"It Spreads like a Creeping Disease": Experiences of Victims of Disability Hate Crimes in Austerity Britain' (2020) 35 Disabil Soc 176; K Atak, 'Racist Victimization, Legal Estrangement and Resentful Reliance on the Police in Sweden' (2022) 31 Social Legal Stud 238; Amanda Haynes, Jennifer Schweppe and Jon Garland, 'The Production of Hate Crime Victim Status: Discourses of Normalisation and the Experiences of LGBT Community Members' (2023) Criminol Crim Justice <https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/17488958231160252> accessed 17 July 2023.

expressed by victims who participated in the Leicester Hate Crime Project, as many felt that perpetrators were not held accountable and criminal justice agencies failed to keep them updated on their case progress.[120] A discrepancy between the number of recorded hate crimes and the resulting charges indeed exists. UK hate crime statistics for 2021/2022 reveal that only 9% of hate crimes resulted in a charge or summons.[121] In as many as 69% of cases, no further action was taken due to a lack of evidence or the inability to identify a suspect.[122] This gap can contribute to a perception of failure within the criminal justice system, especially among victims who are not well-versed in legal procedures and laws.

When asked why Zhang Jing held such a negative stereotype about local law enforcement, she revealed that her impressions were largely shaped by the posts she read on social media, where other Chinese individuals shared their experiences with the police. This suggests that negative experiences and perceptions are not solely individual but can become collective, gradually deterring a group of people from seeking assistance from the police.[123] A similar example is when Liu Xiao mentioned her Chinese roommates telling her that the police cannot solve the problem of juvenile offending (see Q8). Similar to the communicative impact of hate crimes, these adverse encounters reverberate within the community and foster a communal sentiment of disillusionment and scepticism towards law enforcement.[124] The unpleasant encounters are not limited to the reporting of hate crimes; rather, they also stem from everyday situations, which have a role in shaping these beliefs. For example, Li Hong shared an incident where he called the non-emergency police line (101) in Edinburgh to report lost property. Despite his request for assistance, the police failed to help.

> Interviewer: What is your impression of the Edinburgh police from this experience?
>
> Li Hong: I don't have much of an opinion because I found it on the bus later on.
>
> Interviewer: How do you feel about their work attitude and quality?
>
> Li Hong: It's quite good. There are too few police officers here. If you call them, you have to wait a long time for someone to pick up, about an hour or an hour and a half.
>
> Interviewer: Is it acceptable to you?
>
> Li Hong: Mainly because it wasn't a physical attack. It was just a lost wallet. It's not an emergency. (Q18)

For the Chinese community in Edinburgh, it appears to be an anticipation, rather than a surprise, that the police could not adequately address reported issues or seemingly leave victims to handle matters themselves – and this extends to the reporting of hate incidents. When victims feel that reporting to the police does little to alleviate their fear and helplessness, they often resort to alternative methods for self-healing.[125] This is particularly evident among Chinese individuals who, instead of seeking police intervention, tend to manage these incidents independently or within their own circles.

> Subconsciously, [I] might first talk about such incidents with the people they trust the most, those who are closest to me. The police represent public authority, the power system, and they may help you resolve this

120.. Chakraborti, 'Responding to Hate Crime' (n 74).

121.. Grahame Allen and Yago Zayed, 'Hate Crime Statistics' (House of Commons Library, 2022) <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-8537/CBP-8537.pdf> accessed 20 July 2023.

122.. Ibid.

123.. Atak (n 119).

124.. Matthew Desmond, Andrew V Papachristos and David S Kirk, 'Police Violence and Citizen Crime Reporting in the Black Community' (2016) 81 Am Sociol Rev 857.

125.. Robert F Kidd and Ellen F Chayet, 'Why Do Victims Fail to Report? The Psychology of Criminal Victimization' (1984) 40 J Social Issues 39.

issue based on their rules. However, they cannot provide support in other aspects, such as emotionally. (Chen Yang, Q19)

When reports of hate crimes remain confined to the victims' community, they may never come to the attention of the police and consequently may not receive an official response. Additionally, Chen Yang stated that he would report hate incidents to his university's anti-discrimination department if necessary; this could be a point to consider for executing policies.

Limitation

The primary limitation is the small sample size, which reduces the generalisability of the findings. The limited sample size also restricted the study's depth in certain areas. For instance, the research could not fully explore Chinese culture's influence on the decision-making of reporting crimes to the police. Although some participants indicated that Chinese residents are less likely than locals to report their victimisation experiences to the police and prefer to manage issues independently (see Q13 and Q14), the link between the decision not to report and Chinese cultural influences was unclear based on the collected data. One interpretation could be that Chinese cultural values, which favour conflict avoidance and harmony preservation, discourage Chinese residents from reporting incidents. However, an alternative and arguably more plausible explanation could be unfamiliarity with the local police services and procedures, likely due to the transitional nature of the Chinese community in Edinburgh. This study, therefore, adopts the latter interpretation to explain the observed phenomenon.

Prior research has identified a prevalent 'shame culture' within Asian communities, which implies that Asian individuals feel shame in disclosing their victimisation experiences to others and may even blame themselves for the incidents.[126] This culture often discourages individuals from reporting crimes. However, no such sense of shame was evident during interviews with the study's participants. More importantly, feelings of shame are potentially more likely to be found among Asian migrants rather than international students. This is primarily because migrants often worry more about their residency status, trying their best to avoid drawing attention from the authorities in their host country. While there are Chinese migrants in Edinburgh, the number of Chinese international students is considerably larger. Hence, it is not sufficiently convincing to attribute the underreporting of hate crimes among the Chinese community in Edinburgh solely to 'shame culture'.

This observation presents an opportunity for further research, particularly concerning how different cultural backgrounds influence individuals' decisions on whether or not to report hate crimes.

Conclusion and Recommendation

This research explores the complexities of hate crime issues, focusing mainly on how Chinese people react to hate crimes, especially non-violent, everyday-like minor assaults. When faced with lower-severity incidents, Chinese individuals tend not to report them to the police. They only contact the police when the threat or injury becomes more immediate and urgent. The reasons for this phenomenon may include perceiving hate incidents as not severe enough to warrant police attention, uncertainty regarding whether it falls under the police's duty to respond to such incidents, and a lack of trust in the effectiveness of police services. Based on the insights provided by participants, this study can help outline future directions for law enforcement to combat hate crime issues in society.

126.. Kevin Wong and Kris Christmann, 'Increasing Hate Crime Reporting: Narrowing the Gap Between Policy Aspiration, Victim Inclination and Agency Capability' (2016) 14 Br J Commun Justice 5; Gover, Harper and Langton (n 2); Pezzella and Fetzer, 'Victim Underreporting' (n 75); Lantz and Wenger, 'Are Asian Victims Less Likely to Report' (n 79).

Police officers' encouragement could significantly boost people's willingness to report, while discouragement can have the opposite effect.[127] Therefore, it is crucial to raise awareness among the public about the importance of reporting hate crimes and allowing police intervention. This encouragement should be delivered in understandable and accessible ways. For example, Police Scotland has made a positive start with an 'easy-to-read' document about hate crime on their website.[128] However, it needs further development. Currently written only in English and might be challenging for non-native speakers, it falls short in accessibility. Racial assaults make up a substantial portion of hate crimes, and many targeted individuals are not English native speakers. Therefore, efforts must be directed toward making hate crime information accessible to everyone, irrespective of linguistic background.

One participant, Liu Xiao, praised receiving a Chinese-language anti-fraud booklet from the police, finding it considerate and helpful. Careful localisation of such materials can be applied to anti-hate crime initiatives, following a community-based strategy. Local police need to engage in community dialogues around key issues.[129] In other words, affected communities must have a voice in shaping policies, practices, and initiatives that concern them.[130] Only those directly impacted can best inform anti-hate crime measures.[131] Such positive public encounters with the police could also significantly enhance public confidence in policing. Most importantly, the police should increase positive contact by treating victims equally, adequately, and respectfully.[132]

Most importantly, we should empower victims and potential victims with knowledge of their rights. They should be fully aware that they have the right to report any racist offence, regardless of its perceived severity, without feeling conflicted or uninformed. This awareness is crucial in eliminating the misconception that minor incidents do not warrant reporting. Additionally, potential victims should be informed about the support available to them, which is not only offered by law enforcement agencies but other institutions, such as universities and colleges. The existence of third-party reporting mechanisms must be highlighted. For individuals who feel uncomfortable or stressed about directly interacting with the police, these third-party channels offer an alternative means to report incidents. Knowledge of these options can significantly alleviate the anxiety associated with reporting hate crimes and encourage more victims to come forward. By increasing awareness and accessibility of these support systems, we can create a more inclusive and responsive approach to addressing hate crimes.

In conclusion, the fight against hate crimes is a complex but important endeavour that requires a multifaceted approach. This study opens the door to future research that could further unravel the intricacies of underreporting. Collaborative efforts between communities, law enforcement, and educational institutions, coupled with a nuanced understanding of victims' experiences, can pave the way for more effective anti-hate crime initiatives. With continued dedication and innovation, there is real hope for making significant strides in reducing hate crime issues in the future.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

127.. Jochem Tolsma, Joris Blaauw and Manfred Te Grotenhuis, 'When Do People Report Crime to the Police? Results from a Factorial Survey Design in the Netherlands, 2010' (2012) 8 J Exp Criminol 117.

128.. Police Scotland, 'Hate Crime' (2022) <https://www.scotland.police.uk/what-s-happening/campaigns/2022/hate-crime/> accessed 7 August 2023.

129.. Perry and Samuels-Wortley, 'We're Not Where We Should Be' (n 98).

130.. Ibid.

131.. Barbara Perry, 'What Communities Want: Recognizing the Needs of Hate Crime Targets' (2014) 12 J Hate Stud 9.

132.. Ben Bradford, Jonathan Jackson and Elizabeth A Stanko, 'Contact and Confidence: Revisiting the Impact of Public Encounters with the Police' (2009) 19 Policing Soc 20; Ben Bradford, 'The Quality of Police Contact: Procedural Justice Concerns Among Victims of Crime in London' (Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research, 2010) <https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1596754> accessed 1 August 2023.

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Appendix: Quotations in Original Language (Chinese)

Q1:
当即的反应应该就是不理他吧。因为在这边的话有很多人吸大麻吗，然后他们精神可能不太正常。如果你跟他们产生争执的话，可能会比较麻烦 (Li Hong/李洪)。

Q2:
我应该会装作没有听见或者看见，继续往前走，不理他 (Wang Lili/王丽丽)。

Q3:
我之前真的被喊过。我当时就没有理他，就直接走掉了。我自己可能并不会在意，主要因为他没有对我造成更[严重]的影响，所以他喊他的，我不管他 (Liu Xiao/刘晓)。

Q4:
我应该是[装作]没听到，不理，赶快走 (Zhang Jing/张静)。

Q5:
我觉得[周围人]跟我一样。是物理上的攻击或者抢劫，他们会报警的。口头上的，可能就不管了。我身边的人都是这样，包括我那个被扔烟头的朋友，她最后也没管了。(Wang Lili/王丽丽).

Q6:
Li Hong (李洪): 主要还是因为，只要他没有阻碍到我做我任何想做的事情，我就觉得没什么问题。如果阻碍到我的话，也没有必要报警吧……也会报警，但看事态发展到什么情况。
Interviewer （采访者）：严重到什么程度才会报警？
Li Hong （李洪）：如果是physical attack的话，我就会报警。如果没有physical attack的话，我就会直接骂回去，那也无所谓吗，大家都骂人……但是这些都不重要，因为他们只是语言攻击，又不是physical，所以对我来讲只要不是physical的话，我就觉得没什么大问题。

Q7:
我担心最后报了警可能没有用。警察要么就是证据不足，或者说他解决不了这个事情。去警局处理这个事情对我来说是这个很大的负担，情绪上的，时间上的，精力上的。我最好是能够确认警察确实会管这个事。不管最后能不能解决这个事情，他至少take it seriously吧。如果说我知道这个点的话，我会更积极地去报警 (Chen Yang/陈阳)。

Q8:
我以前刚来这边的时候，我听室友说，这边的teenager就算他们犯了罪被抓进去了也不会受到惩罚。当时我的室友也跟我讲的是，teenager他们经常干这种事情，就是遇到人就大喊。他们[室友]也是说没办法，就是因为他们[teenagers]不会受到惩罚 (Liu Xiao/刘晓)。

Q9:
种族歧视行为我很难把它跟犯罪行为联想到一起，因为平时见到的都是口头上的嘲讽。我可能不会把这看作一种攻击行为，我觉得他只是不太礼貌，对我们这些外来人有些偏见(Wang Lili/王丽丽)。

Q10:
我感觉反应比较强烈的话，他们可能会更开心，就感觉他们得逞了。直接不理他们，不当回事的话，他们就没有得逞，也没有占到任何便宜 (Liu Xiao/刘晓)。

Q11:
我也不知道报警的流程什么的，比如说我需不需要记住那个人长什么样，几点几分出现在哪，然后各种信息 (Liu Xiao/刘晓)。

Q12:
我[对hate crime]完全不了解，对hate crime的领域非常的不熟悉，我也不清楚比如朝我大喊这种行为触犯了什么法律 (Wang Lili/王丽丽)。

Q13:
不是经常在街上能看到警车呼啸而过吗，响着警笛，所以我觉得可能就是我们不是经常报警吧，可能其他人还比较容易经常报警 (Zhang Jing/张静)。

Q14:
我个人觉得这边的人[当地人]他们遇到问题会更愿意说出来一点，更愿意寻求帮助一点。中国人的话可能有什么事情自己扛着，就不太愿意去跟别人说 (Liu Xiao/刘晓)。

Q15：
假如是口头上的攻击，我不知道警察会怎么处理。我很难想象警察会因为这个事把他抓起来。口头攻击发生过，人可能已经找不到了，那警察也不会做什么我觉得 (Wang Lili/王丽丽)。

Q16:
我觉得警察可能会比较敷衍，毕竟没有造成什么财物或者人身方面的伤害什么的，但警察可能会尽量安抚情绪，就是了解一下事情的细节之类的。要是有同样的举报，他们可能会进一步地调查？毕竟我又没有那个人的照片，[警察]也没有办法确定什么，感觉很难[有进一步行动] (Liu Xiao/刘晓)。

Q17:
一方面，[我]可能对当地的警察有一些刻板印象，会觉得他们不会太管外国人的事。还是就是，对他们的效率也不是很相信。就是觉得跟他们说了这件事情可能也不会有什么结果，可能也就还是那样。他们[警察]不是外国人，可能对这件事情的理解会跟我们的理解不是很一样，他们作为当地人可能会很少遭受这种[歧视行为]，他们顶多把那个人[肇事者]叫来，说一说就完事了，他们是比较轻描淡写处理的那种 (Zhang Jing/张静)。

Q18:
Interviewer (采访者): 你由此对爱丁堡警方有什么看法？
Li Hong (李洪): 没什么看法，因为我从那个公交车上找到了。
Interviewer (采访者): 你觉得他们警察工作态度和工作质量怎么样？
Li Hong (李洪): 挺好的，主要他们这边警察人太少了，打电话接人工得等半天，等个一个小时吧大概，一个半小时。
Interviewer (采访者): 你觉得能接受吗？
Li Hong (李洪): 主要这也不是人身攻击类的，只是钱包丢了，不算emergency。

Q19：
下意识可能这种事情还是跟最信任的最亲近的人先说吧。警察他只说，他代表公权力，权力系统，根据他们的规则帮你解决这个事情。他们可能不能在其他方面，比如情感反面，给你支持 (Chen Yang/陈阳)。