

Abstract

Underreporting of discrimination cases and hate crimes based on sexual orientation is an ever-growing phenomenon in the Netherlands. Previous research has been conducted on general reasons for the underreporting of crimes and for police attitudes towards the queer community. Research, however, is missing on how queer victims perceive the enforcement of legislation by the police and how this impacts their reporting behaviour in discrimination cases. Furthermore, no research has been found evaluating alternative reporting agencies in the Netherlands and their function based on queer victims' use. This thesis, therefore, aims at filling these gaps by answering the research question: How is queer victims' propensity to report a discrimination case or a hate crime impacted by their perception of the enforcement of the legal framework around these crimes in the Netherlands by the police or by alternative reporting bodies? Through an interdisciplinary approach integrating law and psychology this research question is analysed via a mixed-method approach of doctrinal analysis and thematic analysis of semi-structured interviews. The thesis finds that queer victims in the Netherlands perceive the police as not acting fairly and respectfully in many situations involving queer victims and as having different values and interests at heart from the ones of the queer community. This results in non-reporting behaviour as the police is perceived as lacking legitimacy. On the contrary, perceptions of alternative reporting strategies are mainly positive, even though they lack visibility and, consequently, efficacy in their current way of functioning.

Keywords: (under)reporting, sexual orientation, legislation on discrimination, police, alternative reporting agencies

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List of Abbreviations

AwGB	Algemene wet gelijke behandeling (Dutch General Equal Treatment Act)
CdE	Conseil de l'Europe (Council of Europe)
EU	European Union
Gw.	Grondwet voor her Koninkrijk der Nederlanden (Dutch Constitution)
PJ	Procedural Justice
SIT	Social Identity Theory
<i>Sr</i>	Wetboek van Strafrecht (Dutch Criminal Code)
<i>Sv</i>	Wetboek van Strafvordering (Dutch Code of Criminal Procedure)
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
Wga	Wet gemeentelijke antidiscriminatievoorzieningen (Municipal Anti-Discrimination Services Act)

**Breaking the Silence: The Unspoken Truth of (Under)Reporting Discrimination Cases
based on Sexual Orientation in the Netherlands**

Since 2017, registered discrimination cases based on sexual orientation in the Netherlands have increased, reaching up to 2,113 in 2021 (Seidler et al., 2024, p. 42). As of 2022, sexual orientation is the second-most common ground on which discrimination occurs in the Netherlands, surpassed only by ethnicity (Statista, 2023). However, the LGBTI Survey conducted in 2019 throughout all EU states, shows 89% of people in the LGBTI community in the Netherlands not reporting discriminations committed against them (FRA, 2019).

Discrimination can appear in many forms, some being criminalised, others not. For example, in the areas of employment or housing, cases of discrimination may arise, but they are usually not criminalised. On the contrary, generic criminal offenses involving a discriminatory aspect fall under criminal law (Wetboek van Strafrecht, 2007, art. 137(c)-137(g)). Nonetheless, these are still frequent in the Netherlands, and 71% of victims of crimes related to their sexual orientation still do not report them (FRA, 2019). Reasons for not reporting vary from not trusting the police (13%), to believing that, even with reporting to the police, nothing would happen (36%) or even fearing homophobic or transphobic reactions from the police (13%) (FRA, 2019). These facts show how dangerous and complicated the situation in the Netherlands is and showcase the importance of understanding the perceptions of the victims which affect reporting and prevent them from seeking justice for the offences they suffered.

For the purpose of this research the focus will be set on victims' sexual orientation and not their gender identity. Consequently, the term "queer" will be used to refer to all sexual orientations, but not gender identities such as transgender, as those are partially governed by different laws that fall beyond the scope of this thesis.

Societal Relevance

In 2001, the Netherlands was the first state to allow for same-sex marriages and has, also due to the European Union (EU), progressive anti-discrimination and hate crime laws based on sexual orientation (Netherlands, 2021; ILGA-Europe, 2023). Nonetheless, many of these cases remain unreported and the offenders go unpunished, which creates questions as to the effectiveness of the legal system. Underreporting is not just negative for the victims but has an adverse impact on the whole of society. Punishing an offender is necessary to raise awareness of the problem within society and helps prevent the same and other offenders from committing similar crimes (Keiler & Roef, 2015, p. 23). Not reporting the crime, however, prevents all this from happening.

Furthermore, reporting crimes is necessary by law enforcement and non-governmental agencies to create statistics and research which are crucial to highlight, in particular to policy and legislation makers, the areas where work still needs to be done. Particularly with discrimination, these statistics are necessary to hold the police and the public prosecution accountable on the investigation and prosecution of these cases by comparing the number of reported crimes to the ones prosecuted (Myers, 1980, p. 24). In the Netherlands in 2022, 2,476 hate crimes were recorded by the police, but only 81 were prosecuted (*Netherlands | HCRW*, 2022). Given the high rate of underreporting, there exist a huge gap between the crimes happening and offenders punished. This highlights the importance of reporting and the inherent connection with the belief of the victims that the system protects them if they do.

The issue is also relevant for society as a whole. A society in which an important part of the population is discriminated against is not a free society, but instead one in which the free exercise of every individual's rights is compromised (CdE n.d.). The discrimination of certain minority groups can result in severe oppressions and a complete disregard of fundamental human rights and the exercise of individual's full potential for themselves and for society. It is,

therefore, essential to research and explore such an issue to understand how to approach it and possibly solve it.

Academic Relevance

Previous studies have been conducted to understand the levels of underreporting of sexual-orientation-bias crimes where progressive legal frameworks exist. A study by Briones-Robinson et al. (2016) found that, in the United States, victims of sexual-orientation-bias crimes perceive the police as biased and their confidence in them is low, resulting in low reporting behaviour (p. 1704). There have been no similar studies conducted in the Netherlands despite statistical evidence of underreporting in the country. Furthermore, little prior research considers possible psychological explanations of perceptions of the police by looking merely at collaborative and not, specifically, at reporting behaviour (Stenek et al., 2022). This thesis seeks to fill this gap by focusing on queer victims' reporting behaviour in the Netherlands through a legal and psychological lens.

Furthermore, some research has been conducted to evaluate alternative reporting bodies to the police, however, this was done only broadly and not specific to types of discrimination (Struik et al., 2012). This thesis aims, therefore, to fill this gap by looking specifically at victims of sexual-orientation-bias discrimination, their knowledge of alternative reporting bodies active in the state and their attitudes and perceptions of them. The goal of this thesis is consequently to gain a comprehensive knowledge of the phenomenon of underreporting of discrimination cases and hate crimes based on sexual orientation in the Netherlands, particularly from the victims' perspective.

Interdisciplinarity

In order to achieve the goals set out above, the integration of the disciplines of law and psychology is necessary. Indeed, analysing laws offers the possibility to understand the ideal scenario that should be at play every time a discrimination case, and possibly a connected hate

crime, occurs, by providing the framework on which victims should be able to rely on when reporting an offense. At the same time, however, reality often plays out in a different manner than what the laws dictate, even more so if the crimes never get reported and the laws, therefore, are never put into practice. To measure the efficacy of laws, empirical data (e.g., of interviews) analysing how these laws play out in reality is needed (Hutchinson, 2016, p. 137).

On that basis, psychology provides the framework to analyse how victims' attitudes and perceptions towards reporting bodies and towards the legal framework influence their reporting behaviour and consequently the concrete choice they make on reporting. An integrated approach is, therefore, necessary to gather insights both on what the ideal scenario is, and what actually happens in society, so as to shed light on what causes this divergence and suggest ways to approach and possibly solve it.

Research Question

This thesis aims to analyse the phenomenon of discrimination cases and hate crimes based on sexual orientation by seeking to answer the research question: How is queer victims' propensity to report a discrimination case or a hate crime impacted by their perception of the enforcement of the legal framework around these crimes in the Netherlands by the police or by alternative reporting bodies?

To answer this the following sub-questions will be addressed: (1) What protocols should the Dutch police follow when handling hate crimes and discrimination submissions by queer people? (2) How do queer victims' perceptions of the police influence their decision to report discrimination cases and hate crimes? (3) Are queer victims aware of the alternatives to reporting to the police and what is the perception of their efficacy?

The thesis will first provide the legal framework in the Netherlands for discrimination and hate crimes based on sexual orientation, as well as for the existence of alternative reporting agencies. It will then present a psychological framework theorising how perceived social

identities and perceived procedural justice influence victims' reporting behaviour. Through a mix-method approach this thesis will present its analysis and discuss policy recommendations and limitations of the current research.

Theoretical Framework

Anti-Discrimination Laws Based on Sexual Orientation in the Netherlands

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) affirms the principle of equal treatment which condemns discrimination on any grounds (UN General Assembly, 1948, art. 7). Even though sexual orientation is not specifically mentioned, the queer community is protected from discrimination as the UN Secretary General António Guterres confirmed in a general message on May 17th, 2023 (Guterres, 2023). The UDHR is, however, not legally binding and was supplemented with international anti-discrimination treaties. Particularly, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights prohibits discrimination on any ground and promotes equality before the law (UN General Assembly, 1966, art. 26). Considering the monist system of Dutch law, these standards are directly applicable to all persons within the country from the moment they are published, without having to be translated into national law (Grondwet voor her Koninkrijk der Nederlanden, 2023, art. 93). If a national statute conflicts with international treaties, the former is considered not applicable (art. 94).

Under national law, Article 1 of the Constitution (Gw.) prohibits discrimination on any ground, and since 2023 specifically discrimination based on sexual orientation (Grondwet voor her Koninkrijk der Nederlanden, 2023). Anti-discrimination is, therefore, the basis on which individuals can claim their human right to equal treatment necessary to ensure the rule of law. The General Equal Treatment Act of the Kingdom of the Netherlands (AwGB) further expands on this right (Algemene wet gelijke behandeling, 2020). However, the act only applies to those identified strictly as hetero- or homosexual, but not to other types of sexual orientation (ch. 1). Nonetheless, the act has been interpreted more broadly including bisexuality, but still excluding

certain other sexual orientations and not providing legal certainty for anyone identifying as anything other than hetero- or homosexual (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 2024). The act expands on the differences between direct and indirect discrimination and prohibits both. An act counts as “direct discrimination” if a person is treated in a manner different than another in a similar situation is or would be treated on the basis of (...) heterosexual or homosexual orientation (Algemene wet gelijke behandeling, 2020, art. 1(1)(b)). An act counts instead as “indirect discrimination” if an, apparently neutral, provision, measure or mode of action affects persons of (...) heterosexual or homosexual orientation (...) in particular, compared to other persons (art. 1(1)(c)). Article 2 of the Act allows for certain exceptions to the previously mentioned definitions. However, these exceptions only apply to discrimination based on gender, race and nationality and, therefore, discrimination based on heterosexual or homosexual orientation is always prohibited.

Furthermore, the Netherlands has to comply with specific European standards as it is member of the EU and the Council of Europe (CoE). Article 21 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights (2012) prohibits discrimination on any ground and specifically mentioning sexual orientation. The Charter, however, only applies when EU law is implemented. Furthermore, many directives were implemented by the European Commission and transcribed in Dutch law. Specifically, Council Directive 2000/78/EC (2000) prohibits discrimination at work on many grounds including sexual orientation. In 2008, the European Commission issued a Proposal for a Council Directive (2008) on implementing anti-discrimination laws on many grounds, including sexual orientation, applicable to general social protection in both the private and public sector and not only in employment. This directive has, however, been under discussion in the Council for many years and no unanimity has been reached. Many countries claim such a directive to be infringing disproportionately on national states' autonomy (Kuhnke, 2024).

Nonetheless, through the Gw. and the AwGB the Netherlands expands its non-discrimination principle to any area, not just to employment.

Through the CdE (1950), the Netherlands agreed to follow the European Convention on Human Rights which prohibits in Article 14 and Article 1 Protocol 12 discrimination on any ground. Sexual orientation is not specifically mentioned, but the list is non-exhaustive and sexual orientation falls under “other status”. Indeed, the Parliamentary Assembly of the CdE (2010) recognised sexual orientation and gender identity as being grounds on which discrimination is prohibited (para. 2). This has been additionally confirmed through numerous case law of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR, 2023; see for example *Salgueiro da Silva Mouta v. Portugal*, 2000, para. 36; *M.C. and A.C. v. Romania*, 2016, para. 124).

In summary, in the Netherlands, discrimination based on sexual orientation is prohibited in any case. The next section will analyse when discrimination based on sexual orientation becomes a criminal offence.

Dutch Hate Crime Legislation

Instances exist in which a discrimination motive pushes individuals to commit crimes. The difference between biased crimes and nonbiased crimes is that the victims in the former are being targeted intentionally by the bias of the perpetrator towards some characteristic the victims represent (OSCE/ODIHR, 2009, p. 16). These biased crimes are referred to as “hate crimes” and one of the possible characteristics the offender can be biased against is sexual orientation.

In the Netherlands hate crimes fall under the “CODIS-offences”, i.e., “generic offences with a discriminatory aspect” (Van Der Aa et al., 2020, p. 23). The Dutch Criminal Code (*Sr*) provides the grounds of discrimination which fall under the CODIS-offences. Article 90quarter defines “discrimination” as any form of distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference, which has the purpose or results in the recognition, enjoyment or exercise of equality of human rights

and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social or cultural field or in other areas of social life, being nullified or impaired (Wetboek van Strafrecht, 2007, art. 90quarter). Furthermore, Articles 137(c) until 137(g) list all the grounds, including heterosexual and homosexual orientation, on which discrimination is not allowed (art. 137(c)-137(g)).

Through the Prosecutorial Discrimination Guidelines, the legal framework is set out on how to apply and prosecute Articles 137(c) to 137(g) to common criminal offences (Aanwijzing Discriminatie, 2019). If the investigation of such crimes confirms the discriminatory aspect, the offender's punishment is aggravated by the bias of the crime. This will be discussed in the analysis of sub-question 1.

Depending on the crime committed and on whether this is the first offense of the perpetrator the punishment can vary. The guidelines thereof are set out in the Criminal Procedure Directive on Discrimination (Richtlijn voor Strafvordering Discriminatie, 2015). This directive prescribes that for first offences the punishment is normally a fine varying from 350€ to 1,000€, depending on the offence (e.g., art. 137(f): participating in discriminatory activities is punished less than art. 137(c): hate speech) and on who committed the offence, i.e., if a legal entity committed the offence the fine is considerably higher. Furthermore, if this is not the first offence, the fines increase and can even amount to prison time. These punishments are given on top of the punishment for the generic offence committed.

Even though the *Sr*, and, as mentioned above, the *AwGB*, only explicitly mention heterosexual and homosexual orientation, this term has been interpreted broadly including other orientations such as bisexuality, especially since the introduction of sexual orientation in the *Gw*. (Nieuwenhuis & Janssens, 2019). For example, the Court of The Hague has ruled that refusing someone's visa application due to their bisexuality is a discriminatory offence (Eiser v. Staatssecretaris van Justitie en Veiligheid, 2019, para. 4.3). Furthermore, the House of Representatives of the States General has proposed amendments to both legislations to include

sexual orientation as a whole so as to avoid confusion and assure legal certainty (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 2024). These amendments are still under consideration.

In summary, as can be seen in Table 1, the Netherlands uses discriminatory aspects as aggravating circumstances for generic offences laid down in Dutch legislation. Taking this into consideration, the question arises whether such a framework is effective in protecting victims of hate crimes based on sexual orientation, especially considering the level of underreporting in the Netherlands.

Table 1

Systematic Representations of Relevant Laws Applicable in the Netherlands.

Name of the Law	Content	Relevant Articles
International Legislation		
Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)	Principle of equal treatment and equality before the law – Prohibition of discrimination on any ground.	Art. 7
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)	Principle of non-discrimination on any grounds and equality before the law.	Art. 26
European Legislation		
Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2012)	Prohibition of discrimination on any grounds, specifically on sexual orientation – only applicable when implementing EU law.	Art. 21
Council Directive 2000/78/EC (2000)	Prohibition of discrimination on any grounds including sexual orientation in the workplace.	Art. 1
Proposal of Council Directive {SEC (2008) 2180} { SEC(2008) 2181 } (2008)	Proposal to have a directive on implementing equal treatment and non-discrimination principles (including sexual orientation) as general social protection not only in employment.	Art. 1-3
European Convention on Human Rights (1950)	Prohibition of discrimination on any ground, sexual orientation not explicitly in the list, but protected through case law and in parliamentary assembly.	Art. 14, Art. 1 Protocol 12

Name of the Law	Content	Relevant Articles
National Legislation		
Constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands (Grondwet voor her Koninkrijk der Nederlanden) (2023)	Non-discrimination on any ground, specifically sexual orientation + monist character of the country.	Art. 1, 93-94
General Equal Treatment Act (Algemene wet gelijke behandeling) (2020)	Definition of direct and indirect discrimination, applicability only to hetero- and homosexual orientation.	Ch. 1, Art. 1(1)(b) - (c), 2
Dutch Criminal Code (Wetboek van Strafrecht) (2007)	Definition of discriminatory aspects and grounds for discrimination that result in hate crimes and hate speech.	Art. 90quarter, 137(c)-(g)
Dutch Prosecutorial Discrimination Guidelines (Aanwijzing Discriminatie) (2019)	Legal framework for investigation and prosecution of discrimination cases.	Art. 2.2, 3.2
Dutch Criminal Procedure Directive on Discrimination (Richtlijn voor Strafvordering Discriminatie) (2015)	Guidelines on specific aggravated punishments for offenses involving discriminatory aspects.	Basiscasu s/delict
Amendment of the Criminal Code and the General Equal Treatment Act (2024)	Proposed amendments to Dutch Criminal Code and the General Equal Treatment Act to substitute the terms hetero- and homosexual orientation with sexual orientation.	
Municipal Anti-Discrimination Services Act (Wet gemeentelijke antidiscriminatie voorzieningen) (2020)	Act mandating the existence of independent bodies to which discrimination cases can be reported in every municipality.	Art. 1, 2(1)(a)-(b)

Alternative Reporting Agencies

The first step to have an effective application of the legal framework discussed above is reporting the discrimination cases. This can be done specifically in two ways: either by reporting to the police, how exactly this method works and what it implies will be discussed in the analysis section, or by using alternative agencies specifically created to report discrimination cases.

The existence of these agencies in the Netherlands is mandated by law in the Municipal Anti-Discrimination Services Act (Wga) (Wet gemeentelijke antidiscrimatievoorzieningen, 2020). The act was introduced in 2009 to combat underreporting of discrimination cases by legally mandating every municipality to have anti-discrimination services easily accessible to everyone (art. 1). These services need to comply with two statutory obligations: (1) they have to provide independent assistance to persons in the settlement of their complaints (art. 2(1)(a)); and (2) they need to register the complaint (art. 2(1)(b)). To achieve the first task certain steps are necessary. Firstly, the independence of these bodies entails that, even though they receive funding from the municipalities, these bodies do not fall under governmental or municipal authority (Errens & Derraz, 2010, p. 1). Secondly, assistance entails that these bodies listen to every complaint, advise on the possible next steps and normally take these steps together with the victims (Rijksoverheid, 2023, p. 7). The second task involves a more straightforward approach of keeping track of all the complaints received in order to write an annual report for the municipalities and the government (p. 7). This entails that these agencies work independently from the police but assist the victims in case they decide to report the event to the police as well.

Several anti-discrimination agencies were created through this act. In general, these agencies work for all types of discrimination possible and do not focus on specific grounds. The overarching agency working in the Netherlands is *discriminatie.nl*, previously known as *Discriminatie Meldpunt* (Ollongren et al., 2017, p. 58). It works primarily through its website which provides a simple function to report a discrimination case efficiently and rapidly (*discriminatie.nl*, 2024). Furthermore, the website offers a detailed overview of most of the other agencies existing in the country divided by region (*Archief Antidiscriminatie bureau's*, 2024). In compliance with the Wga, *discriminatie.nl* provides assistance for the next steps to take after a victim reports (*discriminatie.nl*, 2024). A senior policy officer from *discriminatie.nl*

explained that the organisation, upon receiving the complaint, gets in contact with the victim, advises them on the next steps, and proceeds to mediate with the police, if the victims desire it, or possibly directly with the offender, if the victims do not wish to take judicial steps (F. Sewbaks, personal communication, May 6, 2024).

The effectiveness of these agencies was measured in 2012 and it found that the implementation of the act resulted in the successful creation of accessible facilities to report, register and receive assistance (Struik et al., 2012, p. 8). However, the study also showed that the implementation of this act did not manage to lower the level of underreporting in the Netherlands. Furthermore, statistics have shown that the queer community tends to rarely report to these agencies and make use of their service (Van Bon & Mink, 2016, p. 38). Consequently, this thesis will analyse the opinions of victims of discrimination crimes based on sexual orientation to understand why the use they make of these agencies is low and what their perceptions of these bodies is.

Underreporting as a Phenomenon

The first step to be able to assess whether the legal framework analysed above is effective is the analysis of queer victims' (non-)reporting behaviour. For a law to be effective, it needs to be first and foremost enforced by the police, which can only happen if victims report the crime.

Academic research has focused on studying reasons for underreporting domestic and sexual violence (see for example Felson et al., 2002). Victims in these situations have been found to be reluctant in reporting for reasons such as privacy concerns or fear of reprisal (p. 640). However, when it comes to sexual orientation little research has been conducted on such crimes, and even less on the victims of these crimes and their reporting behaviour.

Previous literature has shown that, when making the decision about whether to collaborate or not with the police, and consequently whether to trust the police with

investigating a crime and reporting it, people are influenced by their perception of the police's legitimacy (Hazen & Brank, 2023, p. 957). The following sub-sections will analyse this legitimacy firstly through the perceived social identity of the police and subsequently through the perceived procedural justice exercised by the police.

Convergence of Police and Victims' Values – Social Identity Theory

Research has often focused on explaining human behaviour in relation to the groups people identify with. In particular, social identity theory (SIT) claims that people define themselves in relation to the social groups towards which they feel a sense of belonging (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 56). These categorizations within social groups are driven by attributes and norms of the different individuals within a certain group that distinguish them from those of another (Mcleod, 2023, p. 2). By belonging to a group, individuals start to increasingly identify with the characteristics, values and behaviour of this group. This ultimately leads to individuals favouring their ingroup to their outgroups when relating to other people (Hazen & Brank, 2023, p. 958).

This model has been used in prior research to explain intergroup conflicts especially when it comes to prejudice and discrimination. The relevance this theory presents to this thesis is on the analysis of the police and the queer community as two separate social groups, possibly in conflict with each other. In their study, Abril et al. (2022) demonstrated that the distrust of the police by civilians is connected to the civilians' perceptions of fairness and convergence of values between them and the police (p. 3). During discrimination cases a lack of convergence might be perceived, especially when there is a victimization of the offended party by the police. A discrepancy between values of queer victims and the police is also rooted in historical experiences (Dwyer, 2014, p. 5).

In this area, research has focused specifically on studying police attitudes towards victims of sexual-orientation-bias crimes. Lyons et al. (2005) explain the misconduct of police

officers in sexual-orientation-bias crimes through predominantly homophobic attitudes within the force (p. 6). Furthermore, when the queer characteristics of the victims are more clearly visible, heterosexist attitudes in the police tend to prevail and the behaviour tends to align accordingly (Bernstein & Kostelac, 2002, p. 322). The perception by the victim of homophobic values within the force will, according to SIT, inevitably cause victims to identify the police as an outgroup which results in distrust and unlikelihood of reporting discrimination cases.

The (partially) historically derived categorization of the police and the queer community in two different social groups, with divergent values, can be seen as a possible explanation for queer victims' underreporting behaviour. SIT will, consequently, be used to explore queer victims' perceptions of police values that make them either part of the same or of different social groups.

Perception of Fairness in Police Conduct - Procedural Justice Theory

Deriving from the legal sphere, the term "procedural justice" (PJ) has been used in social psychology to define the process of "how people's perception of fairness is strongly impacted by the quality of their experiences and not only the end result of these experiences" (Yale Law School, n.d.).

According to Tyler (2010) people tend to develop negative opinions of the police if their previous interaction with them resulted in negative experiences (p. 94). To judge the experience as positive or negative the interpersonal encounter between the civilian and the police is observed. If the police acted fairly and respectfully, the experience will be deemed as procedurally just and the legitimacy of the police will likely be established (Koster, 2016, p. 203). The fairness of the police can be judged by the collaborator either objectively, by knowing the applicable laws and procedures and seeing whether they are being upheld, or subjectively, by perceiving (in)justice, if the laws are unknown (p. 204). If victims perceive the police as

acting unfairly, their perception of PJ decreases and there is an increase in non-collaborative behaviour (Stanek et al., 2022, p. 873).

Previous studies have mostly focused on evaluating collaborative behaviour that does not necessitate the collaborator to be the victim. In the case of reporting, this is an added challenge. A study by Wolff & Cokely (2007) specifically focuses on the queer community's prior experience with the police in Minnesota. The study demonstrated, through an empirical analysis of incident reports, the mainly negative responses of the police (e.g., disrespectful acts or denial of help to victims) to hate crimes against the queer community (p. 12). This most likely results in a lack of confidence by the victims in the police and a belief that the police will either not do anything or not take victims seriously (Sandholtz et al., 2013, p. 6; Fisher et al., 2003, p. 26). This thesis hypothesises that such a perceived lack of fairness and respect in police conduct will have a negative effect on victims' reporting behaviour. It will, therefore, use PJ theory to explore whether not only collaborative behaviour, but also reporting behaviour can be predicted by victims' evaluation of the police conduct subjectively or objectively based on the legislation presented above.

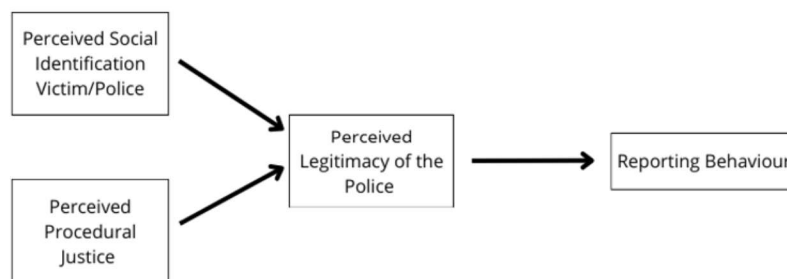
Combination of Social Identity and Procedural Justice Theories

Taking together SIT and PJ theory, research has shown that people belonging to social groups that are considered minorities in a certain context, tend to feel like they belong to the majority group more when they evaluate their previous interactions with the police as fair and respectful (Bradford, 2014, p. 35). This results in a convergence of values between the police and the individuals, which has the victims perceive a message of inclusion from the police that makes them feel a valued member of the police's ingroup, increasing identification over time and, simultaneously, the legitimacy of the police (Hazen & Brank, 2023, p. 958; Stanek et al., 2022, p. 863). The perceived legitimacy of the police is connected with the feeling that the police can be trusted, and results in making people willing to cooperate (Koster, 2016, p. 203).

The combination of SIT and PJ will be used to explore the relationship between the queer community and the police in the Netherlands which ultimately influences reporting behaviour. Koster's (2016) theoretical model of collaborative behaviour was, thus, adopted, as can be seen in Figure 1, and will be tested in this thesis.

Figure 1

Model of Theoretical Framework.



Intersectionality of Sexual Orientation with Other Parts of Social Identities

Until now this thesis focused on sexual orientation and analysed it as a separate part of an individual's social identity and as the only one to confront with the police's values. Bringing about another perspective on SIT, however, much research has claimed that individual's social identities are intertwined and together play a role in the individual's life experiences (Ferguson, 2021, p. 19). This section will elaborate on the intersectionality between sexual orientation and other parts of victims' social identities and derive its implications for the current research.

In social psychology, social identity is defined as "the part of self-concept that is derived from membership in social groups or categories, ranging from family to nationality or race." (APA Dictionary of Psychology, 2018). Consequently, identities are not clearly separated and homogeneous, and, thus, not all people within one group (e.g., homosexuals) have the same experience, as this is also impacted by other parts of their social identity (Ferguson, 2021, p. 20). In relation to disadvantages and oppressions, different facets of one's social identity interplay and shape how individuals experience the world and inherently how they behave,

especially when faced with difficulties (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1246). Discrimination and hate crimes based on sexual orientation can, therefore, not be analysed in complete isolation from other parts of victims' social identities.

Even though this thesis will focus primarily on sexual orientation as the source of the separation in different social groups of the police and the queer community, an analysis of the relevance of intersectionality will be included when assessing victims' reporting behaviour, especially in relation to other grounds, such as race and nationality, on which discrimination is prohibited, as set out in the *Gw.* and *Sr* of the Netherlands.

Methodology

In order to uncover how, in the Netherlands, queer victims' propensity to report a discrimination case or a hate crime is impacted by their perception of the execution by the police or independent bodies of the legal framework around these crimes this thesis used a mixed-method approach which enables the attainment of a comprehensive knowledge of the phenomenon (Manjengwa, 2020). Considering that in the theoretical framework and in the answers to the sub-questions Dutch laws were analysed, translating tools such as Deepl, Google Translate and the researcher's own knowledge of the language were used to cross reference and have as accurate as possible translations.

Sub-Question 1 – Doctrinal Analysis

The aim of the first sub-question was to understand the protocol the police need to follow when enforcing anti-discrimination and hate crime laws based on sexual orientation. To do this a doctrinal analysis was conducted both on primary and secondary legal sources.

The doctrinal analysis method is necessary to understand and combine the different laws that contain the protocol for the police's responses when discrimination, especially based on sexual orientation, occurs. The method offers the possibility to look at the black letter of the law through primary and secondary sources without expanding on the effect of the laws

themselves (Jerome Hall Law Library, 2019). The understanding and the acknowledgment of the existing laws are the first steps to appreciate what is happening or should happen in society. Nonetheless, doctrinal analysis does not offer a full picture on how these laws are applied. Especially when analysing the conduct of the police, doctrinal analysis provides a challenge as many cases do not reach the state of case law and, therefore, fall beyond the scope of this research method. The sample of sources used for this sub-question is, consequently, limited to public legal sources necessary to understand the theory of the police protocols. The practical application of these laws becomes relevant in sub-question 2.

Sub-Questions 2 & 3 – Thematic Analysis of Interviews

In order to understand queer victims' perceptions of the police and their reason to (not) report discrimination, as well as to discover victims' awareness and opinions of alternative reporting agencies, semi-structured interviews were conducted. 10 interviews were held with victims of discrimination cases and hate crimes based on sexual orientation. The interviews functioned as a complementary method to the doctrinal analysis by integrating legal knowledge into a sociolegal analysis of the playout of laws in society and a psychological analysis of victims' perceptions. Furthermore, they were deemed as the most suitable method as they provided the possibility to go in depth with each interviewee and try to understand the whole picture of their personal stories.

Sampling

A convenience sampling method was used by surveying newspaper articles and getting in contact with victims of such cases found through these articles. Furthermore, announcements were placed on social media platforms such as Instagram, Facebook and Reddit giving the possibility for victims to reach out to the researcher. The sample was determined based on certain conditions: (1) the participants were legal adults, (2) they had been victims of a discrimination case, or a hate crime based on their sexual orientation, (3) the discrimination

had occurred in the Netherlands, and (4) at the time of the interview the participants lived in the Netherlands. Table 2 presents the general demographics of the participants. The final sample included 4 male, 3 female and 3 non-binary participants varying from age 20 to 61, with the most common discrimination suffered being hate speech.

Table 2

Demographics and Types of Discrimination of Interviewees.

	Age	Gender	Sexual Orientation	Nationality	Type of Discrimination	Report police	Report alternative
Interviewee 1	38	Male/Gender non-conforming	Gay	American	Hate speech, assault, theft	Yes	No
Interviewee 2	21	Non-binary	Lesbian	Italian	Hate speech	No	No
Interviewee 3	21	Female	Lesbian	Lithuanian	Hate speech	No	No
Interviewee 4	34	Male	Gay	Dutch	Hate speech, property damage, trespass	Yes	Yes
Interviewee 5	36	Cis-Male	Gay	Swiss-Italian	Hate speech, assault	Yes	No
Interviewee 6	22	Female	Bisexual/Queer	German	Discriminatory comments, trespass	No	No
Interviewee 7	21	Female	Lesbian/Queer	Spanish	Discriminatory comments	No	No
Interviewee 8	20	Non-binary	Bisexual	Romanian	Discriminatory comments, property damage	No	No
Interviewee 9	61	Male (Female)	Gay	Australian-Dutch	Hate speech, assault	Yes	Yes
Interviewee 10	21	Non-binary	Gay	Lithuanian	Hate speech	No	No

Material

The interviews started with demographic questions about the participants and then delved into the research topic. Due to the semi-structured nature of the interviews an interview guide was created (see Appendix A). However, this is a non-exhaustive list of questions that were asked. Variations occurred based on the sensitive topic, the personal experiences of the victims and clarifying questions to fully understand the participants' responses.

Generally, the interviews were divided into four main parts. First, general knowledge about the discrimination and hate crime laws based on sexual orientation was assessed, as well as the participants' perceptions of the enforcement of these laws. Second, the participants were asked to elaborate on their personal case of discrimination and asked whether they reported it to the police. Based on their reporting behaviour, in the third part victims were asked either for reasons why they reported and their experience with the police, or for reasons for not reporting and their perception of the police. Fourth, participants were asked to answer questions about their awareness of alternative reporting agencies in the Netherlands as well as their opinion of them. The interviews ended with questions about policy recommendations.

Procedure

After sampling the participant an interview schedule was created, counting approximately 20 to 40 minutes per interview. Before the interview each participant was asked to fill in a consent form to allow for an audio recording of the interviews, that was then transcribed and deleted (see Appendix B). The interviewees' answers were then anonymised and analysed using thematic analysis.

Ethical Considerations

Due to the sensitive topic of the research each participant was informed beforehand about possible triggers in the questions and were asked to sign a consent form. Furthermore, the participants were advised that they could refrain from answering a question without any explanation and could decide to interrupt their participation at any point during the interview. A two-week period was allowed for the participants to withdraw their participation. The consent form also specified that the answers would only be used for research purposes, they would be anonymised, and the recording would be deleted right after transcribing the interview.

Thematic Analysis

A thematic analysis was conducted using the software Atlas.ti to evaluate the responses of the interviews according to the step-by-step guidelines by Braun and Clarke (2008). After a first thorough reading of all the interviews, a second reading was conducted to create codes using the theoretical framework as a start for identifying people's perception of the police and the enforcement of laws and opinions on alternative reporting bodies. Thereafter the codes were expanded based on other emerging patterns. The third phase aimed at finding uniting themes for the codes that were used as the main focus during the presentation of the final analysis and discussion. Appendix C provides the table with the results of the thematic analysis. Appendix D furthermore includes the coded and anonymised transcripts of each interview in chronological order.

Analysis and Discussion

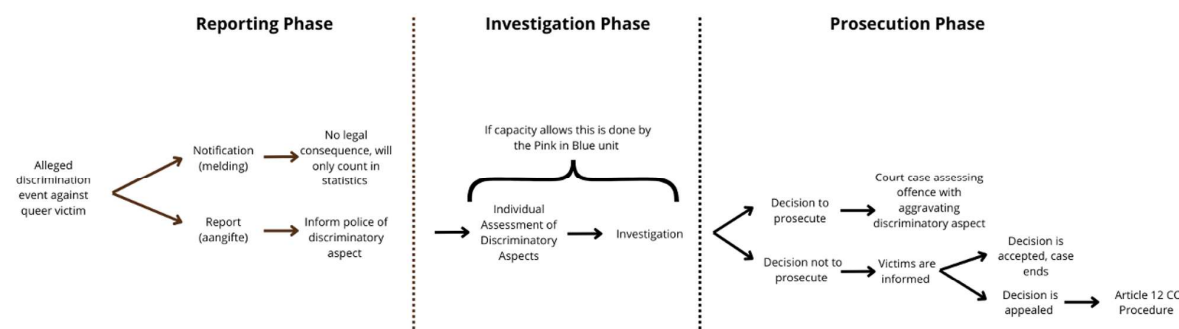
The following sections will provide answers to the research sub-questions. Once all three sub-questions are analysed and their relations to previous studies are discussed, the answer to the main research question will be provided. Finally, policy recommendations will be proposed.

Sub-Question 1 – Police Protocol

When a discrimination case or hate crime occurs and the choice is made to report this, the straightforward common avenue is to report to the police. The following sections will analyse what protocols the police should follow when enforcing the laws presented in the theoretical framework. Most of these protocols apply to all types of discrimination and hate crimes. There are, however, some specifics that apply only to discrimination cases based on sexual orientation. Figure 2 represents a simplified graphical representation of the procedures the police should follow which is explained in the following sub-sections.

Figure 2

Graphical Representation of Police Protocols after Discrimination Report.



Reporting

When a victim chooses to report a case of discrimination to the police, the first step is to decide between a report (aangifte) or a notification (melding) (Van Der Aa et al., 2020, p. 11). Article 161 of the Code of Criminal Procedure (*Sv*) establishes reports as a legal concept that, therefore, needs to be followed by an investigation and cannot be done anonymously nor online (Wetboek van Strafvordering, 2024, art. 161). Notifications, on the other hand, are not an established legal concept and have merely the function to inform the police of a specific situation but will not be followed by any procedure (Politie.nl, n.d.-b). These can be done online and anonymously and allow victims to have the crime recorded, without an investigation taking place (*Meldformulier Discriminatie*, n.d.; Van Der Aa et al., 2020, p. 11). Victims need to be made aware of this difference by the police and need to take a conscious decision as to which of the two options they choose to follow (Aanwijzing Discriminatie, 2019, art. 2.1). When victims report, they or anyone else that believes a discriminatory aspect was present need to make the police aware of it immediately (art. 2.3). This has to be done by referring to the anti-discrimination provisions in the AwGB for civil law disputes (art. 1(1)(a)-(b)) or in the *Sr* for criminal law disputes (art. 137(c)-(g)).

Investigation Procedure

If victims decide to report, the following step will constitute the commencement of the investigation which needs to be initiated by the police (Aanwijzing Discriminatie, 2019, art. 2.2). In this phase the police need to follow an individual assessment to judge whether victims believe that prejudice or a discrimination aspect was the motivation behind the offence and they necessitate special protection (Besluit Slachtooffers van Strafbare Feiten, 2016, art. 10). Following the individual assessment the police, under the supervision of the public prosecution service, will investigate the alleged discrimination (Wetboek van Strafvordering, 2024, art. 156).

What differentiates partially the procedure for queer victims is the existence of a specific body of the police called Pink in Blue (in Dutch: Roze in Blauw). The Pink in Blue is the unit in the Dutch police that are themselves part of the queer community and to which victims of discrimination based on their sexual orientation can turn (Politie.nl, n.d.-a). The body was created in order to facilitate victim's reporting and provides specialised officers in responding to sensitive offences. Pink in Blue are only the body responsible for the reporting and investigation of discrimination cases and hate crimes if capacity allows.

When first created in 1998 Pink in Blue was positively received by the queer community and the public at large (Colvin, 2020, p. 59). It was originally created due to the Gay Games that took place in Amsterdam with the aim of showing that the Dutch police support and protect the queer community in the country (Sczymecki, 2014, p. 5). With time, the role of the unit evolved to encourage victims of discrimination cases to report to them and to ensure the safety of the queer community (p. 6). The police itself believes this unit to be fundamental to protect the queer community in the Netherlands, strengthening their relations with the public at large, and it is confident in its abilities (Klaassen, 2024). Nonetheless, the unit struggles with staff shortage, especially because working in this unit comes on top of the regular work as police officers. Furthermore, many queer victims believe that not just queer officers, but all

police officers should be trained in responding to sensitive situations like theirs (Van der Aa et al., 2020, pp. 87-93). Since there are mixed opinions about this unit, a further evaluation of it, from the victims' perspectives, will be presented in sub-question 2.

Prosecution

Following the investigation by the police (either the general unit or Pink in Blue) on the data submitted in the individual assessment and other factors such as the seriousness of the fact, the social unrest among (parts of) the population, etc., described in Article 3.2 Aanwijzing Discriminatie (2019), the Public Prosecution Service decides whether the prosecution of the offence will take place (Wetboek van Strafvordering, 2024, art. 167). If the case is prosecuted the judge will have to determine whether it fulfils all the statutory provisions of the offence committed and whether the offence was motivated by a bias against the victim as defined in the articles presented above (Ringnalda & Kool, 2012, p. 56). If the case is not prosecuted, the victims have the right to be informed in writing of such a decision and its motivation (Wetboek van Strafvordering, 2024, art. 51ac). If the victims disagree with the decision not to prosecute, they can file a complaint with a court according to Article 12 of the Sv (art. 12). The complaint will be submitted to the court of appeal that will judge whether the case should be reopened and prosecuted.

Sub-Question 2 – Victims' Perception of Police and Reporting Behaviour

The following section provides the answer to the second sub-question through the thematic analysis of the interviews conducted. Throughout the analysis eight main themes were identified (see Appendix C). Six of the themes will be analysed in the following five subsections and are used to answer the second sub-question. The seventh theme will be used to answer the third sub-question and finally the eighth theme, which includes policy recommendations, will be discussed after having provided the overall research findings.

Awareness and Perceived Enforcement of the Laws

The thematic analysis began with measuring interviewees' knowledge about the laws and their perceived enforcement. This was deemed crucial as it might influence victims' choice to report, since they might not know how to do so. The theme 'enforcement of the laws' globalised the codes that were identified. Interviewees' knowledge about the laws varied from little to none. Nonetheless, every participant was aware of the likely existence of anti-discrimination laws, especially regarding international and European laws. One of the respondents saw this as a problem affecting reporting behaviour as she does not "think most people know these intricacies of law, of what qualifies as what crime, and when is it good to report it and when is it not worth it to an extent." (Interviewee 3).

Considering the lack of knowledge, every participant was briefed about the laws existing in the Netherlands, as discussed in this thesis, and thus perceptions of the enforcement by the police and the respect by society were analysed.

In general interviewees disagreed on the extent to which the laws were enforceable in the first place. Some interviewees deemed it quite easy to prove that discrimination or a hate crime against a queer person was committed, as "people are fairly vocal when they commit hate crimes against the queer" (Interviewee 4). Other interviewees, however, claimed that "many of these things are hard to prove" (Interviewee 2) as it is impossible to know exactly the motive/intent of the offender. The interviewees referred to the *Sr* using discriminatory aspects as aggravating circumstances being difficult to prove and the offenders, therefore, being possibly punished only for the generic offense. Additionally, many interviewees expressed that the failure by the police to follow protocols makes the offenders "encouraged because then they know that they can get away with attacking people and the police don't give a shit." (Interviewee 1). Concerns were especially raised regarding the feasible execution of the reporting and investigation phases. None of the interviewees, however, felt like the AwGB and the *Sv* were ever applied to them differently if they were not hetero- or homosexual.

On the respect of the laws by Dutch society most interviewees perceived positive attitudes and a connected compliance with the laws, with the Netherlands being described as the “country that is most pro/LGBTQ+ friendly that I’ve ever lived in” (Interviewee 7). Nonetheless, as seen above, sexual-orientation-bias crimes still occur and at least two interviewees recognize that society’s attitudes are not completely positive and a lack of adherence to the laws exists.

In general, interviewees’ attitudes seemed to be more negative towards the police than towards society. Thus, reporting behaviours were analysed.

Convergence of Police and Victims’ Values – Social Identity Theory

This sub-section analyses to what extent the queer community sees the police as the same or a different social group and how this impacts reporting behaviour. The analysis resulted in four global themes: ‘reasons to report’, ‘reasons not to report’, ‘Pink in Blue’, and ‘societal influence’.

In general, many interviewees claimed that there were predominantly homophobic attitudes in the police that made the interviewees feel like the police was not only a different social group, but also a group in complete contrast with the values of the queer community. This made many interviewees feel discriminated against both by the perpetrator and by the police. Furthermore, some interviewees claimed that their sexual orientation was making them fall outside of the interests of the police and, thus, not being worthy of attention: “the interest of the police is defending the system, and being queer, being gender non-conforming and even being a lesbian (is not in the interests of the police)” (Interviewee 2). Aligning with SIT, this makes the queer community and the police be part of two separate social groups, with divergent values (Abril et al., 2022). Confirming also Hazen and Bank’s (2023) theory, both groups favour the values and interests of their ingroup conflicting with the outgroup’s ones. The interviewees claim that this resulted in the police not taking them seriously or not doing

anything once contacted: “they do not care about discrimination against LGBTQ people” (Interviewee 5), “they were completely unhelpful” (Interviewee 10).

The perception of a lack of action was not limited to the police. Also, society as a whole just stood by, while interviewees were being discriminated against “and no one was doing anything” (Interviewee 3). Furthermore, confirming Bernstein & Kostelac's (2002) study, a heterosexist treatment by the police and society was felt even more when the interviewees had interactions with them while being dressed in more queer-appearing clothing, such as men in drag clothing, than when they would have a normative, cis-male or cis-female, appearance: “If I walk on the street, and I'm wearing something very extravagant, I do get the looks, and I sense it, I feel that there's some tension in the air.” (Interviewee 5).

Overall, the interviews seemed to confirm that the discrepancies between the queer communities' values and interests and the ones of the police made them belong to two opposite social groups. This often resulted in a lack of legitimacy of the police in the interviewees' eyes that made them not wanting to report future discrimination cases.

The introduction of the Pink in Blue police can be seen as an attempt to make the social groups unite in identity. Indeed, by having representatives of the queer community in the police it was assumed that the interests of the community would be represented in the police and the community would be more willing to report discrimination cases (Sczylmecki, 2014). Some interviewees, however, did not see this as a good approach, but, instead, it was deemed just as “tokenism and performative action” (Interviewee 7). The queer character of the police did not seem to be sufficient to bridge the gap between the two social groups: “I don't want a gay policeman, I want a good policeman. Spoiler I'm not gonna find them because they (the police) are just discriminating again.” (Interviewee 2). This aligns with the evaluation of the Pink in Blue unit by Van der Aa et al. (2020) that claimed that queer victims do not only want queer officers but all officers to be sensitive and understanding.

Even though SIT seems to explain why queer victims choose not to report discrimination cases when they perceive homophobic attitudes by the police, it is not sufficient to completely explain reporting behaviour. By merging the two groups, through having queer community members in the police, the legitimacy of the police was not reached, and reporting behaviour did not increase.

Perception of Fairness in Police Conduct - Procedural Justice Theory

Since SIT did not manage to completely explain the interviewees' behaviours the previous themes were further used to analyse the relation between interviewees perceived PJ of police conduct and their behaviour.

In general, the analysis supported Sandholtz et al.'s (2013) findings about victims' lack of confidence in the police based on their interactions with them when reporting. Victims expressed that they felt the police "did not take them seriously" (Interviewee 9) or did not "do anything" (Interviewee 1) once contacted, neither to make them able to report, nor to follow up once they had done so. This related to a strong lack of faith or trust in the police, making it pointless for many victims to report. Furthermore, in line with Wolff & Cokely's (2007) study, interviewees expressed negative experiences with the police when they reported a crime, feeling only more discriminated, as the police either ignored them, mistreated them (Interviewee 2) or appeared homophobic (Interviewee 10). The unjustness in the polices' conduct made victims' propensity to report largely decrease: "It's not like it's (reporting to the police) gonna make me feel safer, because they're not gonna protect me from future crimes." (Interviewee 8).

Confirming Tyler's (2010) PJ theory, negative previous experiences with the police often resulted in non-reporting behaviour on the side of the interviewees. Reporting was seen as "too much hassle for what it's gonna give me." (Interviewee 3). Moreover, the police take too long, up to weeks after the crime occurred and once reporting is done, "they refuse to

investigate” (Interviewee 1) and follow up, not following, therefore, the police protocol: “in general, I’m struggling to think of an example where the police are ever implementing any laws” (Interviewee 6). The police past conducts were, consequently, seen as a good predictor of victims’ likelihood to report in the future.

Combination of Social Identity and Procedural Justice Theories

A further analysis of the interviews revealed that not every interviewee had only negative experiences and perceptions of the police that led them to not report. Indeed, some interviewees claimed that the “police do manage my and our expectations” (Interviewee 4) and that there never “was any discrimination necessarily on the part of the police” (Interviewee 1). The lack of perceived discrimination by the police, together with the police helping and acting fairly towards the interviewees resulted in these participants reporting their crime to the police, confirming Stanek et al.’s (2022) study. Furthermore, some interviewees claimed that the positive experiences with the police came especially when interacting with Pink in Blue as they felt “quite comfortable to call them and I feel that it is a really good service” (Interviewee 9). If, therefore, some interviewees did not like the idea to merely introduce a queer unit in the police to solve the issue, others claimed that their queer identity together with their just and respectful action made them more willing to report, in light with Bradford’s (2014) findings. Indeed, firstly, the queer identity of the police officers helped increase the victims’ perception that the police care about the issue. Secondly, the Pink in Blue police being honest about “what they can do, and what they cannot do” (Interviewee 4) made them be perceived as fair and respectful, which combined with their identity resulted in an increase of the legitimacy of the body in the eyes of the interviewee, which made them willing to report in the future.

Considering all this, the analysis of the interviews has shown that the best predictor of victims’ reporting behaviour is a combination of SIT and PJ theory. Nonetheless, there were some interviewees that, even though they perceived the police as unjust and did not identify

with the values of the police, still chose to report. The behaviour of these interviewees seems to go against their perceptions and attitudes of the police. The main reason mentioned by every interviewee for still possibly choosing to report was that reporting is needed because of data and statistics, because “if no one’s reporting it, then the council or any government organisation just shrug their shoulders. Well, there’s no reports, why, where’s the problem? There’s no problem.” (Interviewee 9). Although this seems to go against the social identity and PJ model, the interviewees saw these reasons as an incentive to report because they hoped that future action by lawmaking authorities could bridge the gap between the two social groups and make the police start acting more fairly and respectfully.

Intersectionality

Even though the queer social identity of the interviewees was the main focus during the coding process, the theme of ‘intersectionality’ reoccurred in many interviews. Following previous studies, many interviewees believe that the discrimination they experienced by the offender and by the police was connected not only to their sexual orientation but also to other aspects like their gender, nationality, race, etc.

Apart from the bias against their sexual orientation, many interviewees associated the police with being biased especially in relation to their nationality. Predominantly, being an international and not speaking Dutch often caused interviewees to have difficulties in communicating with the police, and many of them had the feeling that when the counterpart (offender or witnesses) were Dutch the police believed them more than when the victim (interviewee) spoke English with them. Adding to this, the interviewees that are Dutch and spoke Dutch to the police also confirmed that speaking Dutch “definitely helps” (Interviewee 9).

Further aspects of intersectionality were race and gender, with some interviewees claiming that “If I’m from a racial minority, in the Netherlands and gay, all checkboxes for

ignoring the crime check off. A policeman will probably not event let me into the building.” (Interviewee 2) and “just the fact that they are men, and they can be violent (...) they probably will” (Interviewee 8).

Consequently, when addressing the issue of different social groups between queer victims and the police, sexual orientation as well as other parts of victims' social identity, such as race and nationality, have to be taken into account, which might explain why Pink in Blue was not able to completely address the issue.

It was additionally found during the analysis of the interviews that the intersectionality did not only apply to the victim, on which most previous research is focused, but also to the offender. Interviewees that especially worked in the area of discrimination crimes based on sexual orientation claimed that “we're missing a conversation with young Arab men about how to live in a multicultural society” as they are the most commonly recognised perpetrators of such crimes (Interviewee 1). A previous study conducted in the Netherlands also found that the majority of perpetrators of sexual-orientation-bias crimes are young men, possibly with migration backgrounds (Seidler et al., 2024, pp. 55-56). Interviewees hypothesised that the reason for this was the perpetrators not being used to living in a society in which being queer is legally permitted. More research is, however, needed to study and establish with more certainty the intersectionality of the perpetrator. This was deemed as a point of departure for a discussion and an approach to the discrimination cases, in which the intersectionality of victims' and perpetrators' social identities need to be considered especially when they all belong to (different) marginalized communities.

Sub-Question 3 – Alternative Reporting Agencies: Awareness and Perceived Efficacy

This section focuses on the functionality of independent reporting agencies based on victims' awareness and perceptions of them. Through the thematic analysis the theme

'alternative reporting bodies' was identified measuring all the different codes varying from awareness of the bodies to their evaluation.

As the interviewees expressed a consensus on the importance of reporting, but predominantly negative experiences with the police when done so, reporting bodies alternative to the police were analysed. Most interviewees had little to no knowledge about the specific bodies in the Netherlands: "like no one, you ask like 100 people, maybe two people that heard of it." (Interviewee 9). Furthermore, none of the interviewees had ever heard of the Wga. The only agency that some have heard of and that two interviewees made use of was *discriminatie.nl*.

Nonetheless, most interviewees thought that alternative bodies are a useful and necessary option. Attitudes were positive especially in regards to the independence of the bodies in the Netherlands, and to "having external bodies so that I can refer to without having to be like a permanent record (...) maybe I just want support because I just got screamed at, or maybe, you know, just emotional support and then I can actually sit down and they can discuss with me, do I want to file a report..." (Interviewee 2).

Despite this most interviewees deemed the current functioning of the bodies inefficient. First and foremost, they do not manage to raise awareness and the victims do not know where to go to report if not to the police: "if people from the communities that you hope will come to you don't even know that you exist, how is it going to be helpful? (...) What's the point in this?" (Interviewee 7). This can be seen as a possible explanation on why Van Bon & Mink (2016) found that victims of discrimination based on sexual orientation do not report to these agencies. Second, some interviewees claim that these agencies and not the individuals "should be the ones who are suing the city, because they should go to the city and say, this is the reality of facts. What are you doing? (...) Like we have a problem, data, numbers, talk." (Interviewee 5). Nonetheless, these bodies are very important, and many interviewees would be more likely

to report to them rather than to the police, because “that would maybe help me deal with the feelings that I have after a hate crime, rather than like create a case against a 12-year-old” (Interviewee 3).

In general, having an alternative reporting method to the police is deemed very important, however, the current functionality of these bodies in the Netherlands is not sufficient for victims to effectively make use of them.

Overall Research Findings

This thesis analysed the phenomenon of victim's reporting behaviour for discrimination cases and hate crimes based on sexual orientation in the Netherlands, by addressing the following research question: How is queer victims' propensity to report a discrimination case or a hate crime against them impacted by their perception of the enforcement of the legal framework around these crimes in the Netherlands by the police or by alternative reporting bodies?

Even though the research found detailed legislative and procedural frameworks, these were not well known and sufficient to make queer victims willing to report discrimination cases to the police. Reporting behaviour was found to connect to victims' perception of PJ in police conduct and to the police's social identity. Indeed, the likelihood of reporting discrimination cases based on sexual orientation to the police was highest when the police was perceived to fairly and respectfully enforce the legal framework around those cases and when the police shared, at least partially, social identity with the victims. Currently, the police were perceived by most victims (9/10) as not procedurally just and as seeing the queer community outside their social group. This caused many victims to not report discrimination cases. Nonetheless, most victims believe in the importance of the laws and in reporting discrimination cases based on sexual orientation. Consequently, many victims trust in the utility of alternative reporting

agencies. These agencies, however, lack social awareness about their existence and their function and are, therefore, deemed ineffective in the current legal framework.

Policy Recommendations

This thesis showed that there is still a lot of work to be done in the Netherlands in terms of legislation and its enforcement in order to address the lack of reporting of discrimination cases and hate crimes based on sexual orientation. Through the interviews the theme of 'policy recommendations' was identified, and the interviewees provided many possible approaches to the issue. First, a general need to raise awareness was identified about the different alternative reporting bodies, and about the amount of discrimination cases based on sexual orientation and the issues they cause in the Netherlands. This can be achieved through awareness campaigns and through "some policy decisions that have been made as a result of the reporting and the data" (Interviewee 4). Furthermore, education on the occurrence of these crimes and their aftermaths is necessary in Dutch society, as it could contribute to raising awareness among the population of what the problem is, what the resources are, and how to make use of them. Education needs to be aimed at "going back to the actual roots of the problem and not the outcome of it" (Interviewee 10).

Second, many interviewees expressed the need to modify the law, by "listening to what the marginalised communities are asking you to do" (Interviewee 2). Ways in which the law needs to be modified differed between interviewees. In general, three necessary actions were identified. First, the police need to be trained and reformed by paying special attention to sensitization on discrimination cases, with a particular focus on emotional responses and by introducing community policing. In particular, Pink in Blue need to be reformed to not necessarily comprise only queer police officers, but to include all officers with a specialised training that need to be "bound to respond to situations always, not just if they're around" (interviewee 7). This is necessary to make the two social groups unite, not because of the queer

character of some of the police officers, but because of shared values and interests. Second, the laws on police protocols need to be amended in order to hold the police more accountable when they do not follow the protocols and act unfairly. The institutions should follow through and when they do not “there should be an intervention by a higher power (...) and there should be a class action” (Interviewee 5). Third, the process of reporting needs to be facilitated and made more efficient, by being able to report within 24 hours in addition to reporting through websites or video chats without necessarily having to go to the police station. This is already available when submitting notifications, but not for reports (*Meldformulier Discriminatie*, n.d.).

Finally, all these actions need to be taken while keeping in mind the intersectional nature of discrimination crimes based on sexual orientation. Both within the system but also in society as a whole “individuals should help each other by influencing culture, and the perception of diversity” (Interviewee 5).

Limitations and Future Research

The findings of this thesis need to be understood in light of some limitations. Firstly, the doctrinal analysis of Dutch legislation was conducted using multiple translation tools to cross-check the translations. Nonetheless, every time a document, and even more so a complex legal document, gets translated, there is the risk that words have different meanings in the languages and that the interpretations may slightly differ (Makosiej, 2023). Secondly, the sample size in regard to the interviews limits the possibility of generalising the results to the whole population of victims of discrimination cases based on sexual orientation in the Netherlands. Even though the interviewees differed in region, age, gender and sexual orientation, providing many diverse characteristics necessary to generalize the findings, due to time constraints the sample size remains small. Finally, interviews have the inherent limitation to being partially susceptible to interviewer bias. Firstly, when asking the questions and,

secondly, when analysing the transcripts, the interviewer tried to remain as impartial as possible. However, due to the method this is not completely possible.

Considering these limitations, therefore, further research is necessary with a larger sample size and possible alternative methods such as surveys or focus groups to discover whether the findings replicate. Furthermore, the findings of this thesis suggest interesting developments in the field of intersectionality when considering discrimination crimes. Future research needs, consequently, to be conducted to analyse the phenomenon of intersectionality in the Netherlands, as the country is characterised by a very multicultural and diverse environment. In relation to this, this thesis identified the relevance of the intersectionality of the perpetrator in addition to the one of the victims. Further research is necessary to analyse the issue considering both sides of the coin, namely the victim and the perpetrator.

Conclusion

This thesis investigated the phenomenon of (under)reporting of discrimination cases and hate crimes based on sexual orientation in the Netherlands by analysing victims' perception of the police and of alternative reporting agencies. In order to achieve this, a preliminary analysis of the relevant legal framework and of police protocols was needed to understand the discrepancies between theory and practice.

The thesis found that most victims believe in the importance of reporting discrimination cases for several reasons including particularly contributing to statistics and raising awareness. Nonetheless, many victims decided not to report to the police, mainly because their previous interactions with them resulted in a (perceived) unfair and disrespectful behaviour of the police. Furthermore, the victims felt like they did not connect with the social groups of the police officers and fell outside their interests. Regarding alternative reporting agencies the attitudes were mostly positive. The main problem identified with these agencies was, however, the lack of awareness in society about their existence and functioning. These perceptions, both of the

police and the alternative bodies, were valid for most victims, even if they were aware or they were made aware of the progressive legislative background of the state. These laws were not considered to be applied in practice as much as they should have been.

Considering all this, this thesis contributed to and expanded on the body of literature about discrimination cases based on sexual orientation. It further provided recommendations to address this issue in the Netherlands consisting in strengthening the law and its enforcement, training and sensitizing the police, and raising awareness in society through improved education and awareness campaigns.

Reflection on Interdisciplinarity

Due to its interdisciplinary nature this research went a step further compared to previous literature as it did not address reporting as a general phenomenon but focussed on (under)reporting in relation to sexual-orientation-bias crimes and perception of reporting bodies. The integrated approach made it possible to shed light on the practice in society of the Dutch laws on discrimination and hate crimes based on sexual orientation. By analysing victims' experiences and identity, and their influence on reporting behaviour, an identification of the phenomena that lead to the laws not being respected or enforced as they are codified was possible. Social psychology, therefore, was used to expand on the law and to create an explanatory mechanism of victim's reporting behaviours.

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Appendix A

Interview Guide

Introduction – Demographics Questions:

1. What are your preferred pronouns?
2. With what gender do you identify?
3. What is your sexual orientation?
 - a. Do you identify as queer?
4. How old are you?
5. What is your nationality?
6. How long have you been living in the Netherlands?

Knowledge of antidiscrimination and hate crime laws and their enforcement:

7. Do you know anything about the antidiscrimination laws and hate crime laws protecting queer people in the Netherlands?
 - a. If not explain.
8. How do you feel like the laws are being enforced by the police? Do you consider the framework as progressive in view of the laws and the policies around it?
9. How do you perceive these laws as being accepted in society? What do you think the dominant attitude in the Netherlands towards queer people is?

Assessment of the discrimination crime based on their sexual orientation:

10. With as many details as you want, could you tell me what discrimination case or hate crime happened to you and when did this occur?
11. What did you do after this happen?
12. Did you report this specifically to the police?
 - a. If yes go to question 12 and onwards
 - b. If no go to question 19 and onwards

Experience with reporting the crime to the police:

13. Why did you choose to report the case to the police?
 - a. What are the specific reasons?
 - b. What do you think influenced your behaviour? > was it perception of the police or other personal factors?
 - c. Did you trust the police would do something?
 - d. What were your expectations when calling the police?
14. How did the police treat you? Are there any reasons why you believe the police treated you that way?
 - a. Possible topic to discuss: intersectionality with other parts of interviewee's social identity.
15. Are you aware of what protocol the police should have followed after you contacted them?
 - a. If not explain.
16. Do you think the police followed exactly the protocol when you reported the case and enforced the laws we talked about before?
17. What happened after you reported the case to the police? Where there any judicial proceeding started? If yes, what happened in them?
18. How would you rate on a scale from 1 (being very dissatisfied) to 10 (being very satisfied) your experience with the police? Why?

19. If another similar crime would happen to you, would you report it to the police again?

Reasons for not reporting to the police:

20. Why did you choose not to report the crime to the police?
 - a. What are the specific reasons?
 - b. What do you think influenced your behaviour? > was it perception of the police or other personal factors?
21. Did you have any previous experience with the police?
 - a. Did you feel like any police misconduct happened?
 - b. Did the police follow the protocol exactly?
 - c. Do you have doubts that the police and the criminal justice process can solve the issue?
22. What was it about the police that deterred you from reporting the case?
 - a. Fear of being treated differently > discuss possible intersectionality
23. Considering what happened after the case occurred when you did not report it to the police, would you choose to report it if it were to happen again?
 - a. Why yes, why not?

Other possible legal remedies:

24. Do you know what the Municipal Antidiscrimination Service Act is?
 - a. If not, explain.
 - b. What do you think about the act?
25. Are you aware of any other anti-discrimination bodies you could report the crime to?
 - a. If not explain.
26. Did you ever or do you think you would ever make use of independent bodies to report discrimination crimes based on sexual orientation you are a victim of?
 - a. Why yes, why no?
27. What do you think could be improved in the antidiscrimination laws and hate crime laws protecting queer people in the Netherlands?
28. What do you think could be improved in the police's enforcement of such laws?
29. What do you think is missing in the Netherlands or what actions do you think should be taken to reduce the discrimination cases and hate crimes like the one(s) you have faced?
 - a. Any policy recommendations?

Appendix B

Information Letter for Participants

Dear participant,

You are participating in a study about discrimination (crimes) based on sexual orientation. Before the investigation begins, it is important that you take note of the procedure followed in this study. Please read the following carefully. If you have questions or something is unclear, don't hesitate to contact the main investigator of the study. She will answer your questions.

Purpose of the investigation

The purpose of this study is to investigate reasons for (not) reporting discrimination crimes based on sexual orientation in the Netherlands.

Instruction and procedure

We ask that you agree to an approximately 30min long interview with the researcher on an agreed date and time. The interview will be recorded for transcription purposes, but the recording will be deleted right after the transcription and the answers will be anonymized to ensure the privacy of the participant.

Voluntariness

If you decide to refrain from participating in this study, this will in no way affect you. If during the investigation itself you decide not to participate, it will in no way negatively affect you. You can also contact me within 7 days after the interview, to revoke permission to use your data. You can stop your cooperation at any time. You are free to do so without giving any reason.

Confidentiality of research data

The interview data will only be used by the researchers for her thesis. As no use is made of your personal information and your anonymity is guaranteed. Your completely anonymous data can be given to other researchers for scientific purposes or published in a journal. Data concerning your identity (who you are) is anonymous and will not be given to third parties without your explicit consent. Your privacy is guaranteed.

Additional information

If you would like further information on this study, please contact [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Kind regards,

Martina Semino

Informed Consent Form

This consent form is part of the written information that you received about the research study that you will participate in. By signing this informed consent you declare that you have been informed clearly about the nature and method of the investigation as described in the information provided.

If I need any further information about the study now or in the future,
I can contact [REDACTED]

Signed in duplicate:

[PARTICIPANT]

- *I am 18 years old or older.*
- *I have been a victim of a discrimination case or discrimination crime based on my sexual orientation.*
- *I read and understood the information about the research study.*
- *I consent to the participation in the project and usage of my data.*
- *I reserve the right to withdraw this consent without a reason.*
- *I reserve the right to stop the experiment at any time.*

.....
Subject's name

.....
Signature

.....
Date

Appendix C

Table C1

Thematic Analysis of Interviews.

Code	Explanation	Examples
Enforcement of Laws		
No knowledge about the laws	The interviewee did not know anything about the laws in the Netherlands	“I just assume they exist. I’ve never looked into them! “No. Zero Knowledge.”
Little knowledge about the laws	The interview have some ideas about the laws, but (very) limited	“I do know a little bit, I don’t know exactly what the law says, but I know that there are so many types of rights for anti-discrimination.”
Easy to prove motive behind hate crime	Being sure that the reason why the crime was committed was hate because of the victim’s sexual orientation is easy	“People are fairly vocal when they commit hate crime against the queer, because they always say conquer flicker, or conquer homo and they yell. So it’s very clear to me all the time.”
Hard to prove motive behind hate crime	Being sure that the reason why the crime was committed was hate because of the victim’s sexual orientation is hard	“It’s incredibly hard for someone else to prove someone else’s intent” “The actual reality is that you can never prove a hate crime.” “I am not in their head so I can’t say oh yeah they target me specifically because I am gay.”
Society is negative towards queer community	People in society do not implement the laws and are not accepting of queer people	“He has not felt any difference between Italy and the Netherlands.” “I would give it (society) a D.”
Society is positive towards queer community	People in society do implement the laws and are accepting of queer people	“Country that is most pro/LGBTQ+ friendly that I’ve ever lived in.” “Most people are like fine with that.” “I would say that people definitely, like there’s at least a. lower rate of any kind of discrimination here, for sure.”
Offenders are encouraged to commit more crimes	By not reporting or the police not doing their job offenders will not be held accountable according to the law which will motivate them to commit more crimes	“And they’re encouraged because then they know that they can get away with attacking people. And the police don’t give a shit.” “People just feel like the freedom to go and do whatever they want.”
Reasons to report		
Police are helpful	The interviewees believe the police are very helpful hate crime resolving/investigating.	“They come and they work with us.” “Police do manage my and our expectations.” “I have confidence in the system.”

Code	Explanation	Examples
Reporting because of statistics	Reporting is important because it adds numbers to statistics to showcase the problem and have an overview of the issue.	<p>“Report it so they can collect data.”</p> <p>“I know that it’s important for the statistics.”</p> <p>“I do believe that all of these things are data points.”</p>
Reporting to raise social awareness	The more reporting is out the more society is aware of the problem and get sensitised by it.	<p>“They’re (minor hate crimes) also important to show the status of society towards certain minority group.”</p> <p>“So we can make more broad decisions based on that, if we don’t report it, it stays invisible.”</p>
Report (only) for very bad crimes	Interviewees believe that only for physically or emotionally devastating hate crimes the would report.	<p>“And there was a more emotional response within our association.”</p> <p>“Maybe if I get beaten down and someone has to call an ambulance, the police is also gonna be called.”</p> <p>“I wouldn’t call the police, unless it’s something that puts somebody’s life like actually in danger.”</p>
Report to raise awareness of decision-makers	Interviewees claim reporting is important to get the attention of policy and lawmakers to make a difference.	<p>“And I know it’s important, because if there’s no reports, at the end of the year, the police report to the council and they say, well, there were only five cases. So it’s not an issue. So I know, it’s important to report.”</p> <p>“I’m, you know, I think is really, really important for the city to have in order to be able to make bigger structural systemic changes for safety purposes.”</p>
Police do not discriminate	Interviewee believes the police do not discriminate so reporting is not dangerous or a waste of time.	<p>“I’ve never had the feeling that I had been treated separately.”</p> <p>“I don’t think that there was any discrimination necessarily on the part of the police.”</p>
Previous experience	Many people used previous interactions with the police to explain why they would report.	<p>“And then when you when you lift it feel on that, and you see what police work actually is, entails and, and about the capacity of a police force to handle stuff that come that they encounter.”</p> <p>“And he you know, because we also organised the events of the homo monument. And he was great. And he was really almost back, he sort of became a friend. Now he’s not a policeman anymore. And he was really good.”</p>
Reasons not to report		
Feeling unsafe	Interviewee expressed a feeling of unsafety either in society or when dealing with the police.	<p>“I feel more unsafe if I have the police around me that if I have 12-year-olds screaming at me, I can answer a 12-year-old if I answer poorly, if I scream back at a policeman, he’s gonna sue me.”</p> <p>“It’s not like it’s (the police) gonna make me feel safer, because they’re not gonna protect me from future crime.”</p>

Code	Explanation	Examples
Interests of the police	Interviewee talks about what they believe the interests of the police to be, and them being often outside of them.	<p>“It doesn't feel like they have the best interests of the victim, or the people that they're supposed to protect that heart rather, it feels that they have their own interests or their own quotas to fill etcetera.”</p> <p>“Like I feel like they have a vested interest in not doing my interest, they have an interest in doing what is more convenient for their statistics for their outlook for their personnel positions, like I am not in the interest of the police.”</p>
Lack of faith/trust in the police	Interviewee expresses little to no trust in the police as a body and as protecting them from discrimination.	<p>“I don't have a lot of faith in what they would do.”</p> <p>“I have no faith in them to investigate or actually do anything.”</p> <p>“I don't trust them.”</p> <p>“My sense of security has completely changed, also my sense of trust in institutions has completely changed.”</p>
Lack of follow up by the police	Even after reporting a crime the police do not follow up with the victim.	<p>“They said they would call me back, but it never happened.”</p> <p>“We didn't hear anything for weeks, months, and up to the point that the report was closed without us being informed or being updated about the stages.”</p>
Police do not take seriously	Interviewee perceives the police as not taking discrimination cases seriously even if reported.	<p>“I don't think they're (the victims) taken all that seriously by the police.”</p> <p>“Police seems to not care or not take it seriously.”</p>
Police do discriminate	Interviewee believes the police do discriminate so reporting is dangerous or a waste of time.	<p>“And I just felt it was again, you know, this was very, you know, 30 year old white Dutch straight guy (police officer) who just felt uncomfortable around us and did not feel Yeah, not protected at all or not.”</p> <p>“They fight you every step of the way. They blame you every step of the way.”</p> <p>“Like I don't want a gay policeman, I want a good policeman. Spoiler I'm not gonna find them because they are just discriminating again.”</p>
Police do not follow protocol/enforce the law as it is	After reporting the police did not follow the protocol to investigate the crime.	<p>“No, well, so not really, I mean, again, I had to basically force them to take a police report, and then I never got any follow up.”</p> <p>“And the police ignores the legislation, the problems with the legislation never arise.”</p> <p>“But they did not investigate.”</p> <p>“Like they should implement the law, a priori of their identity.” (but they don't)</p> <p>“Probably not. In general, I'm struggling to think of an example where the police are ever implementing any laws the way they should?”</p>

Code	Explanation	Examples
Police do not care	Interviewee believes that even if the victim reports the police do not care so it is useless to report.	<p>“It’s basically just saying like we (the police) don’t care.”</p> <p>“Police seems to not care.”</p> <p>“But this, the police officer didn’t care.”</p> <p>“And they do not care about discrimination against LGBTQ people.”</p>
Police do not do anything	Interviewee believes that even if the victim reports the police do not do anything so it is useless to report.	<p>“They (the police) are supposed to protect you, it often is not the case.”</p> <p>“The police did absolutely nothing.”</p> <p>“(Report) and nothing is going to happen.”</p> <p>“Okay but then the issue is, and then what do they do? It's like, okay, you got insulted you got? What do they do?”</p> <p>“I’m not gonna call someone to help me out because they're not gonna help me out.”</p>
Police take too long	When wanting to report the police make it almost impossible by having too long waiting times to just be able to get an appointment to report or to investigate.	<p>“Okay, you walk in, and you think that you could just report a crime. That's not the case, you have to take an appointment. And appointments are like, scheduled for weeks after which is shocking.”</p> <p>“In the meantime, I went to the police station, and they said the first availability for us to file a police report is May 17. This happened at the end of April. Right? So we're talking about like a three week time to file a police report, which in my mind, is completely unacceptable.”</p>
Reliving trauma	Some interviewees do not want to report to not relive trauma or to be able to forget it as soon as possible.	<p>“Constantly to relive trauma every time you have to report anything.”</p> <p>“And they want to forget about it as quickly as possible.”</p>
Reporting will not make a difference	Interviewee claims that reporting will have no effect and not make a difference in any way.	<p>“Well, because it (reporting) doesn’t get you anywhere. So there’s not outcome.”</p> <p>“It’s not like it’s gonna make me feel safer, because they’re not gonna protect me from future crime.”</p>
Time, energy and effort to report	Reporting is made very complicated which costs a lot of time, energy and effort which many interviewees or other victims don’t have.	<p>“You think why go to the trouble (...) it’s a hassle.”</p> <p>“And the police makes it incredibly challenging to file a police report.”</p> <p>“But not everybody does that. Not everybody has the strength, the energy, the time, the money to do that.”</p> <p>“It feels like too much hassle for what it’s gonna give me.”</p>
Previous experience	Many people used previous interactions with the police to explain why they would not report.	<p>“I’ve never known it otherwise, it's so weird to me that I'm becoming so apathetic about it, it's like, it's part of being gay and walking hand in hand with a loved one or something like me and more older queer people that I know, they are, like, their day to day, they found peace with the discrimination and the hate and the acts of hatred.”</p>

Code	Explanation	Examples
<p style="background-color: #c85130; color: white; padding: 5px;">Pink in Blue</p>		<p>“My experience in the United States is that if you call the police, the police show up in a couple of minutes. And they take a police report, if you're attacked in some way, and then that that police report happens on the spot.” (but not in NL)</p>
<p style="background-color: #8c9e3d; color: white; padding: 5px;">Positive opinion of Pink in Blue</p>	<p>The interviewee seemed to have a good impression of Pink in Blue either by experience or by just knowing the concept and goal of them.</p>	<p>“The intention (of having Pink in Blue) was good.” “I feel quite comfortable and to call them and I feel that that is a really good service.”</p>
<p style="background-color: #f4c46d; padding: 5px;">Negative opinion of Pink in Blue</p>	<p>The interviewee seemed to have a bad impression of Pink in Blue either by experience or by just knowing the concept and goal of them.</p>	<p>“But there as a gay person on the squad, so clearly, it wasn't anything homophobic.” (Sarcastic) “If they are not legally obligated to respond, then what's the point.” “Yeah, we have this training, maybe you'll use it, maybe you won't, and just kind of tokenism and performative action, then I guess it's not useful.” “And they were also completely unhelpful.”</p>
<p style="background-color: #f4c46d; padding: 5px;">Intersectionality</p>		
<p><u>Intersectionality: age</u></p>	<p>Interviewee claimed that either with the police or with society in general there is more than just sexual orientation that plays a role, but also age.</p>	<p>“So, so they've had it better than I had it 20 years ago. But to them, it's really it's impactful.” “They've, that I know about, all been perpetrated by young guys like between, you know, 16, and probably 30 years old.”</p>
<p><u>Intersectionality: gender</u></p>	<p>Interviewee claimed that either with the police or with society in general there is more than just sexual orientation that plays a role, but also gender.</p>	<p>“Um, but also, maybe it's just the fact that they men. Mostly, you know what I mean, fair enough. Like it really, I feel like that's also like a huge part of it. Just the fact that they are men, and they can be violent in they can always be violent against you, and they will probably, they probably will.”</p>
<p><u>Intersectionality: nationality</u></p>	<p>Interviewee claimed that either with the police or with society in general there is more than just sexual orientation that plays a role, but also nationality.</p>	<p>“Yeah, or if I was non EU, I would be a bit more scared to go to the police in case that would affect my visa or anything like that.” “And I just thought we'd speak Dutch with them. So I think that's definitely helps. Yeah, okay. I think people look at expats and immigrants differently.” “Yes, 100% because the guy was Dutch. And they were very, like, kind and</p>

Code	Explanation	Examples
<u>Intersectionality: race</u>	Interviewee claimed that either with the police or with society in general there is more than just sexual orientation that plays a role, but also race.	understanding. And then when they realised that neither I, because I was awake at that point, not my roommates spoke Dutch, they, you could hear a change in their voice.” “And of course there is also an entire discussion on intersectionality, of saying yes, queer people, but then it is racially marginalized queer people, from lower income backgrounds, then there are other interests, because then if we go to the police.” “Dutch people we have to be honest are racists.” “If I’m from a racial minority, in the Netherlands and gay, all the check boxes for ignoring the crime check off.”
<u>Intersectionality: religion</u>	Interviewee claimed that either with the police or with society in general there is more than just sexual orientation that plays a role, but also religion.	“If I was non-EU, you if I was a person of colour, if I was hijabi, for example, I think anything that is that strays from the normative appearance of what like police force, would definitely affect my how I’m treated like if I’m part of a Dutch minority.”
Societal Influence		
Physical appearance	Interviewees believe that physical appearance has an influence on whether they will be discriminated because they look queer and on how the police will treat them.	“My physical appearance is very normative. (...) So I think that influence how people in authority treat you.” “I would be treated better than other queer people who appear more queer.” “When I am not in drag, I really don’t have any problem because I present quite male and cis and such straight acting.” “If I walk on the street, and I wearing something very extravagant, I do get the looks, and I sense it, I feel that there's some tension in the air.”
<i>Societal ignorance</i>	When discrimination happens all the people around don’t do anything and ignore what is happening.	“Everyone had seen because some of these happened like a train stations, like a metro stations. So like, I understand not wanting to get involved, but also everyone just ignoring that we were being screamed.” “It was very scary because also it was a public space and no one was doing anything like it was clear that everyone around us were just like sitting covering their eyes like this and pretending that nothing was happening.”
Society is negative towards queer community	People in society do not implement the laws and are not accepting of queer people	“He has not felt any difference between Italy and the Netherlands.” “I would give it (society) a D.”
Society is positive towards queer community	People in society do implement the laws and are accepting of queer people	“Country that is most pro/LGBTQ+ friendly that I’ve ever lived in.” “Most people are like fine with that.”

Code	Explanation	Examples
Alternative reporting bodies		<p>"I would say that people definitely, like there's at least a lower rate of any kind of discrimination here, for sure."</p>
Alternative bodies knowledge	Assessment of what alternative reporting bodies interviewees know.	<p>"I often would call (directly) the company." "Discriminatie.nl" "Maybe once I saw an ad for one of the discrimination hotlines."</p>
Awareness of alternative bodies	Assessment of the awareness of alternative bodies.	<p>"Yeah, I think one year because I also reported often to the discrimination and this used to be called meldpunt discriminatie now called discriminatie.nl."</p>
No awareness of alternative bodies	Assessment of the lack of awareness of alternative bodies.	<p>"You ask like 100 people, maybe two people that heard of it." "I am not really aware of anything (...) I am only familiar with the police." "So the problem is always I didn't know about that, and most people don't know about that."</p>
Alternative bodies are a good idea	Interviewees like the concept of alternative bodies and having them.	<p>"It's great that there is like a non-police linked channel for reporting discrimination." "They stay quite independent and I know they take it seriously." "I feel like those type of bodies help a lot because also they offer a more thorough and actually active approach."</p>
Lack of effectiveness of current alternative bodies	Interviewee believes that the current way the alternative bodies are organised, and function make them not effective.	<p>"If people from the communities that you hope will come to you don't even know that you exist, how is it going to be helpful." "No one knows that. So what's the point?"</p>
More likely to report to alternative body	Interviewees are more likely to report to an alternative reporting body than to the police.	<p>"I would be more likely to report (...) to NGO who is specially trained them." "I feel like I personally would be a lot more willing got talk to someone like that, that would maybe help me deal with the feelings that I have."</p>
Policy recommendations		
Listen to actual communities	Interviewee suggested that decision makers need to listen to the actual communities to try to solve the problem of discriminations.	<p>"Listening to what the marginalised communities are asking you to do."</p>
Modify the law	Interviewee suggested that the laws need to get modified because the current approach	<p>"(Pink in Blue need to be) bound to respond to situations always not just if they're around."</p>

Code	Explanation	Examples
	does not protect queer victims.	“Why is there not a law that if you are a taxi driver and you refuse service to anyone for any reason?”
Need action and clarity on statistics	Interviewee suggested that all the statistics need to be made clearer and more available to the public and decision-makers need to take actions based on them.	“Maybe show some decisions, some policy decisions that have been made as a result of the reporting and the data.” “But are they really committed to do something about it? Like, don't just talk, do things follow through with your actions? It's, we don't need words, we have enough words of, we don't need that we need for you to follow through.”
Need for education	Interviewee claims education is missing in the Dutch society about the situation of queer people and their discrimination.	“I think it's something you should teach people because growing up, you have a more of like, catch a bad guys.” “But education for children is always important.”
Need to raise awareness	Interviewee claims awareness is missing in the Dutch society about the situation of queer people and their discrimination.	“So maybe they could be more publicised to increase deterrence.” “So I think the more publicity the better.” “I mean, for starters, definitely make these actual support systems as these no police the support systems, more known.”
Need to train and reform the police	Interviewee claims the police need to be trained for answering to discrimination calls/reports and the police itself needs to be reformed.	“Community policing.” “I think that the proper police are not well trained enough. I think they're not often well educated, and they're definitely not diverse enough to understand what's really going on.”
People/police need to be held accountable	Interviewee claims that the police and in general the system need to be held more accountable to respect the laws and protocols.	“And we all need for our institutions, which we pay for with our taxes, to follow through, to do their job. It's very simple. If I don't do my job, I suck and I lose my client, I lose my performances. So everybody needs to do their job.” “(Need) intervention by higher power, which is the European Commission, and there should be a class action.”
Reporting needs to be made easier/more efficient	Interviewee suggest the protocol around reporting needs to be changed and made easier and more efficient.	“More easy on the victim or the subject reporting.” “Centralised portal for reporting discrimination.”
Respect and acknowledgment of intersectionality	Intersectionality is deemed as an important factor in discrimination cases and it needs to be acknowledged and respected. Action in view to solving discrimination against queer communities needs to be looked at through	“We respect the variation rather than singled out or tried to homogenise everything.” “And I think that individuals should help each other by influencing culture, and the perception of diversity.”

Code	Explanation	Examples
<p>Make Pink in Blue better</p>	<p>Interviewees provided some suggestions to make pink in blue work better.</p>	<p>the broader lens of intersectionality.</p> <p>“If there was a specific squad, maybe it does have to be all queer people who are specialised in hate crimes of a certain category, who always respond to these kinds of situations...”</p> <p>“If the pink in blue were less like the militarized police force and more I don’t know like not like psychologists, but like the people more specialised in just talking to victims rather than being part of the police force as like a tool of violence.”</p>