

*Comparison between Gay Hate-Related Homicides of Men and Other Male Homicides in New South Wales 1989 – 1999**

JENNY MOUZOS & SUE THOMPSON¹

Introduction

The literature on hate crime in the last fifteen years covers a wealth of surveys, research and theories on crimes of bias/prejudice that target another person because of their sexuality, race, ethnicity or religion.² There are inherent difficulties associated with research into the most extreme form of hate crime – homicide, and more specifically gay hate-related homicides. Some of these difficulties include the accurate identification, classification and recording of these incidents once the primary witness has been killed. A gay prejudice-related homicide or gay hate-related homicide is one where the victim may have been gay or perceived to be gay and the offender's actions motivated to some significant degree by prejudice or homophobia.

The NSW Police Gay/Lesbian Client Consultant has compiled and collated details of these homicides for a ten year period, monitored trends in these homicides, and encouraged researchers to conduct valuable studies such as those by Tomsen (1994) and Tomsen & George (1997).

American studies, on the other hand, have relied upon researchers scanning newspaper reports (Miller & Humphries 1980, Comstock 1991) or recording observations of hospital staff (Herek & Berrill 1992) or forensic pathologists (Kiel 1965). The introduction of the US National Hate Crime Statistics Act (1990) and the introduction of the FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program may facilitate some future in-depth studies from the US. However, at this stage it appears that there is a problem with an unrealistically low number of murders being classified by local police agencies as hate-related.³

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1 Research Analyst, Australian Institute of Criminology, email: Jenny.Mouzos@aic.gov.au; Police Gay/Lesbian Client Group Consultant, New South Wales Police Service.

2 There is an ongoing discourse about which categories of identity should be accepted as markers of hate crime. Some have suggested the inclusion of 'violence against women' as another form of hate crime (Gelber 1999).

The brutal murder of a gay man in Sydney in January 1990 attracted much public and media attention. Eight teenage students and ex-students from an inner city public school and a Catholic High School brutally assaulted the gay man, leaving him to die slowly over the next hour. That murder and the murder of a gay teacher from one of these schools five months later, inspired the on-going collection of data on gay-hate related homicides by the NSW Police Gay/Lesbian Client Consultant, and reinforced the need for ongoing research into the key patterns of gay hate-related homicides. The initial point of interest ten years ago was the need to monitor the involvement of school age boys and the requirement to develop an appropriate school crime prevention package⁴.

Similar to the monitoring role of the NSW Police Gay/Lesbian Client Consultant, the Australian Institute of Criminology, through its National Homicide Monitoring Program (NHMP), has collected details of all homicide incidents, victims and offenders that have occurred in each Australian State and Territory since 1 July 1989. The existence of these two datasets has facilitated comparative research such as the present study.

Aims of the Present Study

Based on these two datasets, the main purpose of this study was to compare gay hate-related homicides of men with other male homicides in New South Wales. This study examined differences and similarities between gay hate-related homicides of men and other male homicides, with specific focus on the characteristics associated with the incident, victim and offender, and the victim-offender relationship. One of the aims of this study was to achieve a better understanding of the most extreme form of hate crime – homicide, and to discuss preventative strategies aimed primarily at reducing its incidence.

For the purposes of this study, as previously stated, a gay prejudice-related homicide or gay hate-related homicide is a lethal act of violence where the victim may have been gay or perceived to be gay and the offender's actions were motivated to some significant degree by prejudice or homophobia.⁵ There must be a primary, but not necessarily sole, causal link between offenders' apparent prejudice towards gay men/lesbians and their lethal act of violence.

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- 3 The FBI recognises that its collation of hate crime data has serious limitations due to its reliance on data sent to it by local police agencies (US Dept of Justice 1998). The United States National Coalition of Anti-Violence Projects (NCAVP) is the umbrella group for 25 local gay/lesbian/bisexual/transgender (GLBT) anti-violence projects that collect uniform GLBT hate crime data using the same bias motivated definition as the FBI. For 1996 the FBI records 12 hate murders and 1 gay hate murder for the USA. The NCAVP records 29 gay hate murders (for its 25 locations, covering approximately 30% of the USA). For 1997 the FBI records 8 hate murders and 3 gay hate murders. In contrast, the NCAVP records 18 gay hate murders. In the twelve months since the internationally renowned murder of Mathew Shephard in Laramie, Wyoming USA, the NCAVP has recorded 30 gay-hate murders (12/10/98 – 12/10/99) (personal communication, 3/12/99 with J. Montgomery, Homicide Convenor of NCAVP).
 - 4 A three-day Police Crime Prevention Workshop on Homophobia was run in a state school after these two murders and meetings were held with the Catholic Education Office. The Catholic School Curriculum was then amended to include 'The Rights and Feelings of Others', which addressed homophobia. A project team from the Department of School Education and Police Service developed an extensive homophobia package for use in schools. That package was included in their book *Resources for Teaching Against Violence* which was released in 1991 and revised in 1996. Van de Ven (1994, 1995) conducted research on the effectiveness of such teaching modules.
 - 5 A list of possible indicators reflecting a gay-hate motive are outlined later on in the paper.

Background

Since the early 80s, gay and lesbian activists in NSW have drawn community attention to the issue of prejudice-related violence against gay men and lesbians. Joint Police and Anti-Discrimination Board Phone-In Violence Surveys were conducted in 1985, 1986 and 1989.

In 1989 the Gay and Lesbian Rights Lobby conducted its own phone-in survey, produced the *Streetwatch Report, A Study into Violence Against Lesbians and Gay Men* (Cox 1990), and then in 1991 founded the Lesbian & Gay Anti Violence Project and a standardised data collection method.⁶ The NSW Police Minister launched that report in 1990 and established a senior level government and community committee, the Streetwatch Implementation Advisory Committee (1990 – 1994) to develop a whole of government strategic approach to reducing violence against gay men and lesbians (Lowe 1994). The Committee met for four years. Its final report was launched by the Police Minister in 1994, detailing Australia's first joint government and community response to hate crimes against gay men and lesbians (Lowe 1994).

In 1992 the NSW Police Service and the Federal Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) ran a Hate Crime Data Collection trial that led to the NSW Police Service formalising the Hate Crime Data Collection in 1994. Since then hate crimes have been flagged as Possible Prejudice Related incidents under the Crime Associated Field Factor.

The awarding of the 1994 Australian Violence Prevention Award to the NSW Police Service and the NSW Lesbian and Gay Anti-Violence Project, jointly, for their work in reducing hate crimes against lesbians and gay men, was a turning point in the Australian response to homophobic hate crimes.

In February 1995, the NSW Police Service released an extensive research report 'Out of the Blue' which studied levels of fear of violence and associated behaviour change amongst gays and lesbians, level of victimisation, incident characteristics, reporting levels and police customer service (Sandroussi & Thompson 1995).⁷

The First National Conference on Violence Against Gay Men and Lesbians was hosted by the Australian Institute of Criminology in 1995 at Sydney University. The NSW Police Service encouraged police from other States to attend that conference by holding the first National Police Forum on Gay/Lesbian Liaison on the day before the conference where police strategies to reduce these crimes were show-cased.

6 It is important to note that since 1990 the Executive Council of Australian Jewry has similarly standardised its data collection of anti-semitic hate violence.

7 This is the only Australian study of gay/lesbian hate crimes which goes beyond being just a prevalence study and contains comparative victimisation levels. Comparisons of victimisation of gay men and lesbians to the wider population are missing in American studies. Herek, Gillis, Cogan & Glunt (1997) discuss the wide variation in quality of data collection in studies of anti-gay crimes and the need for rigorous empirical data, but they do note the similarities in prevalence findings at p.195, 196, 197, 208 and 209. The Out of the Blue Report also has some methodological limitations that are explained in that Report.

Previous Research

While gay and lesbian activists and academics began to engage the discourse on homosexual oppression in the early 1970's,⁸ there has now been over ten years of increasing attention from policy makers, police services, social scientists, criminologists, researchers and academics addressing the worst manifestation of that oppression, criminal victimisation⁹. More recently there has been research on the most serious forms of criminal victimisation, that is the crime of murder or the killing of a person linked to their homosexuality or perceived homosexuality.

Much research and many valuable surveys have been conducted on hate crimes against lesbians and gay men. A chronological list of the most accessible surveys is found at Appendix 1. Providing an overview of the extensive research/literature on violence against gay men and lesbians is beyond the scope of this article. There are, however, a number of studies that require mention because of their discussions and findings regarding key issues such as the criminal justice system's response to gay/lesbian hate crime, motives of offenders, characteristics of gay/lesbian hate crimes, the social contexts of hate crimes and their impact on society.

Criminal Justice System Response

The work of Stephen Tomsen (1994) and Stephen Tomsen & Allen George (1997) from the University of Newcastle are the most detailed Australian and international works on gay homicides focussing on 31 homicides compiled by the NSW Police Service. They have researched press reports, coroners' records, and court transcripts, and examined the criminal justice system's response to gay-hate crime after hearing an offender's allegation that their victim had made a sexual advance or committed a sexual assault¹⁰. Tomsen and George found that some court trials appeared to endorse the notion that masculinity can be threatened by a homosexual advance and that such an unwanted advance may partly excuse fatal violence. While homophobia and violent conceptions of masculinity are suggested to be widespread cultural phenomena, it was noted that the legal system has a pivotal role to play in shaping social opinions about gay hate-related homicide.

Adrian Howe of La Trobe University (Howe 1997) also studied the homosexual advance defence in a court context, its evolution dating back to North America in 1920 and its inherent homophobia. She ultimately found that the only way to reduce homophobic bias from courtrooms where a homosexual advance is argued in a provocation defence is to abolish the law of provocation (Howe 1997:336). Other reviews of the law of provocation and the problems with the test of the 'ordinary person' have proposed replacing the current

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- 8 Denis Altman, an Australian gay activist in the 1970s, now an academic, wrote some of the earliest internationally respected work on homosexual oppression, see Altman, D (1971)
 - 9 Comstock (1989) conducted a national survey of anti-gay/lesbian violence which ranked the prevalence of a range of gay-hate victimisation, and included: chased/followed, objects thrown at person, punched/kicked/hit/beaten, vandalism/ arson, robbed, raped, assault with weapon, and spat at.
 - 10 When an allegation of an unwanted homosexual advance is made in a criminal trial it has become known as the 'homosexual advance defence'. While no actual 'defence' exists in Australian law, it refers to a claim that an actual/implied sexual advance by the deceased has triggered the offender's violence. Concerns about the increased use of this claim led to the NSW Attorney General establishing the Homosexual Advance Defence (HAD) Working Party in 1995 (NSW Attorney General's Department (1998), Final Report of the 'Homosexual Advance Defence' Working Party, September). It examined HAD cases, judicial directions, jury verdicts, and in its Discussion Paper (1996) and Final Report (1998) made recommendations regarding ways of addressing any courtroom bias arising out of imputations about a homicide victim's homosexuality. Ongoing monitoring is conducted by the NSW Attorney General's HAD Monitoring Committee.

test of the 'ordinary person' with a subjective test (NSW Law Reform Commission 1997) or a combined subjective and objective test (Papathanasiou & Eastaer 1999). Whether any of these proposals would effectively remove homophobic bias from court rooms is unknown.

Hate Crime: Characteristics & Motives

Golden, Jackson and Crum (1999:226) examined the societal causes of hate crimes, the motivations, perpetrators, types of violence, and intervention strategies. They speculate that hate crimes are motivated by an attempt to build the offender's self esteem at the expense of another, and gay hate murders as the end product of a slow process of escalating violence over time.

Their findings on the state of mind and motive of offenders are an important addition to the extensive work of Comstock. Comstock (1991) studied gay hate-related murders from 1970 to 1990 (as identified and collated from media reports) and 32 US surveys of violence against lesbians and gay men. He described offenders' states of mind in terms of feeling euphoria during the murder, celebrating after the event, looking up to their violent friends as 'heroes' and feeling a kind of increased kinship with their group afterwards which in turn gave them increased self-esteem. Similarly, Harry (1990) discussed gay/lesbian bashing as a way of proving daring, maleness, adulthood, and higher status in adolescent males.

Comstock (1991)¹¹ compared gay/lesbian hate crimes to national violence statistics, and found perpetrators of gay hate-related crime more likely to be male, younger, unknown to the victim, and not acting alone. In examining motives, he identified gay/lesbian bashing as a recreational activity for some perpetrators because of the low social standing of homosexuals who are marginalised by social structures and legislative inequalities. He also identified the desire to defend one's place in a social order that disapproves of homosexuality and the belief that lesbians and gay men are unprotected and considered unimportant in society.

Other research also suggests that one of the common factors in hate crime is the perpetrator's ability to dehumanise the individual who is attacked. Bar-Tal (1990) labelled this behaviour as 'delegitimation'. This involves the categorisation of a group into a negative social category that is perceived to be outside acceptable norms and values (Bar-Tal 1988, 1989).

'Delegitimation makes the suspect group a non-human entity, laden with negative characteristics and threatening to greater society' (Golden et al 1999:262). The more the individual sees the person being attacked as inhuman, the more likely that lethal violence can be employed.

Some writers have also suggested the spread of HIV/AIDS since the early 1980s as providing perpetrators with 'another excuse to confirm their prejudices and justify their actions' (Sarre & Tomsen 1997:80)¹².

11 His data were sourced from self-reports, crime surveys, interviews with both victims and perpetrators and media reports.

12 See Schembri (1995) and Van de Ven et al (1998) for an outline of research findings of AIDS hate-related violence, abuse and discrimination.

Context for Gay/Lesbian Hate Crime

Gregory Herek, a US research psychologist, has published numerous scholarly articles on prejudice against lesbians and gay men and anti-gay violence since 1984. His article 'The Context of Anti-Gay Violence' gives significant insights into the causes and pay-offs for anti-gay violence and murder (Herek 1990). In discussing the institutions that create a heterosexist world: religion, law, psychiatry/psychology, and mass media, he outlines how 'most heterosexuals perceive the world entirely in heterosexual terms until confronted with evidence of homosexuality at which time they respond with some combination of discomfort, confusion, condemnation, hostility and disgust' (p320).

Herek (1990:317) describes our societal context where '... cultural heterosexism is like the air that we breathe . . . so ubiquitous that it is hardly noticeable'. In this context he describes the modern concept of 'homosexuality' as developing more in opposition to 'normalcy' than to heterosexuality per se and to being stigmatised therefore as sinful and sick. Further he cites literature showing that white people typically do not think of themselves as white, but presumably as 'normal' and men think of themselves as human beings before thinking of themselves as male. Similarly, heterosexuals do not immediately identify themselves by their sexual orientation or socioerotic identity, but by their marital or parental status. On the contrary, they generally define homosexuals by their sexual orientation and in terms of a socioerotic identity. This is inherently problematic because homosexuality is then seen as a 'public manifestation of what society prescribes should be private – namely, sexuality' (p317). While all sexuality is meant to be private, there is an allowance made for private heterosexuality to have a publicly acceptable face through celebrations of marriage, the birth of children, happy relationship and inquiries about what one did on the weekend, but there is no corresponding allowance for homosexuality.

We are of the view that there are no acceptable institutions for homosexuality and any attempt by homosexuals to participate in such things by, say, having a loved one's photo on their desk if they are lesbian/gay violates the private-public barrier, becomes an act of 'flaunting' and reduces one to a sexual identity rather than a human identity, career identity or family identity.

Herek, in exploring 'psychological heterosexism', explains the historical payoff for displaying anti-gay prejudice in terms of winning approval from important others by affirming one's own masculinity/femininity through criticising a gay/lesbian for their 'abnormal' masculinity/femininity, proving one's religious credentials, affirming one's normalcy/goodness/social status as an insider while gays and lesbians are outsiders.

Civil rights and social equality lobbying by lesbians and gay men has started to change this paradigm by bringing the previously private world of sexuality into a public domain where sexual identity has real social, human and personal issues. These changes mean that gays and lesbians are more likely to be viewed as valid community members, especially now that there is more exposure to them in roles such as good parent, happy relationship, successful professional¹³.

13 Recent high profile personalities with social credibility who have publicly discussed their homosexual relationships have provided role models for parent, partner, professional (e.g. Dr Kerry Phelps and Jackie Stricker, Justice Michael Kirby) as have the hundreds before them and the thousands who choose to be 'out' every day or who choose not to lie/mislead/pretend. The cost of this can still be paid in loss of employment, rejection, violence and even murder. In some countries of the world this murder may even be exacted by police themselves (Mott 1996).

Herek further explains that, through this changing paradigm, there is now a pay off in supporting gay and lesbian equality and that heterosexuals who identify as liberals, progressives, feminists, civil libertarians can now add value to, and affirm, their social identities by supporting gay rights. The targeting of gays and lesbians by hate groups and homophobic bashers makes it even more valuable today to uphold the rights of gay men and lesbians if it means supporting others' entitlement to a life free from hate-related violence.

Herek's work gives an interesting insight into the way in which many gay bashers or gay killers live in social environments where they gain self/peer affirmation for their act of violence against the 'abnormal' gay or lesbian victim. It also gives some insight into the psychology of why it is that when a male makes a sexual proposition to another male it is to some an outrageous, unforgivable insult to masculinity which in their mind, albeit wrongly, can only be rebuffed by a lethal reaction¹⁴. It also outlines why the discovery that one's friend or 'mate' is homosexual or has homosexual desires is so strangely confronting to some insecure masculinities, that they believe it must be punished by death.

Moreover, van Gemert (1994) examined a series of killings in Amsterdam in the 1980s. He noted that these killings were typically perpetrated by male prostitutes who targeted older clients, and that some offenders who came from ethnic or religious backgrounds placed a much higher emphasis on the defence of their male honour. Van Gemert argues that this provides us with a valuable insight into the possible links between gay hate-related homicides and the social construction of masculinities (van Gemert 1994; Mason & Tomsen 1999).

Social Impact of Hate Crime

Similarly, Herek et al (1997) surveyed and examined both the prevalence and psychological consequences of anti-gay victimisation and reviewed associated literature. One of their primary findings was that hate crimes, by attacking the victim's gay identity and their community as well as their person or property, can inflict psychological distress and damage above that associated with non-bias crimes.

Martin (1996) referred to the findings of Levin and McDevitt (1993) that hate crimes are more likely to involve personal violence, to evoke excessive brutality and to result in greater injuries. She noted the unique character of bias crimes in that victims find them harder to come to terms with, they are harmful to communities because they raise fears, vigilantism, anger and intergroup tensions, and affect other members of the victimised group irrespective of the seriousness of the actual crime.

After using a telephone interview sampling survey, she drew conclusions that hate crime victims appeared to react more strongly to their victimisation than victims of comparative non-hate crimes. They were mostly twice as likely to be frightened, scared and upset by the incident and to experience short term and long term effects.

In summary, some of the above key findings on hate crimes generally and gay/lesbian hate crimes specifically assist us to understand the prevalence and brutality of these crimes, the resulting impact on the victim and their community, and the signalling of possible policy implications.

14 There has been a proliferation of homosexual advance defence (HAD) cases in NSW following on from the acquittal of a perpetrator for a brutal and vicious killing by multiple stabbing and beheading in Victoria in 1992. In that case the perpetrator successfully argued that a homosexual advance warranted a lethal use of force (see Final Report of the Homosexual Advance Defence Working Party, NSW 1998; research by Tomsen 1994, Tomsen & George 1997, & Howe 1997).

Identifying Gay Hate-Related Homicides

Since 1994, gay hate crimes including homicides have been recorded on the NSW Computerised Operational Policing System (COPS) and are mostly identified on the system as Associated Factor 'possible homosexual hate related'. Occasionally a gay hate-related homicide will not be recorded as such where police may have some initial unfamiliarity with homophobic crimes and deem it a robbery even when that aspect of the crime was secondary. Also, police may hear the offender provide the now well rehearsed excuse 'he tried to come onto me, mate and... well, what could I do but bash him and I got a bit carried away cause I was pretty upset...you know...that he thought I was queer...I was sure he was going to rape me....what would you have done', and may have initially categorised the fatal event as an act committed in self defence. At other times police may have incorrectly recorded a homicide as gay hate-related when it was a revenge killing in response to a serious sexual assault or indeed an unrelated prison killing of a convicted paedophile.

The gay hate-related homicides compiled by the Police Gay/Lesbian Client Consultant were classified as such after consultation with detectives, general duties police, witnesses and researchers who have read coroners' files/court transcripts.

Some of the possible indicators of a gay hate-related homicides are:

- formal or informal admissions by perpetrators;
- anti gay/lesbian abuse;
- proximity to a known gay social club/venue;
- proximity to a meeting place (beat)¹⁵;
- information on motive from persons known to offender/victim;
- nature of injuries (e.g. sexual overtones to injuries, mutilation);
- frenzied nature of attack;
- time-related to major gay/lesbian community event;
- absence of other motive;
- alleged sexual proposition/suggestion/advance by victim to perpetrator; and
- other indicators emerging after commonsense review of the circumstances¹⁶.

Methodology

Data Sources

One of the data sources used in this study was the National Homicide Monitoring Program (NHMP) held at the Australian Institute of Criminology. The present study analysed NHMP data for the state of NSW only.¹⁷ Between 1 July 1989 to 30 June 1999 – the period of this study – a total of 1072 homicide incidents occurred in New South Wales, perpetrated by 1163 identified offenders and resulting in the death of 1165 victims (65% male; 35% female). For this study, classification and identification of gay hate-related homicides was provided by the NSW Police Service, namely the NSW Police Gay/Lesbian Client Consultant who has data on gay hate-related homicides that have occurred in the State of NSW since 1986.

15 A beat is a meeting place for men who have sex with men, usually a park, bushland or beachside area. The beat may function solely as a social meeting place or a sexual encounter may occur in the location or be arranged.

16 The NYPD have a list that assists police in defining a hate or bias crime. It includes this preferred term 'commonsense review of circumstances'.

17 The NHMP data was supplemented by data provided by the NSW Gay/Lesbian Client Consultant. All statistical analyses were then conducted using NHMP data, comparing male gay-hate related homicides with male non-gay hate-related homicides (other homicides).

Study Parameters

Although the NHMP has data on all homicide incidents occurring throughout Australia, the present study has limited its parameters to only include the State of New South Wales, and hence to only examine gay hate-related homicides in NSW.

There are two main reasons for limiting the study to the State of NSW:

- Supplementary information identifying and classifying gay hate-related homicides was only available for NSW. The NSW Police Service is the only police service that systematically collects information on gay hate-related homicides through the Police Gay/Lesbian Client Consultant and through the COPS Project.¹⁸ The opportunity to supplement the NHMP database with additional information provided by the NSW Police Service has allowed a fairly accurate account of gay hate-related homicides and the characteristics thereof. Other Australian states have recently established similar full/part-time specialist positions that should facilitate the identification of gay hate-related homicides in their jurisdictions.
- NSW is the most populous state in Australia in terms of both population and the incidence of homicide¹⁹, contributing more than a third of all homicide cases.

In addition to limiting the present study to NSW, there were also a number of other exclusions in the study sample. Firstly, it was decided to exclude female victims of homicide from the comparison group (other homicides), because there were no gay hate-related homicides of women recorded in NSW during the period under review.²⁰ Similarly, the killing of women is qualitatively different from the killing of men (Mouzos 1999).

For similar reasons, it was decided to exclude victims in the comparison group who were less than eighteen years of age, as no gay hate-related victims were aged less than eighteen.

Furthermore, in the comparison group cases where the victim-offender relationship was one of sexual intimates were also excluded. By virtue of the act, when a gay victim is killed by an intimate partner, the homicide is not classified as 'gay hate-related' but as 'intimate partner homicide'. It is important to distinguish between gay hate-related homicides and other homicides involving gay persons. As previously discussed, a gay hate-related homicide involves a victim being killed because he or she is gay or perceived to be gay, with the killing being mainly motivated by prejudice. This differs from a gay person being killed

18 Since 1995 the NSW Police Gay/Lesbian Client Consultant has assisted in setting up similar full/part-time gay/lesbian policy positions and in training those officers. Police from Queensland, ACT (Federal Police), Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania have all been trained by the NSW Police Gay/Lesbian Client Consultant. There are now full-time specialist positions, like the NSW position, in South Australia and Western Australia and police officers undertaking those duties on a needs basis (like the 150 Police Gay/Lesbian Liaison Officers, GLLOs, in NSW) in Tasmania, Victoria, ACT and Queensland. Having full time specialist positions will ultimately lead to more accurate gay-hate homicide data being collected across Australia but at this stage that data are not reliable nor do they span a sufficient time period. For example, police may call a homicide a 'robbery motivated murder' when a man is murdered in a park, stabbed 12 times in the mouth and his wallet stolen, but after discussions with a specialist gay/lesbian advisor, will realise that the sexual overtones of the injuries and the crime location may indicate a hate crime occurred.

19 According to ABS *Australian Demographic Statistics – December Quarter 1998*, NSW accounted for 33.8 per cent of the Australian population. Similarly, in 1998/99 NSW accounted for 34.73 per cent of all homicide incidents in Australia.

20 There have, however, been lesbian hate-related cases in Queensland, South Australia and Tasmania (Howe 1997). Also, since the completion of this research, there has been a possible lesbian hate-related homicide in rural NSW.

by another gay person – such an incident *is not* motivated by a hatred for the individual because they are part of a particular group, such as gays or lesbians (Golden, Jackson & Crum 1999). Depending on the relationship between the gay victim and the gay offender, the homicide may have been a result of an argument, desertion or termination of a relationship, and so on. In other words, not all homicide incidents that involve gay victims are considered gay hate-related homicides.

Another reason for excluding sexual intimates from both the study and the comparison groups is that gay hate-related homicides are more akin to non-intimate homicides.

Study Groups and Comparison Groups: who do they include?

After all the exclusions, the following is a brief description of the study and comparison groups that was analysed.

Study Groups:

Male Victims of Gay Hate-Related Homicide:

- Males over the age of eighteen who were gay or perceived to be gay;
- Killed in NSW between 1 July 1989 – 30 June 1999;
- Their relationship to the offender was not one classified as 'sexual intimates';
- Total number of gay hate-related victims: n=37 (excludes seven cases where sufficient details were unavailable);
- An offender(s) was charged in 29 cases of gay-hate related homicide;
- The number of victims of gay hate-related homicide that the analysis was based on is thus 29.

Offenders of Gay Hate-Related Homicides of Men:

- Males and females over the age of eighteen;
- Committed the homicide in NSW between 1 July 1989 – 30 June 1999;
- Their relationship to the victim was either: family, friends, acquaintances, or strangers (hence excludes intimate partners);
- The number of offenders responsible for the deaths of 29 victims was 44, and hence the number of offenders of gay hate-related homicides of men that the analysis was based on is 44.

Comparison Groups:

Other Male Victims of Homicide

- Males aged eighteen years and over who were killed for some other reason other than being gay or perceived to be gay;
- Killed in the state of NSW between 1 July 1989 – 30 June 1999;
- The relationship between the victim and the offender *was not* classified as 'sexual intimates';
- Total number of male victims of homicide following above exclusions: n=621;
- An offender(s) was charged in 454 cases of male homicide (excluding gay hate-related homicide victims);
- The number of male victims in the comparison group that the analysis was based on is then 454.

Offenders of Other Male Homicide

- Males and females over the age of eighteen;
- Committed the homicide in the state of NSW between 1 July 1989 – 30 June 1999;
- Their relationship to the victim was either: family, friends, acquaintances, or strangers (hence excludes intimate partners);
- The number of offenders of other male homicides that analyses will be based on is 678.

Results

During the ten-year period under review, there were on average, approximately four men killed each year in New South Wales in attacks related to prejudice or homophobia which may be linked to notions of gender and masculinity. These are all referred to as gay hate-related homicides. The incidence of gay hate-related homicides of men in NSW has remained relatively stable over the ten-year period.

Incident Comparison

A comparison between the characteristics of gay hate-related homicide of men and other male homicide is shown in Table 1. In summary, the main differences between gay hate-related homicide incidents and other homicide incidents in New South Wales are as follows:

- Gay hate-related homicides of men are more likely to occur on a Friday between midnight and 6am, whereas other male homicides are more likely to occur on Sunday between 6pm and midnight.
- Gay hate-related homicides of men are less likely to involve illicit drugs (such as a dispute over dealing, acquiring for personal use, etc.).
- Gay hate-related homicides of men are more likely to occur at a residential premise (62% versus 51%), with the majority of these incidents occurring in the victim's home (only one incident occurred in some other person's home).
- All gay hate-related homicides of men (100%) in NSW during the ten-year period involved single victim fatalities. In comparison, approximately 90 per cent of other male homicide incidents involved single victim fatalities.
- The majority of gay hate-related homicides of men involved multiple offenders in comparison to other homicides (55% versus 48%).

Table 1: Comparison of Incident Characteristics between Gay Hate-Related Homicides and other Homicides, NSW, 1 July 1989 – 30 June 1999

Characteristics	Male Victims of Gay Hate-Related Homicide (n=29)	Other Male Victims of Homicide (n=454)
Day of the Incident		
Sunday	14.3%	20.7%
Monday	3.6%	11.7%
Tuesday	17.9%	11.9%
Wednesday	10.7%	9.4%
Thursday	14.3%	13.9%
Friday	21.4%	13.9%
Saturday	17.9%	18.6%
Time of the Incident		
Midnight to before 6am	34.5%	28.5%
6am to before Noon	10.3%	7.3%
Noon to before 6pm	20.7%	19.5%
6pm to before Midnight	27.6%	35.8%
Unknown / Not Stated	6.9%	8.8%
Evidence of Drug Involvement		
Yes	6.9%	15.1%
No	86.2%	76.3%
Unknown / Not Stated	6.9%	8.6%
Location of the Incident		
Residential premise	62.1%	51.4%
Public transport and related	0.0%	4.2%
Street / Open Area	31.0%	19.5%
Places of Entertainment	3.4%	10.7%
Other Location*	3.4%	14.2%
Number of Victims & Offenders Involved		
Single Victim – Single Offender	45.5%	46.0%
Single Victim – Multiple Offenders	54.5%	44.2%
Multiple Victims – Single Offender	0%	6.5%
Multiple Victims – Multiple Offenders	0%	3.3%

*Includes corrective/health institution, shops, shopping malls, banks/credit union, car parks/public garages/service stations, workplace/schools, and other commercial premises.

Victim Comparison

There are also a number of differences between gay hate-related homicide victims and other homicide victims (see Table 2). For example:

- The male victims of gay hate-related homicides were more likely to fall in the older age groups (35 years and above, 68.9% versus 52.4%) (median age of 43 years versus median age of 36 years).
- A greater majority of the victims of gay hate-related homicide were of Caucasian appearance (93.1% versus 76.1%).
- Almost twice as many gay hate-related homicide victims were unmarried compared to other homicide victims (82.8% versus 45.9%).²¹
- In terms of frequency, the most likely *cause of death* for gay hate-related homicide victims was beating. A beating can be carried out with either one of two weapons: hands/feet or blunt instrument. Other male homicide victims were more likely to have died from a stab wound.
- Knives or other sharp instruments were the most common *weapons* used to kill both categories of the victims. It is important to note that only 3.4 per cent of gay hate-related homicide victims were killed with a firearm, in comparison to 27.9 per cent for other male homicide victims.²²
- Another important difference between the two types of homicides is that the gay hate-related homicides of men are significantly more likely to involve a high level of brutality. For example, it is not uncommon to find that male victims of gay hate-related homicide have been *repeatedly* stabbed to death²³. In one incident, the gay victim had been stabbed approximately 75 times in the chest, and in another incident, the victim had been stabbed 35 times in the neck. Similarly, over the years, the NHMP has recorded three cases of mutilation and dismemberment involving male victims. All of these cases involved gay hate-related homicides of men.
- Lastly, it was also interesting to find that victims of gay hate-related homicide were more likely to have consumed alcohol at the time of the incident, than other male homicide victims (48.3% versus 32.3%). Many attacks occurred after some degree of socialising.

21 This is not surprising given that marital status is defined as a heterosexual marriage. Few jurisdictions recognise same sex relationships. Nowhere in Australia are homosexual marriages recognised.

22 Many perpetrators of prejudice-related violence prefer a hands-on attack of a very physical nature.

23 A study by the NSW Gay/Lesbian Client Consultant (Thompson 1999) showed that 70% of the 42 gay hate homicides recorded in 1990-1999 involved savage beatings, repeated stabbings, mutilation and/or dismemberment. This expectation of a higher level of brutality has often been presented in hate crime literature – see Levin and McDermitt (1993) Mason (1993), Martin (1996) and has also been observed by hospital staff particularly in regards to gay-hate homicide – see Herek and Berrill (1992).

Table 2: Comparison of Gay Hate-Related Homicides of Men and other Male Homicides, NSW, 1 July 1989 – 30 June 1999

Characteristics	Male Victims of Gay Hate-Related Homicide (n=29)	Other Male Victims of Homicide (n=454)
Age Group		
18 to 24 years	10.3%	19.3%
25 to 34 years	20.7%	24.3%
35 to 49 years	37.9%	30.6%
50 to 64 years	20.7%	15.5%
65+	10.3%	6.3%
Unknown / Not Stated	0.0%	4.0%
Racial Appearance		
Caucasian	93.1%	76.1%
Indigenous	0.0%	3.4%
Asian	3.4%	10.1%
Other	3.4%	4.0%
Unknown / Not Stated	0.0%	6.5%
Marital Status		
Single	82.8%	45.9%
Married / Defacto	6.8%	27.4%
Separated Married / Defacto	0.0%	6.3%
Divorced	6.9%	3.4%
Widowed	3.4%	1.9%
Unknown / Not Stated	0.0%	15.1%
Employment Status		
Employed	41.3%	34.0%
Unemployed	41.4%	29.8%
Not in the Labour Force	17.3%	12.8%
Unknown / Not Stated	0.0%	23.4%
Cause of Death		
Gun Shot Wound	3.4%	27.8%
Stab Wound	34.5%	37.4%
Beating	37.9%	20.8%
Drug Overdose	0.0%	0.2%
Drowning / Submersion	0.0%	1.1%
Strangulation/Suffocation	13.8%	3.5%
Smoke inhalation / Burns	3.4%	0.7%
Other Cause* / Unknown	6.8%	8.2%
Weapon Used to Kill Victim		
Firearm	3.4%	27.9%
Knife & Other Sharp Instrument	41.3%	37.5%
Blunt Instrument	20.7%	7.5%
Hands / Feet	31.0%	22.6%
Poison / Drugs / Fire / Other	3.4%	4.7%
Alcohol Consumption		
Yes	48.3%	32.3%
No	51.7%	67.7%

*Includes hanging, poisoning, injection, electrocution, employer negligence, shaking.

Source. Australian Institute of Criminology, National Homicide Monitoring Program & New South Wales Police Gay/Lesbian Liaison Unit, NSW Police Service.

Offender Comparison

In terms of policy implications one of the most important differences between perpetrators of gay hate-related homicides of men and other male homicides is their youth (Table 3). For example:

- The offenders of gay hate-related homicide were almost three times more likely to be aged between 15 to 17 compared to offenders in other homicides (29.5% versus 8.4%)
- Approximately 39 per cent of gay hate-related offenders were aged between 18 to 24 years (median age of 20 years), compared with only 34 per cent (18 to 24 years) of the offenders of other homicides (median age of 25 years) (*see* Tables 3 and 4).
- This comparison is starker when offenders under the age of 25 years are compared. Sixty-eight per cent of offenders of gay hate-related homicide were under the age of 25, compared to 44 per cent of offenders of other male homicides.
- The offenders of gay hate-related homicides were also more likely to be of Caucasian appearance (93.2% versus 68.3%), unemployed (81.8% versus 47.9%) and unmarried (77.3% versus 63.7%).

Table 3:

Comparison of Offender Characteristics between Gay Hate-Related Homicides of Men and other Male Homicides, NSW, 1 July 1989 - 30 June 1999

Characteristics	Offenders of Gay Hate-Related Homicide (n=44)	Offenders of Other Male Homicide (n=678)
Age Group		
10 to 14 years	0.0%	1.8%
15 to 17 years	29.5%	8.4%
18 to 24 years	38.6%	33.8%
25 to 34 years	25.0%	29.4%
35 to 49 years	4.5%	18.4%
50 to 64 years	2.3%	2.5%
65+	0.0%	0.9%
Unknown / Not Stated	0.0%	4.8%
Racial Appearance		
Caucasian	93.2%	68.3%
Indigenous	4.5%	7.2%
Asian	2.3%	10.7%
Other	0.0%	3.8%
Unknown / Not Stated	0.0%	9.9%
Marital Status		
Single	77.3%	63.7%
Married / Defacto	18.2%	13.1%
Separated Married / Defacto	0.0%	4.0%
Divorced	0.0%	1.0%
Widowed	0.0%	0.3%
Unknown / Not Stated	4.6%	17.8%
Employment Status		
Employed	6.8%	19.2%
Unemployed	81.8%	47.9%
Not in the Labour Force	11.4%	13.0%
Unknown / Not Stated	0.0%	19.9%

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology, National Homicide Monitoring Program & New South Wales Police Gay/Lesbian Liaison Unit, NSW Police Service.

Victim-Offender Relationship Comparison

While comparisons of incident, victim and offender characteristics are important in determining differential patterns in victimisation and offending, the victim-offender relationship is also a very important factor that influences the nature of conflict between people. The victim-offender relationship allows us to determine the dynamics of the interaction that led to the homicide. Contrary to popular belief, stranger homicides also involve an element of social interaction – from a brief nod in the street or some short association, such as meeting someone in a bar (Mouzos 1999).

In the present study, a greater proportion of both gay hate-related homicide victims and other male homicide victims were killed by a friend or acquaintance (Table 4). However, a much higher proportion of gay hate-related homicide victims were killed by a stranger in comparison to other homicide victims (45.5% versus 28.2%).

Another difference between gay hate-related homicides of men and other male homicides which requires mention is that in just under half of these cases the male victims of gay hate-related homicide were working at the time of the offence (43.2%). This is in comparison to less than a quarter of victims of other homicides (22.9%) (Table 4). Although, information as to the type of employment that these victims were engaged in was not available for comparative purposes, previous research suggests (Thompson 1999, unpub.) that the victims of gay hate-related homicide were more likely to be employed in professional/managerial positions. This may indicate that gay hate-related homicides of men differ from male homicide in general which most often occurs between persons who belong to what can be described as an 'under-class' in Australian society (James & Carcach 1997). In other words, in this study offenders of gay hate-related homicide who were not in the workforce were more likely to target middle-class gay men, rather than men with the same socioeconomic status as themselves.

Table 4: Comparison of Victim-Offender Relationship Characteristics between Gay Hate-Related Homicides of Men and other Male Homicides, NSW, 1 July 1989 - 30 June 1999

Characteristics	Gay Hate-Related Homicides (n=44)	Other Homicides (n=678)
Victim-Offender Relationship		
Family	0.0%	8.4%
Friends / Acquaintances	52.3%	36.7%
Strangers	45.5%	28.2%
Other	2.3%	11.9%
Unknown / Not Stated	0.0%	14.7%
Age		
Median Age of Victim	43 years	36 years
Median Age of Offender	20 years	25 years
Victim Younger than Offender	9.1%	30.4%
Victim Same Age as Offender	0.0%	4.7%
Victim Older than Offender	90.9%	64.9%
Gender of Offender		
Male Offender	88.6%	91.0%
Female Offender	11.4%	6.8%
Unknown / Not Stated	0.0%	2.2%
Employment Status		
Victim / Offender Working	4.6%	10.9%
Victim Working / Offender Not Working	43.2%	22.9%
Victim Not Working / Offender Working	2.3%	8.3%
Victim & Offender Not Working	50.0%	58.0%
Alcohol Consumption		
Both Victim & Offender Drinking	25.0%	27.9%
Victim Drinking But Not Offender	11.4%	5.8%
Offender Drinking But Not Victim	13.6%	9.6%
Neither Victim Nor Offender Drinking	50.0%	56.8%

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology, National Homicide Monitoring Program & New South Wales Police Gay/Lesbian Liaison Unit, NSW Police Service.

Scenarios of Gay Hate-Related Homicides of Men

There are three common scenarios for these gay hate-related homicides:

1. The most frequent scenario involves an offender who has befriended a gay man mostly in a club/pub and suggested going home to the victim's house for a drink, coffee, drugs or sex. Mostly in these cases it seems the offender intended to attack the victim²⁴ and used a seductive approach to lure the victim into a private setting later making an allegation of sexual advance to try to avoid criminal blame. The victims are equally as likely to be gay men who identify to some degree with the gay/lesbian community or men who do not identify and have a more marginal profile, e.g. rural, isolated, loner. An alternative to this scenario, although not very common, entails a personal dispute over an alleged sexual advance between two men who are friends or acquaintances resulting in the use of lethal violence (Tomsen & George 1997).
2. The second most frequent scenario involves an offender or offenders attending a park or public space, where men are known to meet other men for social interaction or anonymous sexual encounters (also known as 'beats'), with the express intent of identifying a gay person and attacking them (gay bashing). The offender in this scenario is not known to the victim.
3. The last scenario involves apparently random/spontaneous attacks, which occur on the street when a passer by or someone who was drinking at a pub is suspected of being gay.²⁵

Discussion and Policy Implications

It is our submission that there are distinct differences in New South Wales between the killing of gay men where the prime motive was one of prejudice, and the killing of other men. These differences are prevalent in all facets of homicide, from the incident itself, to victim and offender characteristics, and the victim-offender relationship. In brief, some of the main findings in the present study relating to the killing of gay men in New South Wales are that:

- Incidents are highly likely to involve multiple offenders, and highly unlikely to involve multiple victims;
- The victim is most likely to be killed in the privacy of their own home;
- The victim is more likely to be older than the offender;
- The victim is more likely to be brutally beaten to death (with hands or feet or some blunt instrument), or repeatedly stabbed to death with a knife or some other sharp instrument;
- The victim is more likely to be killed by a stranger;
- The gay hate-homicide offender is more likely to be aged between 15-17 years; and on average five years younger than the offender of a non-gay -hate homicide.
- Victims and offenders are more likely to be Caucasian.
- Victims are more likely to be in the workforce than are their killers.

24 As reported by witnesses, offenders (informal admissions), or inferred from the context itself i.e. high level of brutality.

25 A study by the NSW Police Gay/Lesbian Client Consultant found the following: befriend and attack at victims home (31%); gay bashing at beat (21%); random street attack (15%); purposeful journey to murder a gay man known to offenders (13%), previous consenting sexual contact then regretted/punished (10%); and friends/acquaintances have drunken dispute over alleged sexual proposition (8%) (Thompson unpub.).

These findings suggest that the killing of gay men is qualitatively different from the killing of other men in New South Wales. As a result, intervention and prevention strategies and policies can be tailored to address the findings of this study.

Foremost in the minds of those seeking policy-making options, however, should be that intervention with individuals committing hate crimes is not easily accomplished (Golden et al 1990). The main obstacle is that 'hate crimes are as much a product of the society as they are of the individual' (Golden et al 1999:267). Homophobia and violent conceptions of masculinity are said to be reflected in cultural phenomena that are widespread, if not intractable (Tomsen & George 1997). Such deeply ingrained attitudes inadvertently promote an atmosphere that condones violence against gay men and lesbians. Intervention, therefore, needs to focus on societal attitudes at large, not just on the perpetrator of the crime.

Mason (1993:2) outlines immediate prevention measures that should be addressed across Australia, but her overriding premise is 'that violence prevention measures must start by removing the anti-homosexual bias in Australian society. Violence will fail to serve a function for the perpetrators if the prejudicial attitudes that underpin such violence are no longer supported by societal norms or by religious, legal and political doctrines'. Herek and Berrill (1992) held the same view when pointing out that laws which stigmatise homosexual behaviour can contribute to anti-gay violence.²⁶

Since 1990, the NSW Police Service has implemented, trialed and nurtured a range of strategies to reduce homophobic hate violence (Thompson 1998). These include the specialised Police Gay/Lesbian Liaison Officers (GLLOs), communication and education campaigns, working with schools to reduce youth involvement in anti-gay violence, targeted recruitment advertisements, an award-winning web-site and uniformed police marching in the annual Sydney Gay & Lesbian Mardi Gras Parade under the banner 'We're Here Because We Care'.

Prevention can begin by parliaments and the judicial system placing a stronger albeit symbolic emphasis on the incarceration of those who commit gay hate-related homicide, and so reaffirming the seriousness of these offences, and the importance of equality. Nonetheless, jury verdicts in the mid-1990s²⁷ have been characterised as reflecting 'tenacious community attitudes against homosexuals . . . that a homosexual advance is the greatest affront to red-blooded masculinity. And that a man who reacts violently to defend his honour is behaving as any "ordinary man" would have' (Horin 1996:2A).

One of the significant findings in the present study in terms of possible policy directions was that the majority of perpetrators of gay hate-related homicide were young men under the age of 25 and that more than half of the offenders committed their crimes in groups.

Given the relative young age of the offenders and their over-representation as offenders of gay hate-related homicides, one possibility is to focus on early intervention through education and training. Education should focus specifically on imparting knowledge on the incidence of gay/lesbian hate violence and on lessening prejudices, on understanding and on creating an atmosphere conducive to tolerance, and respect for gay men and lesbians.

It is our submission that the school environment is a place of education as well as a place where socialisation with other children with different characteristics occurs. Therefore, schools

26 The most recent document which outlines areas of the law where lesbians and gay men do not have full equality was launched by the NSW Attorney-General in December 2000: *Acts of Passion – Lesbians, Gay Men and the Law* (2000).

27 Note that these verdicts were prior to NSW removing the unsworn statement from the dock and prior to government attention focussing on these trials via the HAD Monitoring Group.

are in a unique position to be able to teach children the general values of accepting one another and of valuing and respecting each other despite differences. 'Children and adults armed with strong values are likely to be better able to resist the misinformation and invitations to violence found in the community' (Golden et al 1999:270).

Another significant finding in the present study was that the majority of gay hate-related homicides of men occurred in private premises, mostly in the victim's home. Although this finding warrants specific attention, it is difficult to suggest preventative strategies where the amount of external control that can be imposed on a person's private domain is very limited. This is the same dilemma faced by practitioners in the area of domestic violence. However, one way to overcome this difficulty may be to focus more specifically not on where the incident is most likely to occur, but on the routine activities of the victim. Certain questions need to be asked in this context 'We know why this particular person was targeted for a violent prejudice-related crime (because they were perceived to have a particular sexuality), but what increased this person's chances of becoming a victim?' 'Did the victim engage in any so-called "at risk behaviour?"'²⁸ 'Would increased education on how to avoid being targeted and victimised lower the incidence of gay-hate related homicide?' and so forth.

This type of strategy has been promoted in NSW by the Lesbian and Gay Anti Violence Project and involves bar patrons notifying the bar attendant that they are leaving with a specific person. To date there have not been any outcome evaluations determining whether this strategy has been successful in preventing gay hate-related homicide.

Concluding Comments

It is our submission that this study reveals that there are distinct differences in the prejudice-motivated killings of men who are gay or perceived to be gay, when compared to other types of homicide. As a society we inevitably react with revulsion when we realise the young age of many of the perpetrators of these homicides, and at the level of brutality involved when a person is killed because of hate or prejudice or indeed to elevate one's own sense of social status at the expense of another group.

These crimes are considered 'message crimes' or crimes that send a message of fear and terror based in bigotry. They impact on the whole target group and the wider community, and effect social harmony and well-being. The findings of this study reiterate the need for the whole of society to remain vigilant in protecting all of its members.

Appendix 1: Previous Research

Some of the most useful surveys on hate crimes against lesbians and gay men are listed below chronologically:

1984

National Gay and Lesbian Task Force - US first national study of 2,074 gay men and lesbians in eight cities followed since 1986 with annual studies.

28 It is the view of the authors that regardless of whether the victim engaged in any 'at risk' behaviour, this never justifies, explains or lessens the actions of an offender. In other words, a victim should never be blamed for the offender's actions (although one could argue differently in the case of victim-precipitated homicide)

1990

Cox, G *The Streetwatch Report: a Study into Violence Against Lesbians and Gay Men*, Gay and Lesbian Rights Lobby, Sydney - a survey report which analyses 67 respondents to a violence phone-in; offender, victim, incident and police customer service characteristics.

1991

Comstock, G *Violence Against Lesbians and Gay Men ...* - presents findings of his 1986 survey and compares findings of 34 surveys throughout the 1980s in USA.

1992

Thompson, S *Violence and Harassment Against Lesbians* (unpublished) - a survey report of 300 respondents to a violence survey conducted at the National Lesbian Conference. Launched by Police Minister at Parliament House.

Herek, G & Berrill, K *Hate Crimes, Confronting Violence Against Lesbians and Gay Men*, - review of prevalence studies of gay/lesbian hate crimes since the 1970s.

Lesbian and Gay Anti Violence Project *The Off Our Backs Report: A study into Anti-Lesbian Violence*, Gay and Lesbian Rights Lobby, Sydney - a survey report of 46 respondents. Launched by Police Minister at Parliament House.

1994

Cox, G *The Count and Counter Report: A Study into Hate Related Violence Against Lesbians and Gay Men*, Streetwatch Series, LGAVP, Sydney - summarises violence reports to the AVP from 1991 – 1993.

Griffin, J *The Schoolwatch Report: A Study Into Anti Lesbian and Gay Harassment and Violence in Australian Schools*, Suzanne Jones - Pritchard, Sydney.

Gay Men and Lesbians Against Discrimination *Not a Day Goes By: Report on the GLAD Survey into Discrimination and Violence Against Lesbians and Gay Men in Victoria*, GLAD, Melbourne.

Baird, B *The Police and You*, Lesbian and Gay Community Action, Adelaide.

1995

Thompson, S & Sandroussi, J *Out of the Blue: A Police Survey of Violence and Harassment Against Gay Men and Lesbians* NSW Police Service, Sydney - a survey report of 259 respondents interviewed by Price Waterhouse Urwick at Mardi Gras Fair Day 1994: comparative findings on victimisation levels and fear levels; offender, victim, incident and police customer service characteristics.

1996

Mason, A & Palmer, A *Queer Bashing, A National Survey of Hate Crimes Against Lesbians and Gay Men*, Stonewall, UK - survey report of 4,000 respondents and their experiences of violence/harassment in the preceding five years.

Mott, LR *Epidemic of Hate, Violations of the Human Rights of Gay Men, Lesbians and Transvestites in Brazil*, Grupo Gay da Bahai Brazil and International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission - looks at the high number of 1260 gay murders from 1963 - 1994 and those perpetrated by police.

1998

Van de Ven, P et al *Homophobia and HIV Related Abuse and Discrimination*, Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology 1998 no 31 - findings of Van de Ven's study of the victimisation of Australia gay men obtained through the Male Call Phone-In 1996.

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