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Facing all the Facts is a project coordinated by CEJI – A Jewish Contribution to an Inclusive Europe (Belgium) that takes a collaborative approach to unmask the full extent and nature of hate crime and hate speech working through a coalition of civil society organizations, policy leads, national law enforcement authorities and practitioners.

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### Introduction

This publication was developed in the framework of the "Facing all the Facts" project, an EU funded initiative led by CEJI – A Jewish Contribution to an inclusive Europe in partnership with a diverse coalition of civil society organisations and national law enforcement authorities, aiming to unmask the full extent and nature of hate crime and hate speech through a collaborative approach. Facing Facts fosters and advocates for better cooperation among civil society and public authorities in recording and monitoring of hate crime. We hope this guide will support better recognition and appreciation of disabled communities and organisations towards better responses to disability hate crime.

Along with research and advocacy, training is one of the key activities of the Facing all the Facts project. This booklet stands as an important component of the new Facing Facts Online course on recognizing and identifying anti-disability bias indicators for civil society and law enforcement. The course was developed in close cooperation with partners and relevant experts in the field of disability hate crime. The course is available on the project's e-learning platform <a href="http://www.facingfactsonline.eu">http://www.facingfactsonline.eu</a> along with additional online courses on other bias motivations (antisemitism, anti-Muslim, anti-Migrant, anti-LGBT, anti-Roma, anti-Black), three online courses on hate crime for police in UK, Italy and Hungary and an online course on recognizing and combating hate speech currently available in English, French, German and Italian.

#### Lead partner: CEJI-A Jewish contribution to an inclusive Europe

#### Facing All the Facts partners:

- Community Security Trust (CST)
- Dutch Centre for Documentation and Information Israel (CIDI)
- European Network on Independent Living (ENIL)
- European Roma Information Office (ERIO)
- Movimiento Contra la Intolerancia (MCI)

- National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC)
- National University of Public Service (NUPS)
- Osservatorio per la sicurezza contro gli atti discriminatori (OSCAD)
- Praksis

# Disability Culture:

An introductory guide to explain how disability culture can impact disability hate crime strategies

#### Why would someone attack a disabled person<sup>1</sup>?

If you were disabled, how would you feel if you were robbed and told it was because you were an 'easy target'? Would you consider this to be a hate crime?

People who work closely with disabled people might not see these behaviours as potential DHCs, however, most disabled people probably would. It is important to take a proactive approach and support individuals who experience violence and intimidation, however, there is a need to consider disabled people's social position within historical and contemporary society. Across the globe, disabled people have continuously experienced marginalisation, exploitation and violence.

Today, certain behaviours and actions of individuals may be considered hate crimes in some countries. As we learned in Section Two, disability hate crime is any criminal offence that is wholly or partly motivated by bias against disabled people.<sup>2</sup> In some countries this behaviour is specifically recognised and sanctioned in their criminal codes.

Disabled campaigners and academics continue to highlight the extent of discriminatory behaviours, attitudes and actions towards disabled people. Their work shows that hostility and violence towards disabled people is not specific to one country or region of the world, it exists everywhere. Any real commitment to supporting disabled people's participation and inclusion within society, as well as stopping disability hate crime from occurring, will require awareness and understanding of how disabled people are perceived and valued within society.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 'Hate Crime Against People with Disabilities'



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This guide is inspired by the social model of disability, the term 'disabled people' is used to reinforce the notion, that a person has not acquired a disability as a personal abnormality. Instead a person is disabled by the social and physical barriers in the environment, which prevent the person from being part of the society. 'Impairment' can be sensory, physical, intellectual or linked to mental health. (European Network on Independent Living (2015) 'Independent Living Manual')



#### This guide will:

- O Describe key aspects of the disability rights movement, including how the movement has attempted to realise civil and human rights for disabled people. There will also be a focus on how disabled people's resistance to marginalisation has influenced the design, development and implementation of strategies to address disability hate crime.
- Provide an account of cultural influences that reinforce hostile and oppressive reactions toward disabled people. There is a need to consider how cultural norms lead to disabled people experiencing segregation, stigma and hate crimes, and what impact this has on disabled people's right to full participation within society<sup>3</sup>.
- Highlight practical advice on how to respond to disability hate crime cases and support people who experience disability hate crimes.

## What Is Disability? Medical Model versus Social Model of Disability

Disability rights movements and disability studies scholars advocate for the social model of disability. Oliver (2013)<sup>4</sup> summarised the social model by demonstrating that disability is rooted within society's failure to provide adequate services and ensure the needs of disabled people are considered which allow for inclusion. In this context, medical contributions play a key role in establishing a quality-of-life for disabled individuals, with an increased life expectancy and the capability to manage the health implications of their impairment far more effectively than the past. Nevertheless, the social model considers the "impairment" to be the health condition and the "disability" to explain the oppression and



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Disability Rights Movements, as well as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons Disabilities, demand that all disabling barriers should be removed so that disabled people can have full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others.

<sup>4</sup> https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09687599.2013.818773

exclusion, i.e. attitudes, inaccessible transport, poor employment opportunities. The medical model suggests disabled people experience barriers because of their health condition, impairments and/or neurotypical labels. This approach leads to shame and pity towards disabled people. Such cultural norms and values can motivate violence and hate crime against disabled people, because there is a perception that disabled people as the inherently weak are an 'easy target' for a crime. Furthermore such social norms reduce access to safety and justice for victims and strengthen institutional barriers to monitoring and responding to the problem, because the focus is on the person's condition and not on the environment around the disabled person.<sup>5</sup>

#### **Examples of a medical model approach:**

- A person with a learning disability is institutionalised because professionals believe they at risk of being 'taken advantage of' and thus unable to participate in their local community.
- A deaf person is prevented from accessing the education system because they are unable to hear instructions from the teacher.
- A wheelchair user is told they are unable to enter a building because they cannot walk up steps at the entrance.

The social model of disability took inspiration from other marginalised groups and can be used by any minority group that is socially oppressed within society. It emphasises how society, through the ideas of what is 'normal', is collectively organised to identify and marginalise any individual that does not conform to the expectations and practices that are produced through the existing social structures.

Where Do Negative Cultural Norms and Attitudes Towards Disabled People.

Come From?

#### Shaming and demonizing disabled people and Social Darwinism

Discriminatory and prejudiced beliefs towards disabled people are rooted in historical beliefs and cultural norms, many of which are reflected or even perpetuated by the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> https://www.cps.gov.uk/sites/default/files/documents/publications/disability-hate-crime- public%2520statement-2017.pdf





religious texts and teachings of the world's major religions. These beliefs have led to very dangerous situations for disabled people in which their lives have been threatened and taken and their very survival as a group has been at risk. As early as 1436 Margery Kempe wrote about her personal experience of mental health conditions (sometimes referred to as psychosocial impairment) and the process of being suspected of 'demonic possession' and how she managed to escape being burnt to death, the common practice for getting rid of people with mental health conditions. Furthermore, in late 1800s, Social Darwinism associated disability alongside 'races' other than 'white, Anglo-Saxon' people and any person not conforming to 'normal' behaviours, arguing that such groups were inferior. A manifestation of this was the 'ugly laws', which prohibited people who were visibly disabled to appear in public.<sup>6</sup> The punishment for this offence ranged from fines to imprisonment. In 1840s - the first travelling freak show in the USA, featured disabled people as 'entertainment'. This contributed to a dangerous and violent culture of exclusion and shame for disabled people that threatened their well-being and even their existence as a group.<sup>7</sup>

#### **Eugenics**

Based on the ideas of Social Darwinism, the Eugenics movement believes it is possible and necessary to 'protect' the 'better classes' through preventing 'defective' individuals from having children. As a result, disabled people are one of the key groups that continue to be segregated in long term care institutions, sterilized and even systematically killed during specific periods in time.<sup>8</sup>

#### For example:

- O Disabled people were used as subjects of 'scientific' experiments, such as the those in a long- term care institution called Vipeholm in Lund (Sweden) between 1945- 1955. Individuals were fed high levels of sugar to document the effect on their teeth<sup>9</sup>.
- Forced sterilisation was another way to eliminate disabled people. 10



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Susan M. Schweik (2010) 'The Ugly Laws, Disability in Public' New York University Press

<sup>7</sup> Rita DiNunzio, Massachusetts Office on Disability (2016) A Brief History of Disability in the United States and Massachusetts

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Pfeiffer, David (1994) 'Eugenics and Disability Discrimination' Disability & Society. Available at: Independent Living Institute-https://www.independentliving.org/docs1/pfeiffe1.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> https://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vipeholmsexperimenten

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Osamu Nagase (1995) 'Difference, Equality and Disabled People: Disability Rights and Disability Culture'

<sup>11</sup> http://www.bbc.co.uk/ouch/fact/the\_holocaust\_and\_disabled\_people\_faq\_frequently\_ask ed\_questions.shtml

• The Nazi regime, also inspired by the Eugenics movement, included disabled people in their extermination programmes.<sup>11</sup>

#### The legacy of social Darwinism today

There are contemporary legal and political actions, which have their roots in Social Darwinism. Segregated care institutions exist in many countries across the world.<sup>12</sup> The media and political discourse often portray disabled people as a drain on financial resources and a burden for taxpayers. 'Hard working families' are contrasted with 'lazy' and even fraudulent disabled people, who are making a living on benefits.<sup>13</sup> This portrayal of disabled people can lead to the normalisation and acceptance of bullying and other kinds of "low-level harassment" against them. Therefore, the work of hate crime monitoring and victim support is to make this problem visible and use data to tackle the normalisation of abuse and violence against disabled people. <sup>14</sup>

#### The cultural impact of legalizing euthanasia and assisted suicide

There is a growing number of euthanasia and assisted suicide laws internationally. Several European countries, Canada, and some states in US and Australia have adopted such laws. The legislation has expanded to widen the criteria - for example, there is no age of consent for assisted suicide in Belgium. While this is an area of contested debate, with strongly held views on all sides, from the disability rights perspective, many activists are concerned that



<sup>12</sup> European Network on Independent Living (2014) 'Myth Buster Independent Living'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Leah Burch (2017) 'You are a parasite on the productive classes: online disablist hate speech in austere times'



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Joanne Heeney (2015) Disability welfare reform and the chav threat: a reflection on social class and 'contested disabilities', Disability & Society, 30:4, 650-653, DOI: 10.1080/09687599.2015.1026745



such laws are passed without the necessary investment in support services and accessible design to reduce barriers to a full life, which includes improving the delivery of palliative care to support individuals with a terminal illness.

Furthermore, the rhetoric used in favour of euthanasia can enforce a notion that it is normal that disabled people would want to die. In contrast, in cases of non-disabled people attempting suicide, it is more likely that the importance of suicide prevention strategies is emphasised. The disability rights movement<sup>15</sup> has argued that these laws reflect the view that the life of a disabled person is of lesser value, and that the death of a disabled person is more easily justified than a case of a non-disabled person. Such distinctions made in the value of life, they argue, sets the context for disability hate crime and can lead to a lessening of investment in services for effective support for disabled people, lessening their access to safety and to effective support should they be a victim of crime.

#### Benign neglect

It is reasonable to suggest, based on the information highlighted throughout this guide, that the relevant authorities may interpret instances of harm caused to a disabled person as accidents or 'one-offs' as opposed to reflecting a pattern of discrimination, abuse and hate crime. This can lead to the authorities, services and the wider public ignoring the existence of an environment of hostility and violence towards disabled people.

Therefore, it is important to evidence and explore the key themes outlined in this document: where there is evidence that a crime is motivated by hostility towards disabled people, it should be recorded as such. For example:

- In a case where a disabled person is perceived by the perpetrator as an 'easy target' and robbed, the crime is recorded as a robbery and the bias motivation of the victim being perceived as an 'easy target' is simply ignored. The argument that the perpetrator targeted a disabled person based on the prejudiced belief that disabled people are easy targets as a group should be made visible and put forward to the authorities as a possible motivation for this offence.
- In many cases of disabled victims, consideration of intersectionality can lead to a recorded hate crime (for example a racist or homophobic crime) but seldom as a disability hate crime. In a case where a disabled person is repeatedly abused by a



<sup>15</sup> http://notdeadyetuk.org/

support worker or agency carer, it is important to consider how this may constitute a disability hate crime and ensure the bias motivation link to disability is not ignored.

# Disability Pride and the Disability Rights Movement

Disabled activists and campaigners promote the concept of disability pride, which refers to the celebration of difference and valuing everybody. Furthermore, disability pride emphasises the need to remove barriers that segregate, exclude and marginalise disabled people. There are numer ous social movements committed to supporting and improving disabled people's rights, prioritising different issues in order to realise social change. Here are just a few examples:

- "Proud, Strong and Visible"- is a slogan used by disabled activists at the ULOBA Oslo parade every year. 16
- The European Network on Independent Living organises a Freedom Drive March and International Congress every two years, to inform the European Parliament of the political issues affecting disabled people's civil and human rights.<sup>17</sup>
- The deaf rights movements have campaigned extensively to highlight the importance of sign language interpretation and the need to support deaf people to occupy positions of authority and power
- Mad Pride is a mass social movement organised by people who have experience of mental health services and oppressive psychiatric practices. Their work includes re-educating the public about mental health issues and raising awareness of the derogatory terms used to stigmatise people with mental health conditions.
- Learning Disability England is an example of an organisation controlled and managed by disabled people, working to ensure people with learning disabilities have the right level of support to participate within the community.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> http://www.learningdisabilityengland.org.uk/



<sup>16</sup> https://www.uloba.no/om-oss/historie/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> http://enil.eu/enil-2017-freedom-drive-24-28-september-brussels/



Disabled people have mobilised and created campaigns to resist the cultural values and practices that reinforce oppression. The traditional depiction of disabled people is one of weakness and illness, which reinforces practices of institutionalisation, segregation—alised or trapped in their own homes. Nevertheless, every disabled person is a target of disability hate crime because of the societal perception towards disabled people.

The intolerance, hostility and prejudice experienced by disabled people is a result of the delusion that 'normal' people exist. Disabled people are perceived as inferior, disruptive, disgusting and a hindrance because they do not conform to the expectations of what it means to be normal.

### Equal Citizenship and Full Participation for Disabled People

Some evidence of cultural change towards more equal participation of disabled people in society can be seen from how the terminology describing disabled people has evolved from 'idiots', 'invalids' and 'handicapped people' to 'people with disabilities', 'disabled people' and 'people with functional diversity'<sup>19</sup>. You may note that the most recent term, 'people with functional diversity', removes the negative focus on disability. While the terms 'disabled people' and 'people with functional diversity' are gaining recognition, it is not fully accepted in mainstream society. This means, that mainstream society still perceives disabled people being disabled because of how their body functions, whereas the terms 'person with functional diversity' and 'disabled people' give a clear message, that a person, who has an impairment is not disabled when the environment is designed to be accessible and supportive for our 'functionally diverse community'.

As we learned from the video lecture in Section Two, activists from the various social movements committed to disabled people's emancipation advocate for the ratification



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> http://disability-studies.leeds.ac.uk/files/library/zavier-Functional-Diversity-Romanach.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> http://www.un.org/disabilities/documents/convention/convoptprot-e.pdf

of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities (UN CRPD)<sup>20</sup>. This would lead to understanding disability as a human rights issue and place obligations on member states to realise the Articles within the Convention. From the perspective of hate crime monitoring and victim support it is important to note that the legal obligations outlined in the UN CRPD also include:

- An obligation to make sure that all disabled people have equal access to justice (Article 13).
- Any kind of violence, abuse and exploitation against disabled people should be prevented and prosecuted, where necessary, and support and reporting systems for victims must be accessible and useful for disabled people (Article 16).
- The recognition that disabled people have an equal right to live in the community, with choices equal to others, and shall experience full inclusion and participation in the community (Article 19).

It is imperative that disabled people and their allies advocate for the full implementation of the UN CRPD within every member state. This is to ensure the aspirations of each Article become a reality for every disabled person. Activists demand that legislative frameworks ensure every disabled person has self-determination and autonomy over their life, with the right level of support - such as personal assistance and advocacy services.<sup>21</sup>

# Combating Hate Crime as a Barrier to Equal Citizenship for Disabled People

Whilst numerous countries recognise the basis for hate crimes, many do not recognise it on the grounds of disability. According to the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), out of fifty-seven participating states that provide data on hate crimes, only nine member states reported disability hate crimes in 2016. As we learned from the video lecture in Section Two, disability hate crime occurs across the globe. Disabled people within countries that do not record such data will still experience hate crimes motivated by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> European Network on Independent Living (2015) 'Independent Living Manual'





hostility towards disability. This means there is a substantial lack of data and recognition for disability hate crime<sup>22</sup>. This programme is an excellent opportunity to reinforce the importance of recognising and addressing disability hate crime and organisations such as ENIL have created Disability Hate Crime Guides.<sup>23</sup>

# Some Advice When Working with Disabled Hate Crime Victims

- On not make assumptions about the nature or impact of an individual's impairment/s. Remember that some impairments are not immediately apparent, especially to police or other professionals who are not experienced in working with disabled people. We are each individuals and experience the world and our impairments in unique ways. Talk to the person, only ask questions that are necessary for disabled people to take part in a process of investigation or support. If someone wants to tell you more, listen to them, but avoid asking unnecessary personal questions. If you need to ask a particular question, explain why and how it relates to the investigation or process for identifying a person's support needs.
- Be aware that we can all be influenced by medicalising and stigmatising cultural views on disability. Therefore, focus on the social factors which disable people, and avoid making assumptions about the impact on their medical conditions. Ask yourself, 'How can I design a service which is accessible and supportive for disabled people?' or 'What were the disabling barriers for the victim in this specific hate crime case?'
- Be aware of the influences of 'benign neglect'. In some cases of 'accidents' you may need to take the initiative and look for evidence of intended behaviour. In cases of repeated victimization, you may need to look for evidence of systematic oppressive patterns, which link the instances together into an escalating case of disability hate crime. It is essential to speak to the individual in private to find out the facts of what happened. It may be necessary to involve an independent support worker with



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> http://hatecrime.osce.org/what-hate-crime/bias-against-other-groups---people- disabilities

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> http://www.enil.eu/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Disability\_Hate\_Crime\_Guide-FINAL- ENG-1.pdf

communication facilitation skills to support the individual to fully express themselves. If you are a police officer or a representative of another public authority, bear in mind your duties under the 'Victim's Directive' to assess and meet victims' support needs, to keep them informed in a way that is accessible to them and to support them to take part in the process where appropriate to the national context.

- While working with victims of disability hate crime, be aware that disabled people themselves may take a medicalised approach to their situation. They may have a negative self-image and may perceive their impairment as their own fault or a burden on society. Take the initiative and apply the social model of disability. Consider the following action: understand what is disabling about the person's environment and how this might be addressed; gather the facts of what happened; explain their rights to appropriate support and justice; make clear that you intend to play your role in removing relevant barriers.
- Take an intersectional approach: ensure that your response is accessible, supportive and useful for disabled people with a range of other identities. For example, while organising a victim support service for disabled victims, you need to have competence for supporting a disabled person with a LGBTQI+ background. If you do not have such competence yourself, identify a LGBTQI+ organisation working on hate crime that can support you. Remember that people may have access needs which are linked to their intersectional background. For example, a disabled person with a foreign nationality may need support in order to overcome the language barrier.
- In certain instances, the victim may be ashamed of her or his impairment or unwilling to give any evidence regarding to disability hate crime or about their medical condition. This might well be because of their often well founded- fear that it could be used against them in during the criminal process. Within the national legal framework in which you are operating, ask for explicit permission to share medical records or other information and explain to the victim any related risks, their rights, as well as how it could be beneficial and strengthen the case against the perpetrator.
- On't wait for a crisis. Make the effort to connect and develop relationships with disabled people and their organisations. Disabled people are experts about their own lives and can give the most realistic and useful advice on how to create inclusive responses by the police, prosecutions service and support organisations.



- Abusive language, which we have already seen come from historical as well as contemporary oppressive and discriminatory cultural and social narratives, can be one of the bias indicators of disability hate crime (please see Section Three for more detail). Sometimes a perpetrator is inspired and motivated by a cultural idea, such as the eugenics movement and will use some of the language for indicating disability in accordance with the ideals of a eugenics pursuit. For example, words such as 'freak', 'idiot', 'retard' etc. can be 'bias indicators' for the underlying bias motivation for committing a crime against a (perceived) disabled person. Likewise, where a perpetrator uses rhetoric, such as 'parasite' or 'cheat- making a living on benefits' it can be evidence of a bias motivation of hostility against disabled people as a group.
- Sometimes a victim may report a 'hate incident' or other situation, which is discriminatory or oppressive, but falls below the threshold of a crime in the law of your country. It is still important for monitoring organisations, the police and other public authorities such as housing authorities, to record these incidents in case it is part of a series of incidents, which can escalate into hate crime. This is particularly important in cases of victims with intersectional background, who may encounter many barriers to support and therefore are at a higher risk of experiencing hate crime. Giving support and targeting interventions with those who were involved in such hate incidents may even prevent any subsequent hate crime victimization.
- Remember that your work on disability hate crime monitoring and victim support is a crucial part of reaching the goal of tackling the oppressive and discriminatory cultural patterns in society. Even if the law in your country does not recognise 'low-level harassment' such as bullying or even serious offending as a disability hate crime, record such instances for the sake of evidencing the problem. Lawmakers, law enforcement, criminal justice agencies, other public authorities and support services need this information to understand the problem and take the most effective action to protect people and prevent it from happening at all.

#### **Lead partner**



#### **Full partners**



















#### **Associate partners**







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# Notes



