

**CALL  
IT  
OUT**

# Ireland and our LGBT Community<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> © Amanda Haynes and Jennifer Schweppe, 2019. This chapter reports the results of the *Call It Hate* survey for Ireland. The survey was administered by LightSpeed, on behalf of the *Call It Hate* Partnership, to a representative sample of 1395 people between the 9th of September and the 1st of October 2018. The chapter will be published in 2019 as part of an edited collection emanating from the *Call It Hate* project.

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## Basic Figures

- A large majority of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that gay men and lesbians (88%), bisexual people (87%) and transgender people (85%) "should be free to live their own life as they wish".
- Women were significantly more likely than men to agree with the above statement in respect to every identity group. People aged 25-34 years were significantly more likely than the general population to disagree with the statement.
- On average, respondents were comfortable having people with a minority sexual orientation or gender identity as neighbours. Responses were significantly more positive towards having lesbians (M=8.51), bisexual people (M=8.40) and gay men (M=8.38) as neighbours compared to transgender people (M=7.98).
- High levels of empathy were expressed with crime victims across all identity categories. Respondents were similarly empathetic towards heterosexual couples (M= 9.01), lesbian couples (M=9.05) and transgender persons (M=8.86) who are physically assaulted on the street. However, gay couples (M= 8.55) attracted significantly less empathy than a lesbian couple in similar circumstances.
- Respondents were significantly more likely to intervene on behalf of a victim with a disability (M=7.86), than on behalf of an LGBT victim (M=6.96), but significantly more likely to intervene on behalf of an LGBT victim than an Irish Traveller (M= 5.82).
- Respondents reported similar willingness to intervene on behalf of a lesbian pushed and slapped on the street by a stranger (M=7.38) and a transgender person (M= 7.03) in the same situation. Respondents were significantly more unlikely to intervene on behalf of a gay man (M=6.63) or bisexual person (M= 6.89) compared to a lesbian.
- A third of respondents (33%) disagreed that violence against lesbians, gay men, bisexual and transgender people is a "serious problem in my country", but more than half (58%) agreed that hate crimes hurt more than equivalent, non-bias, crimes.

# 1. Perceptions of the LGBT Community in Ireland Post-Marriage Equality

## 1.1 Introduction

The last twenty years of Ireland's history have been marked by significant and successful activism on the part of LGBT people to secure their rights. The first Bill proposing civil partnership was introduced by David Norris in 2004, followed by the publication of the Labour Party Civil Unions Bill (2006) (Norris, 2017). The Government published the Options Paper Presented by the Working Group on Domestic Partnership (also known as "the Colley Report") in 2006 (Department of Justice, 2006) and ultimately, the Civil Partnership and Certain Rights and Obligations of Cohabitants Act 2010 was passed granting civil partnership to same sex couples and, in 2015, following a historic constitutional referendum, the Marriage Act 2015 was passed recognising marriage equality (Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission, 2015). The introduction of the Gender Recognition Act 2015, which provides for a self-declarative gender recognition process, (Higgins et al. 2016) has contributed to Ireland's international reputation as a forerunner in promoting LGBT rights.

More recently, 2018 marked the publication of the country's first LGBTI+ Youth Strategy, making Ireland the first country in the world to produce a national strategy addressing the specific needs of young members of the LGBTI+ community (Department of Children and Youth Affairs, 2018). On the 19th of June 2018, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of decriminalisation, the Minister for Justice formally extended an apology to members of the LGBT community who had suffered as a result of the criminalisation of homosexuality, and An Taoiseach, (the Prime Minister), himself a gay man, gave a moving speech regarding the impacts of criminalisation on the community (Houses of the Oireachtas, 2018).

Despite these positive developments, there remain legislative and policy gaps in an Irish context. ILGA-Europe, for example, has recommended further measures to improve the legal and policy framework, including:

- Automatic co-parent recognition regardless of the partners' sexual orientation and/or gender identity;
- Updating the existing legal framework for legal gender recognition, to ensure the process is free from age limits, and explicitly includes intersex and non-binary people; and
- Adopting a comprehensive national action plan on LGBTI equality that expressly addresses sexual orientation, gender identity and sex characteristics.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Consultations have taken place for a national strategy, through the strategy itself has not yet been published.

## 1.2 Legal and Policy Framework on Anti-LGBT Hate Crime

There is no hate crime legislation of any kind in Ireland. Thus, there is currently no legislation in Ireland which requires a court to take a hate element into account when determining the appropriate sentence to impose in a given case. The Prohibition of Incitement to Hatred Act 1989 criminalises incitement to hatred, but it is purposefully narrow in its scope and not appropriate to addressing hate crime. An Garda Síochána, the national police service, nonetheless record what they refer to as “discriminatory motives” in relation to standard offences. In November 2015, in anticipation of the Victims’ Directive, An Garda Síochána added a recording category for transphobic motives to the pre-existing category of homophobic motives (Haynes and Schweppe, 2017b).

A comprehensive consultation with the LGBT community in Ireland conducted by the National LGBT Federation (NXF), highlighted the need for the introduction of best practice hate crime legislation and the mainstreaming of LGBT equality in criminal justice and policing as priorities for the community (National LGBT Federation, 2016).

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## 1.3 Scale of Anti-LGBT Hate Crime

### **EU FRA: LGBT Survey**

In its 2012 LGBT survey, the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) collected information on experiences of discrimination, hate-motivated violence, and harassment from persons who self-identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender across Europe. 59% of Irish LGBT participants stated that the last incident of violence they had experienced in the twelve months prior to the survey being conducted, happened partly or entirely because they were perceived to be LGBT (FRA, 2013).

### **EU FRA: Being Trans in the European Union**

Drawing on the same dataset, the FRA report *Being Trans in the European Union* found that 13% of trans respondents from Ireland reported having experienced hate motivated violence, and 31% had experienced hate motivated harassment in the twelve months prior to the survey being conducted. Two-thirds (66%) of trans respondents stated that they avoided certain places, and 43% stated that they avoided expressing their gender, due to fear of assault, threat, or harassment (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2014).

### **TENI, GLEN and BeLonG to**

Transgender Equality Network Ireland's (TENI) third-party reporting mechanism, STAD, recorded 74 transphobic incidents in Ireland during the period 2014-2016. Of those reports, 32 related experiences of non-crime hostile actions including discrimination, harmful digital communications and everyday microaggressions. The remaining 46 incidents detailed a total of 57 anti-transgender criminal offences occurring in Ireland between 2014 and 2016 (Haynes and Schweppe, 2017a).

Research conducted by GLEN and BeLonG To with LGBTI persons in Ireland also reported a high percentage of participants having experienced harassment and violence over their lifetime: 33.6% of respondents had been threatened with physical violence, 21.1% had been physically assaulted, 14.9% had been sexually assaulted and 6.3% had been attacked with a weapon because they were LGBTI. Gay men were most likely to report they had been physically assaulted, however transgender and intersex participants were most likely to report having been attacked with a weapon. Transgender and intersex participants were most likely to report having been sexually assaulted. Many LGBT people struggle to openly express their identity: 53% of LGBT couples said they felt unsafe showing affection for one another in public, and 47.1% said they felt unsafe holding hands with their partner of the same sex in public. Gay men and transgender people were more likely to report feeling unsafe holding hands in comparison to lesbians and bisexual people (Higgins et al. 2016).

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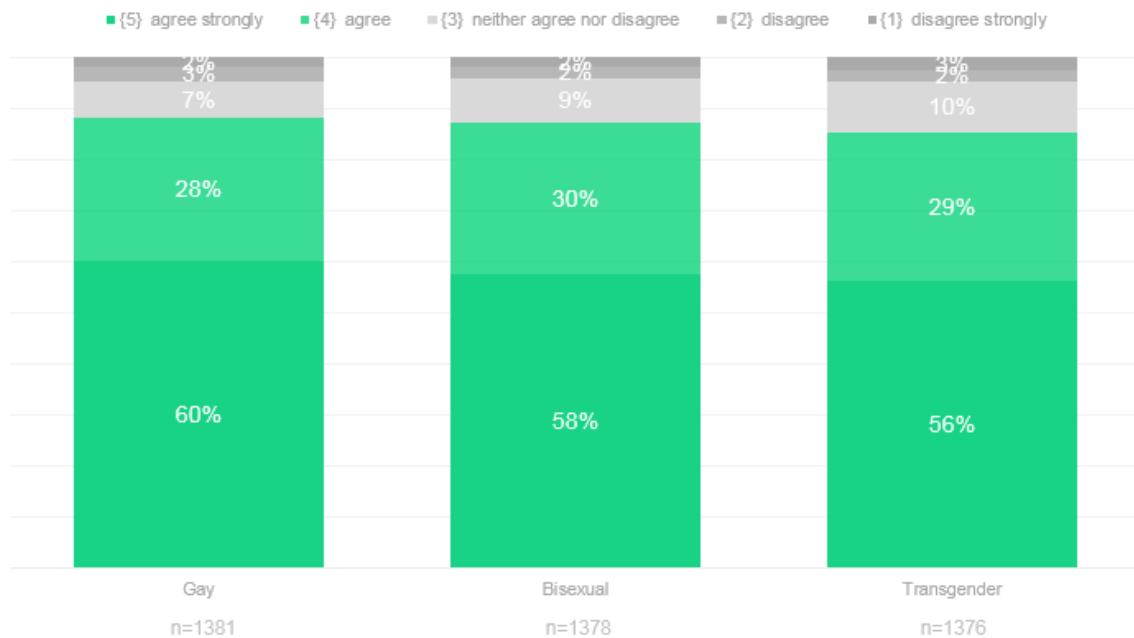
3 GLEN also ran a third-party monitoring system for a number of months and recorded 11 hate crimes as occurring in 2015. See Jennifer Schweppe and Amanda Haynes, *Monitoring Hate Crime in Ireland: Towards a Uniform Reporting Mechanism?* (2015).

## 2. Attitudes Towards LGBT People

### 2.1 LGBT People Should be Free to Live Their Own Lives as They Wish

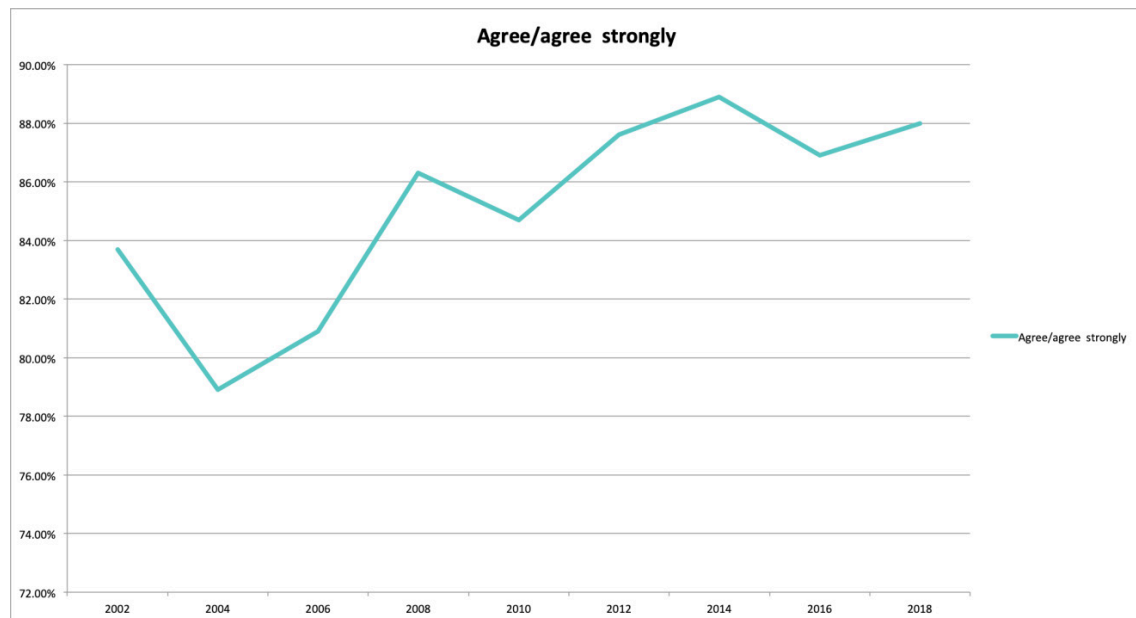
More than four out of five *Call it Hate* survey respondents in Ireland agreed or strongly agreed that lesbians and gay men (88%), bisexual people (87%) and transgender people (85%) should be freed to live their own lives as they wish.

Figure 1: Responses to the statement 'LGBT persons should be free to live their own life as they wish'



Comparing responses to the European Social Survey in Ireland for the years 2002 to 2016, to those of respondents participating in the *Call it Hate* survey conducted in 2018, the chart below depicts an upward trajectory in support for the freedom of gay men and lesbians to live their lives as they wish.

**Figure 2: Responses to the statement  
'Gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own life as they wish'  
2002–2018**



The proportion of respondents who strongly agreed or agreed with the statement increased from 83.7% in 2002 to 88% in 2018. This sixteen year period has been characterised by campaigns for legal rights on the grounds of sexual orientation, which has lent a higher profile to Ireland's gay and lesbian community.

The *Call it Hate* Survey developed the European Social Survey question, "Gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own life as they wish" to also explore attitudes towards bisexual and transgender people, and provides an opportunity to explore whether Irish respondents' attitudes towards LGBT persons are heterogeneous with respect to the different identities which comprise the wider community.

When asked whether bisexual people should be free to live their own lives as they wish, 87% of *Call it Hate* respondents in Ireland agreed or strongly agreed with the statement. 85% of respondents in Ireland agreed or strongly agreed that transgender people should be free to live their own lives as they wish. Respondents were significantly more likely to agree that gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own lives as they wish compared to transgender people.



The *Call it Hate* survey for Ireland examined patterns in attitudes regarding whether LGBT people should be free to live life as they wish with respect to gender, age and education. Women were significantly more likely to agree with the statement in respect to every identity group. In respect to gay men and lesbians, 91% of women and 85% of men agreed that they should be free to live life as they wish. An equal percentage of women agreed that bisexual people should be free to live their lives as they wish (91%), while 83% of men espoused these views. 89% of women agreed that transgender people should be free to live their own life as they wish, while 82% of men agreed with this statement.

People aged 25-34 years were significantly more likely than the general population to disagree with the statement across every identity group. Almost one in ten participants aged 25-34 (9%) disagreed with the statement in respect to gay men, lesbians, and transgender people, and 7% disagreed with the statement in respect to bisexual people.

Level of education was not found to be significantly significant in relation to whether LGBT individuals should be free to live their own lives as they wish.

Data for Ireland indicate some tentative but interesting differences in attitudes towards the statement as to whether LGBT people should be free to live life as they wish according to the value orientations of participants.

People who place least importance on security, i.e. living in secure surroundings under a strong government which ensures safety, were significantly more likely to agree with the statements that gay men and lesbians (93%), and bisexuals (91%), should be free to live their own lives as they wish compared to the general population. However, the same result was not evident in relation to transgender people.

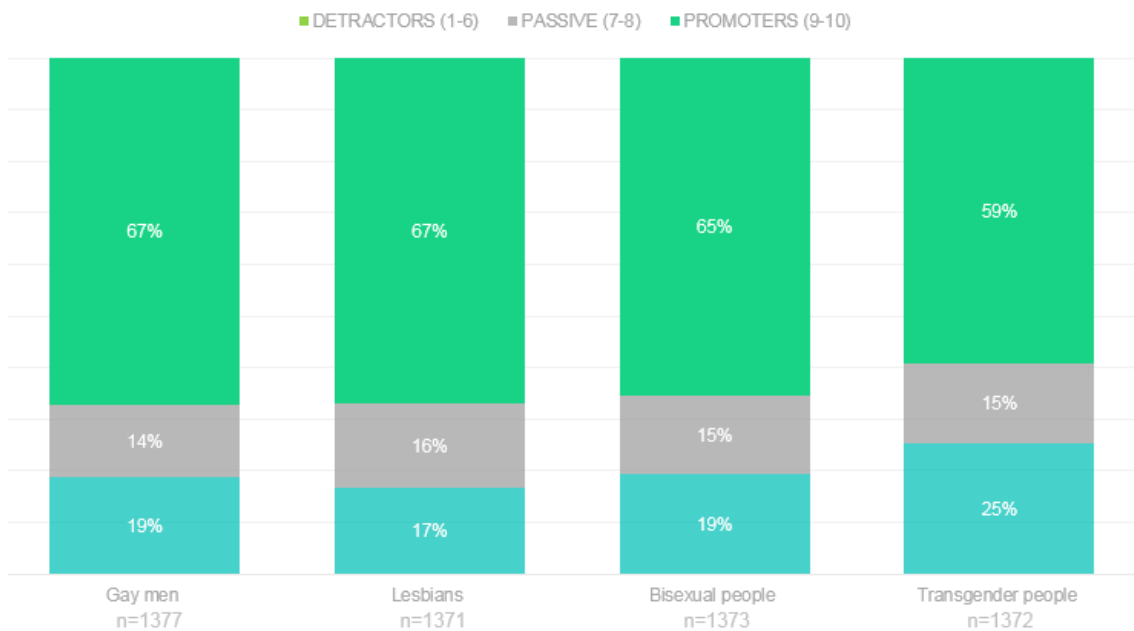
People who place most importance on equal treatment, listening to those who are different from them and caring for the environment, are significantly more likely to agree with the statements that gay men and lesbians (93%), bisexuals (91%), and transgender people (90%) should be free to live their own lives as they wish compared to the general population. Conversely, people who place least importance on such values are significantly less likely to agree with these statements than the general population (85%, 83% and 79% respectively).

## 2.2 How would you feel about having an LGBT+ person as your neighbour?

The *Call it Hate* Survey measured social distance, asking respondents how comfortable they would feel about having a neighbour from each of three identity categories addressed. Responses were invited to provide responses on a scale of 0 to 10 where 0 denotes total discomfort and 10 denotes total comfort.

On average, respondents were comfortable having people with a minority sexual orientation or gender identity as neighbours. Responses were significantly more positive towards having lesbians (M=8.51), bisexual people (M=8.40) and gay men (M=8.38) as neighbours compared to transgender people (M=7.98).

Figure 3: Social distance from LGBT people as potential neighbors



Responses were recoded into three categories – detractors (expressing discomfort), passive and promoters (expressing comfort). With respect to having gay men as neighbours, 67% of responses were coded as ‘promoters’ and 19% as ‘detractors’. In regard to lesbians, 67% of responses were coded as ‘promoters’ and 17% as ‘detractors’. 65% of responses in respect to bisexual people were coded as ‘promoters’ and 19% as ‘detractors’. In comparison, 59% of responses regarding comfort with transgender people as neighbours were coded as ‘promoters’ and 25% as ‘detractors’.

Using the categories of promoter and detractor, an NPS index was calculated, where 0 denotes a neutral image, -100 denotes a wholly negative image and 100 denotes a wholly positive image. All identity groups score positively on the NPS index signifying a positive image, however the degree of positivity varies. Lesbians have a score of 50 on the NPS index, gay men have a score of 49, bisexual people have a score of 46 and transgender people have a score of 34.

Women are significantly more likely than the general population to be ‘promoters’, and men are more likely to be detractors in respect to all identity categories. In respect to gay men 79% of women are classified as promoters, compared to 55% of men.

People aged 25-34 years are significantly more likely to be detractors than the general population with respect to having transgender people as neighbours (31% compared to 25%). The oldest age cohort (55-65 years) are significantly less likely to be detractors than the general population in respect to gay men (12%), lesbians (11%) and transgender people (19%) as neighbours.

Education is statistically significant with respect to bisexual people; people with high education are significantly less likely to be classified as detractors (17%) than the general population.

### 3. Levels of Empathy

- High levels of empathy were expressed across identity categories and behaviours.w
- Gay men attract significantly less empathy than lesbians across a number of scenarios.

Respondents were asked to rate their empathy on a scale of 0 to 10 (with 0 denoting a complete lack of empathy and 10 denoting complete empathy) in response to a set of statements probing for differing reactions to victims of crimes according to their sexual orientation or gender identity, according to the victims’ behaviour at the time of the incident, and the type of the perpetrator(s). These statements allow us to explore the question of whether a hierarchy of victims exists in respect to LGBT victims of crime and whether the respondents engaged in any forms of victim blaming.

Among respondents to the *Call it Hate* survey in Ireland, high levels of empathy were expressed across identity categories and behaviours, however, there were degrees of variation. Respondents reported similar levels of empathy towards- “A heterosexual couple who are physically assaulted on the street” (M= 9.01), “A lesbian couple who are physically assaulted on the street” (M= 9.05) and “A transgender person who is physically assaulted on the street” (M= 8.86). However, “A gay couple who are physically assaulted on the street” (M= 8.55) attracted significantly less empathy than a lesbian couple in similar circumstances.

**Figure 4: To what degree do you feel sympathy for people who experience crime in each of the following situations?**

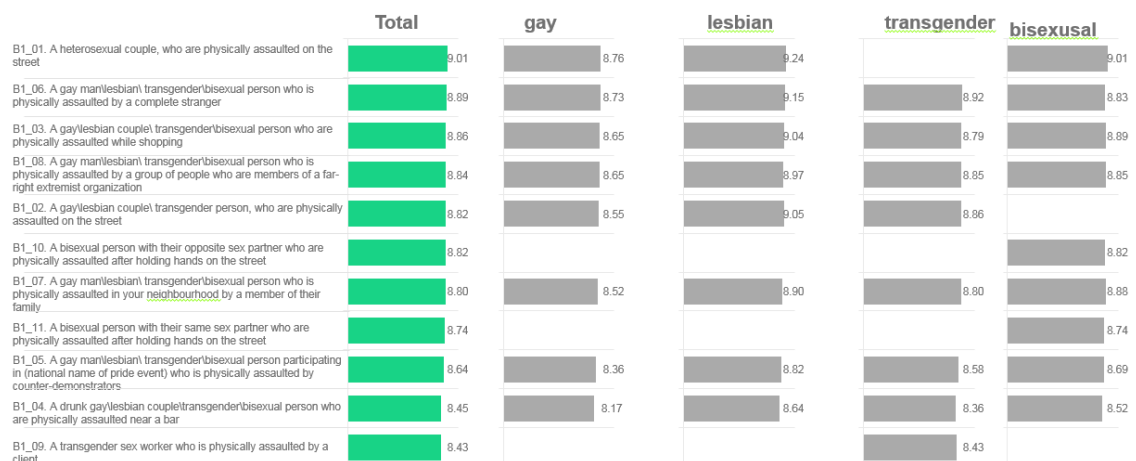


Figure 4 describes average empathy expressed in response to various scenarios. Drunk LGBT persons who are assaulted near a bar (mean empathy of 8.45) attract significantly less empathy than those assaulted on the street, whilst shopping, by a stranger, or by extremist group.

Across the four routes there are some interesting differences in terms of how the behaviours of different LGBT identities categories are evaluated. In particular, gay men attract significantly less empathy across a number of scenarios. For example, lesbians and bisexual people are significantly more likely to attract high levels of empathy compared to gay men where they are assaulted by counter-demonstrators while participating in Pride. Lesbians are significantly more likely than gay men to attract high levels of empathy when physically assaulted by a stranger. Lesbians are also significantly more likely than gay men to attract high levels of empathy when assaulted by a group of people who are members of a far-right extremist organization.

## 4. Reactions to Crimes against LGBT Persons

- Respondents were significantly more willing to intervene on behalf of a victim with a disability compared to all other groups, including LGBT people.
- Respondents were significantly more unlikely to intervene on behalf of a gay man or bisexual person compared to a lesbian.

In addressing the question of whether respondents would be willing to intervene on behalf of an LGBT victim of crime, respondents were divided into four separate routes. Respondents in each route were asked to assess their willingness to intervene for the same set of incidents and victim behaviours, but with each route addressing these experiences in respect to different identity groups. Respondents were asked to score their willingness to intervene on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 denotes that the respondent considers it highly unlikely that they would intervene and 10 denotes that the respondent considers it highly likely that they would intervene.

**Figure 5: Reactions to crimes according to the identity of the victim**

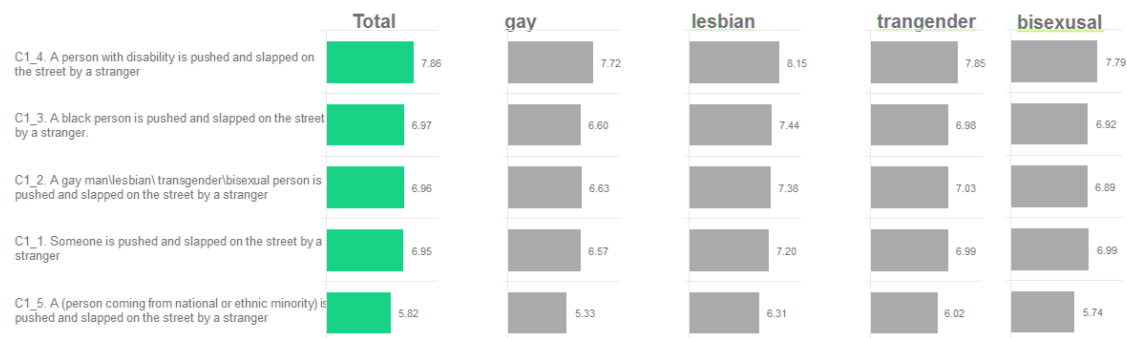


Figure 5 provides a useful comparison of responses for different victim identities, where in every case the victim is described as being pushed and slapped by a stranger. Respondents were significantly more willing to intervene on behalf of a victim with a disability ( $M=7.86$ ) compared to all other groups. Respondents reported similar willingness to help victims described as Black ( $M=6.97$ ), LGBT victims ( $M=6.96$ ), and victims whose identity is undisclosed ( $M=6.95$ ). Respondents were significantly less willing to intervene on behalf of victims from an indigenous ethnic minority ( $M=5.82$ ) - which, in the case of Ireland, was specified as an Irish Traveller, i.e. a member of an indigenous traditionally nomadic ethnic group - compared to all other groups.

With specific reference to LGBT identities, respondents reported similar willingness to intervene on behalf of a lesbian pushed and slapped on the street by a stranger ( $M=7.38$ ) and a transgender person ( $M=7.03$ ) in the same situation. Respondents were significantly more unlikely to intervene on behalf of a gay man ( $M=6.63$ ) or bisexual person ( $M=6.89$ ) compared to a lesbian.

## 5. Opinions on Hate Crimes

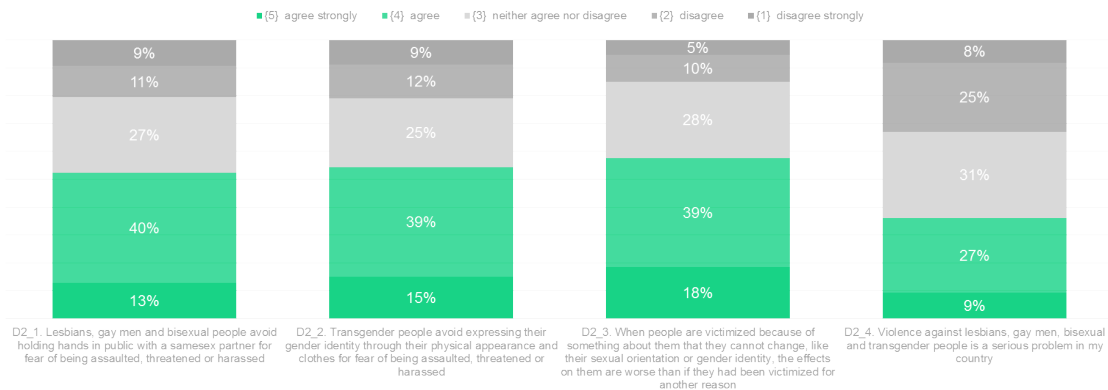
- Just over 1 in 2 people agreed that hate crimes are associated with additional harms in comparison to non-bias motivated victimisation.
- Only 1 in 3 people agreed that violence against lesbians, gay men, bisexual and transgender people is a “serious problem in my country”.

Respondents to the *Call it Hate* survey evidenced an awareness of the additional harms associated with hate crimes, but were divided on whether people in Ireland are significantly impacted by anti-LGBT hostility.

### Opinions on the Extent and Impacts of Hostility

Respondents to the *Call it Hate* survey were asked both for their perceptions of the national environment, with respect to LGBT inclusivity or anti-LGBT hostility, and their perception of the impacts of hate crime on victims.

Figure 6: Opinions on the extent and impacts of hostility



In Ireland, 20% of respondents disagreed/disagreed strongly that lesbians, gay men and bisexual people avoid holding hands in public with a same-sex partner for fear of being assaulted, threatened or harassed, and a further 27% were unsure as to whether they avoided this behaviour. 21% disagreed/disagreed strongly with the statement that transgender people avoid expressing their gender identity through their physical appearance and clothes for fear of being assaulted, threatened or harassed, and a further 25% were unsure. 33% disagreed/disagreed strongly that violence against lesbians, gay men, bisexual and transgender people is a “serious problem in my country”, and a further 31% were unsure.

57% agreed/agreed strongly that, where people are victimized because of something about them that they cannot change, like their sexual orientation or gender identity, the effects on them are worse than if they had been victimized for another reason. It is of concern that 15% of respondents disagreed/disagreed strongly that hate crime has additional harms and a further 28% were unsure.

Men were significantly more likely than the general population to disagree with all of these statements.

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### **Sentencing Hate Crimes**

Figure 6 describes respondents' attitudes towards penalties for hate crimes.

Figure 6: Opinions on penalties

Disablist crimes were considered significantly more deserving of additional penalties (67% agree/strongly agree) than crimes targeting a person's gender (64% agree/strongly agree) or transgender identity (63% agree/strongly agree). Racist and xenophobic crimes were also considered significantly more deserving of additional penalties than crimes motivated by financial gain or targeting a person's religion (62% agree/strongly agree).

Men were significantly more likely than the general population to disagree with additional penalties for all crimes except those motivated by financial gain.



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## 6. Discussion

Respondents in Ireland, in the majority, expressed liberal attitudes towards sexual orientation and gender diversity and comparisons to ESS data indicate a pattern of increasing acceptance of gay men and lesbians between 2002 and 2018. As a whole, this period was marked by increased activism, which prompted public discussion of lesbian and gay rights and issues, and may have contributed to greater awareness among the general public.

However, closer examination of the data between 2002 and 2006 suggests that the 16-year period is also marked by an increased polarisation of attitudes, with larger proportions of respondents occupying both supportive and oppositional positions, expressing strong views. Evidence from European and national reports outlined in this chapter suggests that the LGBT community in Ireland continue to experience verbal, physical, and sexual harassment (European Union Fundamental Rights Agency, 2014; European Union Fundamental Rights Agency, 2013; Higgins et al. 2016). It also appears that gay men and transgender people are most often targeted, while transgender people experience more sexual harassment, and are more likely to feel unsafe in public (Higgins et al. 2016). While there have been significant advancements in LGBT rights in Ireland as exemplified by the Marriage Act 2015 and the Gender Recognition Act 2015, violence towards Ireland's LGBT community is still a pressing social issue, and the number one "burning issue" the LGBT community believes needs to be addressed (National LGBT Federation, 2016).

Certainly, the *Call it Hate* survey for Ireland finds, amid liberal attitudes towards the LGBT community, differences in the degree of agreement with progressive positions. When we ask whether LGBT people should have the freedom to live their life as they wish, a question in which attitudes towards gay men and lesbians are conflated, *Call it Hate* survey respondents in Ireland were less accepting of gender diversity than of non-heterosexual orientations.

Where lesbian and gay men's identities are disentangled, we find differences in attitudes to each which speak to gay men's greater risk of violence (Higgins et al. 2016). Measures of empathy for victims of crime found that a gay couple who are physically assaulted on the street attracted significantly less empathy than a lesbian couple in similar circumstances. Indeed, gay men attracted significantly less empathy across a number of scenarios. Equally, measures of bystanders' likelihood to intervene on behalf of LGBT victims of crime, found that respondents were significantly more unlikely to intervene on behalf of a gay man or bisexual person compared to a lesbian. These findings speak to gendered notions of the ideal victim (Carlson, 2018, p.95). Gender relations are also foregrounded by differences in the attitudes of male and female respondents, including to gay men.

The portrait of attitudes towards transgender persons painted by the data is complex. Transgender people's freedoms attract less support from respondents, and respondents express the highest levels of social distance from this identity group: respondents to the *Call it Hate* survey were significantly more positive towards having lesbians, bisexual people and gay men as neighbours compared to transgender people. Internationally, Lewis et al. (2017)

suggest that such findings can be explained by lower levels of personal contact with transgender people, compared to gay men and lesbians, highlighting the importance of trans visibility and of connecting trans activism to the wider movement for LGBT rights. In the *Call it Hate* survey, transgender victims of crime (excluding transgender sex workers) fare better with respect to empathy and likelihood of intervention than might be anticipated given their relative ranking with respect to social distance. One possibility is that although respondents were arguably less accepting of gender non-conformity than non-heterosexual orientations, they perceive transgender people to be more vulnerable than, for example, gay men, and therefore more deserving of empathy and intervention. O'Brien (2013) points to the articulation of gender and vulnerability in the social construction of victimhood. Worthen (2013) makes a strong case for asking about public attitudes towards transgender men and women separately. As we have seen in respect to gay men and lesbians, the conflation of identities can hide important variations in public attitudes.

Among respondents to the *Call it Hate* survey, bisexual people were sometimes perceived similarly to gay men (e.g. in respect to intervention), but in other cases similarly to lesbians (e.g. in respect to empathy). In other research, Eliason (1997) found that a large minority of their respondents agreed that bisexual people were more likely to have "flexible attitudes to sex" than gay men or lesbians (36% agreed/42% disagreed) and more likely to have one partner at a time than gay men or lesbians (27% agreed/33% disagreed). Mohr and Rochlen (1997) underscore the range of specific stereotypes which can underlie negative attitudes towards bisexuality in particular. It is therefore worth emphasising that biphobia may impact the willingness of bystanders to intervene in ways which are distinct from homophobia. However, given evidence of the gendered character of attitudes towards bisexual people (Eliason 1997; Mohr and Rochlen 1999), the inability to distinguish between attitudes towards bisexual woman and men must be recognised as a significant limitation in interpreting the findings of the *Call it Hate* survey with respect to bisexual people.

Findings regarding willingness to intervene indicate that respondents may perceive hierarchies of victimhood not only among LGBT identities, but also among minority identities more generally. Respondents were less willing to intervene on behalf of LGBT people than people with a disability, but more likely to intervene for LGBT persons than on behalf of members of Ireland's indigenous ethnic minority, Irish Travellers. Moving from identities to behaviours, the data suggests cultural criteria for the assessment of blameworthiness, which impact respondents' evaluations of crime victims' deservedness. Drunken LGBT persons who are assaulted near a bar attract significantly less empathy than those assaulted on the street, whilst shopping, by a stranger, or by an extremist group. Thus, the public performance of queerness is arguably interpreted within a broader framework of cultural values, which, as Christie (1986) might put it, define 'virtuous behaviour' as required of 'deserving' victims.

Steffens and Wagner's (2004, p.137) research, conducted in a German context, found that attitudes towards homosexuality and LGB rights are influenced by gender, age and education, with women, younger people, and more highly educated people being more positively disposed. The *Call it Hate* survey enabled us to investigate these patterns with respect to Ireland. Education was found to have little impact on attitudes to LGBT persons. However gender proved to be significant. Across every category of identity, women were more likely to be positively disposed towards LGBT freedoms than men.

We were surprised to find no clear correlation between youth and more liberal attitudes to LGBT persons in Ireland given young people's mobilisation in response to the Marriage Equality referendum of 2015 where 27,633 young people registered to vote in the lead up to the referendum (Healy, 2015). In fact, people aged 25-34 were most likely to disagree with freedoms across all LGBT identity groups and were most likely to express discomfort with having a transgender person as a neighbour. This is a disconcerting finding and perhaps reflects young Irish LGBT people's own continued experiences of homophobic, biphobic and transphobic bullying within their peer group (Department of Children and Youth Affairs, 2018). It is worth noting that positive developments with respect to the introduction of programs to address homophobia and transphobia within the school curriculum (Department of Children and Youth Affairs, 2018) have arguably been introduced too recently to have had effect on the youngest cohorts participating in the *Call it Hate* Survey.

Tackling homophobic hate crime is a stated priority of the LGBT community in Ireland (National LGBT Federation, 2016). It is of concern therefore that the findings of the *Call it Hate* survey for Ireland suggest that a sizable proportion of the general population perceive that Ireland is a relatively safe and inclusive environment for LGBT people. Equally, and given that the particular harms of hate crime are now well established in international research (Brown, Walters, Paterson and Fearn, 2017; Williams and Tregidga, 2013), it is of additional concern that only a small majority of respondents to the *Call it Hate* survey understood that where LGBT people are targeted for their identity this has particularly detrimental impacts on their wellbeing. We reiterate that 15% of respondents disagreed that hate crime has additional harms and a further 28% were unsure. Nonetheless, gaps in public awareness of hate crime and its impacts must be understood in the context of the jurisdiction's lack of hate crime legislation. As the authors point out in previous research (Haynes and Schweppe, 2017b) on the treatment of hate crime in the Irish criminal justice system, to all effects and purposes, hate crime does not exist as a legal construct in Ireland. These points aside, the majority of respondents did favour stronger penalties for hate crimes.

## 7. Conclusions

In line with ESS data, *Call it Hate* survey data for Ireland portrays an increasingly progressive and open society with respect to LGBT rights and freedoms generally. We reiterate Steffens and Wagner's (2004) cautionary note however that respondents are increasingly adverse to expressing what they may perceive will be evaluated as less socially acceptable attitudes. As such, questions probing more intimate levels of engagement with LGBT persons might reveal additional layers to or limitations upon Irish respondents' inclusivity. Certainly, ESS data suggests increasing polarisation of attitudes towards gay men and lesbians. The *Call it Hate* survey for Ireland provides additional insights into distinctive attitudes towards gay men, lesbians and transgender persons as separate identity groups. We find that gay men are often perceived as less deserving of empathy and intervention. Transgender people attract greater empathy, but their freedoms are less well supported and they experience the greatest degree of social distance. Following Eliason (1997) The *Call it Hate* survey recognises the existence of biphobia as a distinct category of prejudice within Irish society. We find evidence of a hierarchy of victimhood wherein the 'blameworthiness' of victims of crime is evaluated in determining their 'deservedness'. We note that most respondents are positively disposed towards penalising hate motivations, including with respect to sexual orientation and transgender status, but the data demonstrate important gaps in the general population's knowledge of the harms of hate crime. As significantly, the *Call it Hate* survey provides empirical evidence of a gap between a widely held public perception of Ireland as a relatively safe and inclusive country for LGBT people, and documented evidence of ongoing experiences of homophobic and transphobic hate crimes.

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## Recommendations

- Develop a public awareness raising campaign to highlight the realities of anti-LGBT hate crime in Ireland, taking account of differences in empathy for different identity categories.
- Develop a public awareness raising campaign to inform people regarding the additional harms of hate crime and counter victim-blaming discourses.
- Argue for the continued development of curricular interventions at all levels of education to address homophobia, biphobia and transphobia.
- Introduce legislative provisions to address homophobic, biphobic and transphobic hate crime, as well as other manifestations of hate crime.
- Explore the potential for a campaign to raise awareness of hate crime as a cross-community issue, including with people with disabilities and those who are subjected to racist hate crime.
- Argue for state funding to support the regular repetition (at least every 5 years) of the LGBT Ireland report, which addresses both majority attitudes to LGBT identities and LGBT experiences.
- Argue for the regular collection of data on LGBT experiences of hate crime and their experiences of bystander intervention.
- Make representations to the ESS for the disaggregation of measures of attitudes towards lesbians and gay men, as well as to include specific questions with respect to attitudes to transgender and bisexual persons.
- Argue for the funding of campaigns, such as TENI's 2014 'Positive Visibility Matters' campaign, which have the potential to address social distance with respect to LGBT identity groups.
- Argue for the funding of additional research to achieve a deeper understanding of the age and gender related dynamics of attitudes towards LGBT persons.

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