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Stephen Legg & Nottingham Citizens

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'No place for hate': community-led research and the geographies of Nottingham citizens' hate crime commission

Stephen Legg ^a and Nottingham Citizens^b

^aSchool of Geography, University of Nottingham, Nottingham, UK; ^bCitizens UK, London, UK

ABSTRACT

This paper recounts the Hate Crime Commission carried out in 2014 by Nottingham Citizens, a charity and community organiser. It provides an insider account of a piece of community led and co-produced research into the experiences of and under-reporting of hate crime in the city, and the relative success of the commission in forcing policy changes and inspiring future leaders and campaigns. It details a responsive methodology that evolved over the yearlong campaign, which collated over 1000 survey responses. It explores the spaces in which mobilisation took place (religious, educational, civic) and the pressure points (private and public) that were used to create change. It concludes by weighing up the successes and critiques of the commission, especially regarding the successful campaign to have misogyny recognised as a hate crime, and relates this work to ongoing attempts to conceptualise non-radical geographies of activism and community organising.

« Pas de place pour la haine »: La recherche guidée par la communauté et les géographies de la Commission contre les crimes de haine de Nottingham Citizens

RÉSUMÉ

Cette communication retrace la Commission contre les crimes de haine réalisée par l'organisme communautaire à but non lucratif Nottingham Citizens en 2014. Elle nous emmène dans les coulisses d'une instance de recherche guidée et coproduite par la communauté sur les expériences de crimes de haine dans la ville ainsi que le faible nombre de plaintes en résultant et le succès relatif de la commission à imposer des changements de politique et à inspirer les dirigeants et les campagnes du futur. Elle décrit en détail une méthode dynamique qui a évolué au cours de toute cette année de campagne et qui a recueilli plus de 1000 réponses. Elle explore les espaces dans lesquels la mobilisation est survenue (religieux, pédagogiques, civils) et les points de pression (privés et publiques) qui furent utilisés pour susciter des changements. En conclusion, cette communication évalue les succès et les critiques de la commission, en particulier par rapport à la fructueuse

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CONTACT Stephen Legg  stephen.legg@nottingham.ac.uk  School of Geography, University of Nottingham, Nottingham, UK

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campagne pour intégrer les agressions misogynes dans la liste des crimes de haine, et elle lie cette entreprise aux tentatives actuelles de conceptualisation des géographies non-radicales de militantisme et d'action collective.

'No hay lugar para el odio': investigación liderada por la comunidad y las geografías de la Comisión de Crímenes de Odio de los Ciudadanos de Nottingham

RESUMEN

Este artículo relata la Comisión de Crímenes de Odio llevada a cabo en 2014 por Nottingham Citizens, una organización benéfica y comunitaria. Proporciona un recuento desde adentro de una investigación liderada y coproducida por la comunidad sobre las experiencias y el sub-registro de delitos de odio en la ciudad, y el relativo éxito de la comisión en forzar cambios en las políticas e inspirar a futuros líderes y campañas. Detalla una metodología receptiva que evolucionó durante la campaña de un año, que recopiló más de 1000 respuestas a la encuesta. Explora los espacios en los que tuvo lugar la movilización (religiosa, educativa, cívica) y los puntos de presión (privados y públicos) que se utilizaron para crear el cambio. Concluye sopesando los éxitos y las críticas de la comisión, especialmente con respecto a la exitosa campaña para que la misoginia sea reconocida como un crimen de odio, y relaciona este trabajo con los intentos continuos de conceptualizar geografías no radicales de activismo y organización comunitaria.

Introduction: Nottingham citizens' hate crime commission

At 6pm on 11 November 2013 I cycled out of the University Park and up Derby Road, to Canning Circus, and 'The Organ Grinder'. In the pub I met George Gabriel, the lead organiser of Nottingham Citizens (NC), a charity that campaigns with employers and community organisations to improve the lives of the citizens of Nottingham city and of Nottinghamshire.¹ George steered the conversation (our 'one to one') through what I would later learn was a core Citizens UK rhetorical technique of engagement; the story. George spoke about his university education, his gap year, and how he had come to realise that he wanted to get involved in community organising and campaigning for social change from below. He then asked me why I had expressed an interest in NC and their work.

I wracked my brains and came up with three reasons: I wanted to learn more about my home city; as a gay man I was interested in working with the local LGBTQ community; and that my research topics led to an interest in engaging with local South Asian – origin communities. George's eyes lit up: 'I've got a great idea!', 'OK', I replied. George paused, and then said: 'I'd like you to go into a local mosque and give a talk about how it feels to be the victim of homophobic abuse', '...'.²

This story about stories illustrates two of the techniques that I would witness, and deploy, over the following years as I came to collaborate with NC in their Hate Crime Commission. First, George's suggestion marked what I will be calling a 'pressure point',

the act of putting someone on the spot, often in and using public space, to encourage/force them out of their comfort zone and into a new mode of action (for the record, I didn't give a talk on homophobic violence in a mosque, although we did organise the final event of the Hate Crime Commission project in a local Muslim community centre). Second, it illustrates the type of spaces used for community organising. Although some were formal meeting spaces, the majority were in either community spaces (charity shops, churches, synagogues) or public spaces (cafes and the occasional pub).

Each year Nottingham Citizens takes on up to five one-year campaigning issues based on local concerns. From mid-January 2014 I was invited to join a small working group who put together a proposal for a Nottingham Hate Crime Commission. In this paper I would like to recount my version (just one of many) of how the Commission played out. The paper records the minutiae of doing this sort of work and emphasises the significance of geography, in terms of the places in which campaigning happened, the vision of the city which our commission produced and the city authorities' response to our recommendations. The paper includes critical reflections on the campaign before concluding with reflections on the nature of activism and the contribution that geographers, and geography, can make.

Since the 1960s, at least, geographers have sought to contribute to radical social change. Historically this drew upon anarchist and Marxist theory, more recently contributions have been made regarding war and security, austerity-poverty and indigenous rights (The Autonomous Geographies Collective, 2010). Paul Routledge (2017) has summarised the geographies of this radical tradition, showing that protests both draw upon and make space. This is a realisation that is generally neglected in broader literature regarding social movements and protest activism. In response, Routledge suggested that we attend to the role of six spatial strategies (place knowledge, space making, mobility, textual space, networks, and being out-of-place) in the geographies of protest. I will assess in the conclusion how useful these strategies are in interpreting this case. I will also reflect on how Routledge contributes to the centring of radical protest, which he admits is just one part of a broader spectrum of 'contentious politics', ranging from revolutions and insurgencies to democratic engagements with policy and government. This paper aims to contribute to ongoing efforts to describe the geographies of activism and mobilisation that do not centrally adhere to traditions of radicalism or of protest (Horton & Kraftl, 2009).

As will be clear by now, this paper does not recount an academic doing 'research' that was then communicated to a non-academic public. This was a co-produced piece of research in which the community organisers were just as much experts in the topic at hand as the lecturers. I hope this paper will be of use to them, and I have tried to write it in a way that will not put off the non-academic. I use the first-person to continually emphasise that this is one perspective on a broader movement, and to continually retain a focus on the process of doing the work rather than the polished outputs that resulted. What became clear, repeatedly, during this work was that the community organisers I worked with readily mastered the languages of official- and academy-speak (identity 'strands', intersectionality, legal codings) and helped me find new and engaged ways of thinking about some of the academic research summarised below.

Collaboration, citizens, hate, and place

There is a geography to the knowledge of universities. Traditionally this geography has been the geography of the university campus, whether a green, fenced space outside of the city, or a fragmented, urban collection of gated libraries, labs and lecture theatres. Behind these portals knowledge would be produced, and then ‘transferred’ to the public, via lectures, newspaper articles, and maybe the occasional documentary. Over the last 20 years the geography of this flow has begun to change. Academics have been encouraged to engage in the ‘exchange’ of information with the public, collaborating with them on research, and developing questions from engagement with communities.² This has the potential to alter what we think of as research, including debates about what is desirable, the value of learning together, the importance of care and reciprocity, and the process of mutual empowerment (Darby, 2017). Jane Wills (2014) explains how the change in her particular idea of what engagement is entails a description of her work with London Citizens and their political toolkit, which ‘... is focused on *practice*: talking, listening, empathising, deliberating, strategising, leading, organising, mobilising, celebrating and reflecting.’ (Wills, 2014, p. 366).

Like Nottingham Citizens, London Citizens is a ‘chapter’ of Citizens UK, the largest British proponent of community organising. Citizens UK is, itself, part of an international movement to apply an approach which originated in the 1930s work of Chicago Sociology graduate Saul Alinsky (Wills, 2014). While the concept may have originated in a university, and academics are still actively involved, the heart of community organising is non-academic and focused on real and substantive change, beginning with local concerns, and working out.

In 2012 Wills could describe Nottingham Citizens as one of several ‘fledgling alliances’ (Wills, 2012, p. 115). By 2019 Citizens UK had ‘chapters’ in Birmingham, Cymru (Wales), Greater Manchester, Leeds, Leicester, London, Maun Valley in Nottinghamshire, Milton Keynes, Nottingham and Tyne and Wear. Most are small-scale, and even the larger chapters are based on networking strong local community organisations. Each one responds to local geography, history and sense of place.

Like many of the locations of non-London and non-regional chapters, Nottingham is a post-industrial, diverse city. Tom Collins’s (2016) research into civic pride in Nottingham shows that it is a member of the UK’s core cities group, with a city population of 300 000 and a metropolitan catchment of 700 000. It has sizeable Black British and British Asian communities and rich networks of religious communities. However, the city has fared the worst of all the core cities during the prolonged economic downturn since the 2008 financial crisis, with higher unemployment and lower wages than comparable cities (Collins, 2016).

While Nottingham Citizens has significant representation by large local employers, the majority of dues-paying member organisations are educational and religious institutions. By 2014 it had grown into the strongest chapter outside of London, incorporating 37 grassroots organisations which helped it double its income between 2012 and 2014–15. In return for these fees, NC commits to working with each organisation, depending on their needs. In 2014 one of these needs was felt to be an investigation into hate crime in the city.

Despite being relatively unheard of in the 1980s, by the early 2000s, ‘hate crime’ was being popularly used in the media, political speeches, and in social campaigns (Perry, 2003). The term can be understood in two senses, which have not always kept track of

each other. The first is that hate crime explains a feature of our societies and our attempts to understand it. The second is that hate crime is a legal, governmental, and policing response to these perceptions and understandings. While there are attempts to forge international unity in definitions of and responses to hate crime (Hall, Corb, Giannasi, & Grieve, 2015, pp. 93–189), these responses are nation-state specific.

In the United Kingdom the 'journey' (Giannasi, 2015) towards current hate crime legislation began with the response to the racist murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993 and the Macpherson Inquiry that reported, in 1999, on institutionalised racism in the police force.³ Enhanced powers were passed by the New Labour government in the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act, although this excluded religious discrimination from its remit (Giannasi, 2015). The legislation was expanded to cover religious hate in 2001, following the 'revenge' attacks on Muslims after the September 11th attacks in New York that year. In the 2003 Criminal Justice Act, hate crime provisions were expanded still further to include sexual orientation and disability (transgender identity was added to the list in 2012 and in 2018 a review into the campaign to mark misogyny as a hate crime was announced.) At the time of NC's Hate Crime Commission national police guidance emphasised one of the key features of the official definition of hate crime, and one of its still most contentious characteristics. This is that it depends upon the perception of the victim. In 2005 the police operational guidance defined hate crime as: 'Any hate incident, which constitutes a criminal offence, perceived by the victim or any other person, as being motivated by prejudice or hate The perception of the victim or any other person is the defining factor in determining a hate incident.' (Association of Chief Police Officers, 2005, p. 9)

There are, however, serious concerns about the usefulness of legislation for tackling such a complex phenomena as hate crime. Put simply, the question is: can law be the solution to hate crime (Moran, 2001)? For some, hate crime reporting can only be one part of a broader strategy to deal with the experience of hate (Browne, Bakshi, & Lim, 2011). There are also concerns about the separation of hate crimes into separate identity strands, which fail to consider how those strands might intersect (Mason-Bish, 2015). These concerns were addressed, though certainly not solved, in NC's year-long investigation into hate crime in Nottingham, which sought to raise awareness within communities of the problem of hate crime, and its potential solutions, as much as seeking policy changes with the local police and council. These provided the structures and resources for the methodology which emerged in 2014, which enabled us to collect and analyse information about hate crime and its underreporting in Nottingham, and to pressure for change.

A responsive and co-produced methodology

Rather than summarise a pre-prepared methodology which was then rolled out in our 2014 work, this section gives an account of the different methodologies that were called for as the commission developed over the year. I reflect on how this matched, or did not, my expertise and training. This also presents an opportunity to sketch out a rough timeline of the commission work. In the following section I add further detail as I expand on where mobilisation took place, and on some of the pressure points that were involved. While specific to our work these methods also speak out to shared challenges and techniques in other forms of activism, whether radical or more deliberative.

Meetings were central to NC's methodology, drawing on that of Citizens UK and the broader community organising ethos. This was where work was done, knowledge shared, and future community leaders educated and identified. The emphasis on face to face contact allowed new possibilities to emerge and responsibilities to be distributed, but also for feelings within communities and individuals to be shared. We would meet every few weeks to share our work. As an historical geographer, my instinct was to archive these meetings, acting as an un-appointed and furtive secretary, from our first small meeting on 28 January 2014. While the meeting chair would often circulate minutes and action points by email in the following days, I started to assemble a folio of documents: circulars; posters; business cards; official pamphlets; scripts; and my meeting records, usually on a note pad, often on improvised scraps of paper (including the back of a Sainsbury's supermarket receipt on an ill-prepared day).

Listening, approving, and information gathering

The Nottingham Citizens model is that roughly five campaigns are carried out over a year, and that these emerge from concerns expressed by communities on the ground through 'listening campaigns'. Proposals for action are then put forward to a public meeting (a 'discerning event') at which members of NC vote for which campaigns they would like to support. The direction of flow for these ideas is not, however, solely 'up' from communities to the NC leadership. George Gabriel had been hearing about hate crimes in Nottingham in 2013 and was keen to find out if this was an experience that community members shared (this in part built on a previous investigation into the racial abuse that taxi drivers in the city suffered). Therefore between December 2013 and March 2014 NC's 40 member communities conducted listening campaigns to consider the urgency of conducting further work on hate crime in Nottingham. The nature of each organisation determines the sort of feedback they can give from listening campaigns. Religious organisations could canvass their members during weekly gatherings, while the Nottingham Women's Centre had regular contact with large numbers of women. For academics, we could listen to our colleagues and give a sense of what students were experiencing, but this was the limit of our 'community'. I also participated as a member of the LGBTQ community, and passed on the experiences of friends and the opinions of colleagues who worked in local support services, making contact with the Men's Health Centre, the local police LGBT contact officer, the local Pride committee, and the University Staff LGBTQ network, which resulted in its leader, Dr Max Biddulph, being eventually appointed as one of the six commissioners of the inquiry.

At the discerning event in March 2014 a small team was sanctioned to start initial research, which consisted of a pilot questionnaire devised by the NC team with expert advice by Dr Loretta Trickett, a specialist in hate crime research from Nottingham Trent University (NTU), which was distributed both by hand and online. The results were presented at a delegate's assembly on April 20th at which 216 community leaders approved the need for a commission into hate crime in the city. The questionnaire was fine-tuned and, after the public launch of the inquiry on June 9th, rolled out between June and September.

For the LGBTQ community in Nottingham, other than the contacts mentioned above, links to the online survey were posted on facebook, and forwarded to various bulletins and online listings. Nottingham's small, and shrinking, number of 'gay' bars, clubs and community centres made survey completion in person difficult, though Max Biddulph and

Dr Nathaniel Lewis, also from the UoN's School of Geography, participated in the Pride march of that summer and ran a UoN LGBTQ+ stall where they encouraged people to fill in the survey.

Pressure points and negotiation

If archiving and the preparation of questionnaires sit squarely within my training within the arts, humanities and social sciences, the practice of private and public negotiation did not. While the philosophy of Nottingham Citizens is based around cooperation and collaboration, it also, at times, required techniques not dissimilar to coercion and manipulation so as to force change. This is perhaps where our techniques most closely approached those of radical activism. They are what I will be calling 'pressure points', moments at which private or public pressure was placed on individuals or institutions to secure commitments to NC objectives. This was a relatively friendly feature of our one-to-ones and private meetings ('who can do this? Anyone? ...') but was also a common and often combative feature of public negotiation with influential officials.

The outward facing negotiations would be heavily scripted in advance, with a chair, timekeeper, and pre-agreed aims. We would start with 'rounds', introducing ourselves and the members we represented. At a meeting on 9th April, I was one of seven NC members to meet Chief Constable Chris Eyre to discuss the police more broadly, and to introduce our plans for a hate crime commission. We were tasked with explaining the need for the report, giving examples from the pilot questionnaire, and informing him of our plans for a public launch on June 9th. Our tasked 'asks' were that the Chief Constable agree to work with the hate crime team and discuss our plans in depth, that he attend on June 9th, and that he would also work to secure the attendance of representatives of the Criminal Prosecution Service and the courts. The Chief Constable agreed; the trickier negotiation would come later regarding funding and changes to police practice regarding hate crime (see below).

The public launches of the inquiry on June 9th and of the report on October 9th were similarly scripted, but involved each institution agreeing to 'turn out' a set number of members. The aim was explicitly to fill a venue to capacity with an audience that would witness and secure commitments from officials, although these were mostly secured in advance. The launch of the commission on June 9th involved setting up from 4pm and rehearsals of those with speaking roles from 5 to 6.15pm. A spoken word performance was used to open the assembly, after which I and three co-chairs then introduced the six commissioners of the inquiry, after which testimonies by those who had experienced hate crime in the city were delivered, before the audience was encouraged to have a quick one-to-one with someone they'd not met before. The Police and Crime Commissioner, Paddy Tipping, later came on stage, where he committed to sharing information on hate crime in the city, and agreed to discuss the inquiry report ahead of the launch on October 9th. In what follows I would like to add a sense of place to this chronology and methodology of the inquiry.

Mobilising: a Nottingham journey

Social movements mobilise people. This is often thought of in a metaphorical sense. People's previously stationary ideas and assumptions are set in motion. Or, if we're thinking of physical bodies being mobilised, then it tends to be collective bodies, forcibly

occupying public space, or moving together as crowds. What these interpretations tend to forget is the labour that goes in to shaking up peoples' taken-for-granted assumptions, or in getting people onto the street, in the first place. This labour is ideological, getting people to question their beliefs, but it is also physical. In this section I address the mobilities that go in to mobilising people; who went *where*.

The geographies of hate crime are at best implicit in most research (Clayton, Donovan, & Macdonald, 2016; Hall, 2019). While GIS has been used to map police reports of hate crime incidents (Hall & Bates, 2019), the emphasis in this paper is on the geographies of community organising and mobilisation. In retracing some of the places in which we met, I hope to re-ground this experiment in community organising. I also hope that in relating the tiny stages upon which this drama played out, what could seem an intimidating inquiry will reveal itself to be the result of the networking of small acts and everyday spaces; a non-metaphorical journey (for me, one mostly by bike) around Nottingham (see [Figure 1](#)).

Religious sites

In both the sites of its origin in Chicago and the USA more broadly, and through many of the Citizens UK chapters, community organising has depended upon religious community organisations. Many have deep roots in communities, and the regular meetings with them to canvass opinion and to mobilise their members. They also, vitally, often have the spaces in which meetings can take place (for free). The large majority of NC meetings took place in religious community spaces. These spaces were not passive backdrops, but worked to actively create our commitment to shared understandings of the consequences of hate crime regardless of the identity strand it targeted (on the discomfort some felt regarding religion in the commission see the section on critique below).

Following my first one-to-one with George in November 2013 I enrolled on the Nottingham Citizens training programme, a one or two day course which explained the origins of the Citizens UK philosophy and how the organisation worked. My training took place on 18 January 2014 at both a Methodist Church community space and the Nottingham Liberal Synagogue in Sherwood. For many of us this was our first time in a Synagogue; we were given a tour of the building and the day concluded with a traditional song being sung together, by those who wanted to join in. We were taught that equality, peace and diversity were guiding principles of NC, and that peoples' stories were the best guides to the issues motivating them and their communities.

The first meeting I attended of what would become the hate crime group took place 10 days later on 28th January at the New Testament Church of God in St Anns district, a relatively deprived area to the east of the city centre. Six of us sat in a private room upstairs, generously furnished with tea and biscuits, and shared our stories of the experiences of hate crimes we were aware of. These ranged from homophobic violence ('gay bashing'), to Islamophobia, to the story our host, Bishop Paul Thomas, shared of having been interrogated in the street by the police having stooped to retrieve his car keys from under his car where he had dropped them (being a black man it was assumed he was trying to steal the car). We discussed who would make the best commissioners, who could 'open doors' and have an impact. I was asked whether I thought it would be

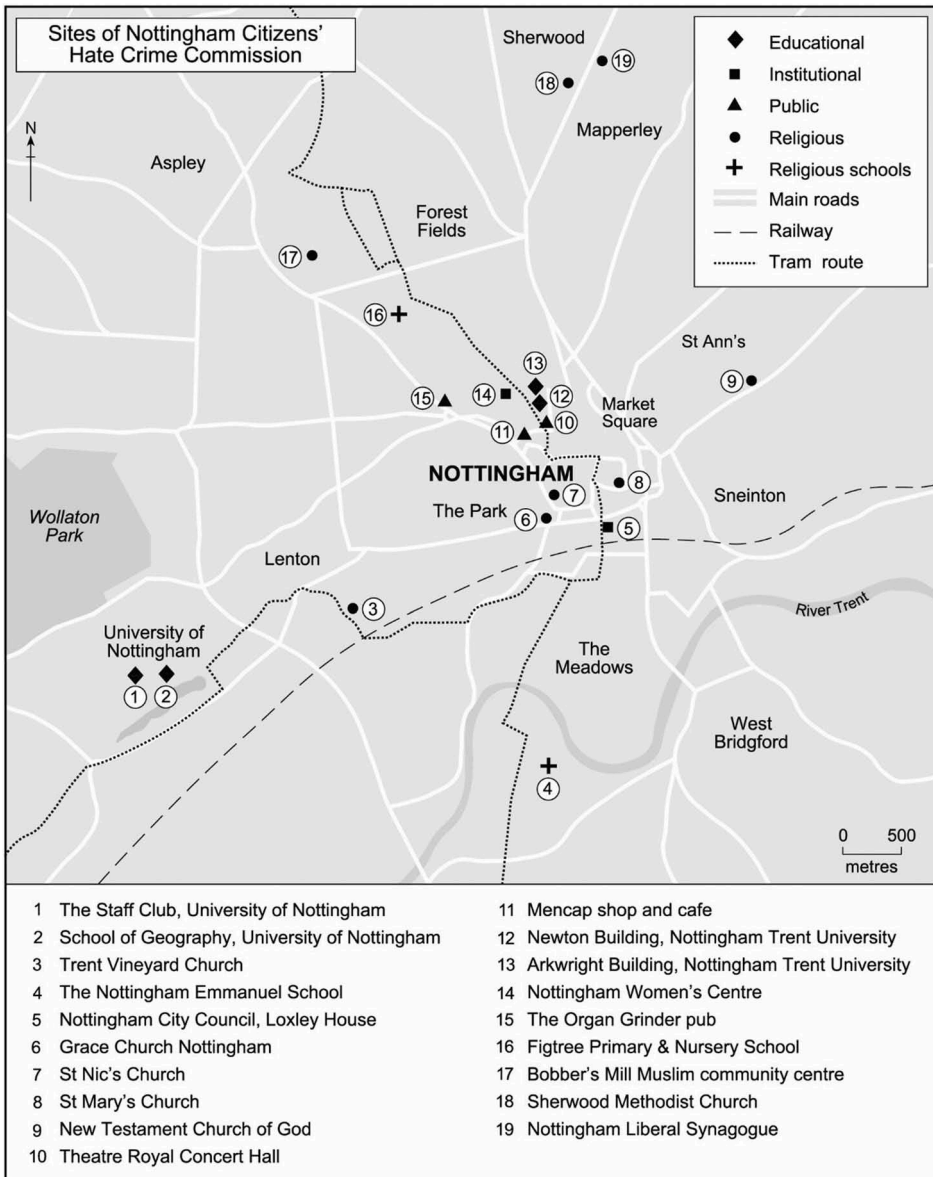


Figure 1. Sites of the Nottingham hate crime commission.

possible to bring LGBTQ experiences into a joint inquiry into hate crime, alongside ethnic, racial and disability based hate crime, and I suggested Max Biddulph as a possible commissioner.

This church became the space for our initial meetings, its private room hosting intimate planning meetings, the second such being three weeks later on 18th February. It also included students from Sociology at NTU and from Politics and International Relations and Sociology at UoN, Pastor Cliver Foster from the Pilgrim Church, Sajid Mohammad from Himmah, a Muslim based community organisation, and Dr Loretta Trickett from

NTU's Law School. Two further meetings were used in March to prepare for the April 2nd discerning event at the Trent Vineyard Church in Lenton. Unlike the previous small community church, which was raising funds for a roof renovation at the time, Trent Vineyard occupied a new built building on a large plot in an industrial estate to the west of the city. The main hall could accommodate the hundreds of members who had been brought by their institutions to choose NC's next campaigns, including the hate crime commission.

As the inquiry got under way, driven by George Gabriel, Saj Mohammed and Clive Foster, various other churches provided spaces for different functions. The April 9th private negotiation with the Chief Constable took place at the recently opened Grace Church on Castle Boulevard near the city centre. On 20th May, the delegates' assembly, at which a briefing on the ongoing work took place, was held at the ancient Anglican St Mary's Church, in the city's lace market district. The public launch on 9th June took place at St Nicholas Church on Maid Marion Way, the inner city's ring road, following a dress rehearsal the week before. It then became the site for follow-up meetings the following week and a month later.

These were the sites used for public launches and private meetings. In many more churches, synagogues and mosques across the city, listening campaigns and surveys were being carried out. After the survey was completed, on 20 March 2015 a service of thanks was given at the Bobber's Mill Muslim Community Centre, in which various members of the team were welcomed, and at which Councillor Dave Liversidge, who had collaborated with the inquiry, was presented with a biography of Malcolm X in thanks.

Schools and universities

Education institutions provided purpose-built (and free) sites for us to prepare and launch our work. They also provided non-denominational spaces in which representatives from religious organisations and other organisations participating in the inquiry could interact, in often-unanticipated ways. Nottingham Trent University is based in the city centre and their Newton Arkwright teaching and conference complex was used for the public launch of the commission report on Thursday 9th October. The launch opened with a performance by a local gospel choir, after which Mel Jeffs (the Manager of the Nottingham Women's Centre) and I introduced the hate crime commission's work, after a moving testimony from Bilal Hussain, an NTU student whose father had been seriously injured in an attack during his work as a taxi driver. Local MPs, police representatives and councillors were then called on to publicly support the recommendations of the report.

In 2014 Eid-ul-Adha had fallen on the previous Saturday and members of the local Muslim community offered to provide some food for those attending the launch in continuation of the Eid celebrations. The food was laid out in an atrium next to the lecture theatre. Max Biddulph had organised for there to be panels in the atrium displaying various posters regarding the University of Nottingham's LGBTQ staff network, and the broader issues facing the community. When the audience turned out of the auditorium, the queues for the celebratory food wound their way around the atrium, giving people time to read the posters and chat to Max and others while they waited. Many members of the Muslim community were keen to hear from Max and others about homophobic discrimination, but also about how the community reacted and mobilised.

Of all his engagements as a commissioner of the report, Max recalls this moment as the most special, an intersectional space created by shared interests, and an exceptional lamb biriyani.

NTU had provided meeting rooms for our planning work through the summer, and they also hosted a Safer Nottinghamshire Board Hate Crime Conference on 15th December, at which Mel and I presented the NC report to representatives of the local police, courts system and the Crown Prosecution Service. Being out of the city centre, the University of Nottingham's campus was less accessible for most of our city based partners, although we did host the Chief Constable for a negotiation the week before the launch of the report (see below).

While the commission did not target schoolchildren, schools were used to host various meetings. On 23rd September we met at the Fig Tree Primary School in Hyson Green, a school which is cross-community but focuses on Islamic teachings. With a few weeks to go before the launch we thrashed out the details of the script in a classroom decorated with children's depictions of key events in Muslim history (and a few dinosaurs). The Church of England Emmanuel School in West Bridgford was later used for a planning meeting and for a delegates assembly after the commission had concluded its work, on 12 February 2015, where we used testimonies and summaries of the report to further publicise our work.

Public and official spaces

As suggested above, some of the commission's work took place in public spaces such as the Pride march and the UoN's LGBTQ staff network stall. Questionnaires were also handed out at taxi ranks for the city's hackney carriages, a large majority of which were driven by men of Pakistani origin. We would also occasionally meet in cafes, including that of Mencap, a learning disability charity which had a shop and café in the city centre's Angel Row at the time.

Meetings with the police tended to take place in spaces organised by Nottingham Citizens, although George and others did secure approval to visit the city police's control room and see how hate crimes were logged. Meetings with councillors took place in Loxley House, a grand, modern building by Nottingham station which the Council bought from the financial firm Capital One in 2009. We met the Director for Community Safety there on 16th September to secure agreements for the forthcoming launch, one of many meetings in which NC and the council tried to square their visions of how the people of Nottingham experienced hate crime and how their communities could respond.

The largest NC meeting to date took place on 24 March 2015 at Nottingham's cavernous Royal Concert Hall. This public assembly pressed politicians to commit to actions, in the run up to the general election of May that year, regarding adult social care, housing, jobs, the living wage and hate crime, in front of an audience of 2309 people turned out by Nottingham Citizens. At the end of the evening audience members were asked to turn on their smart phone lights to show those on stage that they had the support of the audience in calling for pledges to support the ongoing recommendations of the hate crime commission, and others. A photographer caught the moment (see [Figure 2](#)). It was a moment of elation, as leaders committed to support our causes. But the

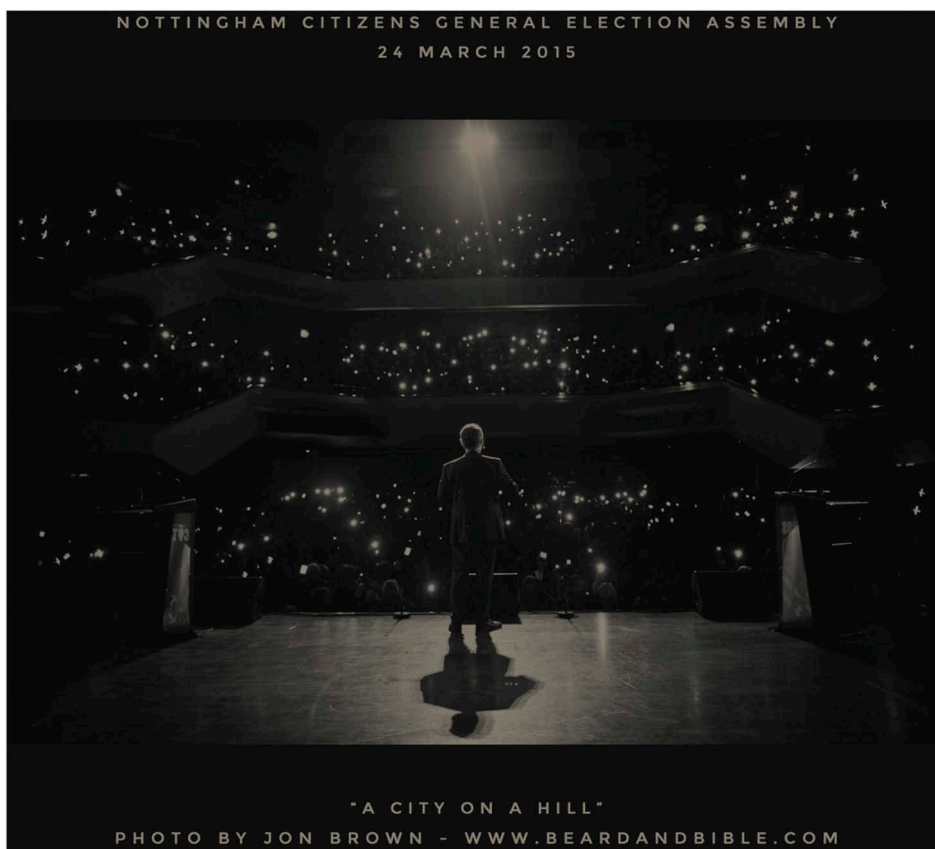


Figure 2. A city on a hill, the Nottingham citizens general election assembly, 24 March 2015.

<http://www.beardandbible.com/blog/2015/getting-the-shot?rq=citizens>. Permission to use the image granted by the photographer, Jon Brown.

branding of this image and of the subsequent communications about the event as the dreaming of Nottingham as a ‘city on a hill’, and the religious symbolism this implied, made some members uneasy (see section on critique below).⁴

Pressure points

Pressure points were used to mobilise and agitate. Three examples are given below of examples that took place in private within the commission, in private with an external members, and in public. They chart the emergence of misogyny as a major component of our analysis and show how interlinked smaller scale and private pressure points could be to large-scale, public interventions.

The private, NC pressure point took place on 22nd May in one of NTU’s glitzy refurbished suites in their Newton Building in the heart of town where we were preparing for the launch, on June 9th, of the full survey. The pilot survey had been running since March and it asked if the participants had been victim of a crime or criminal behaviour which they believed to be motivated by prejudice against one of these identity aspects:

ethnicity; religion; LGB; trans-issues; or disability. The results had given a clear mandate for a larger survey, and they reflected the terms of the Criminal Justice Act (2003) which identified hate crimes as those targeting race, religion, disability or sexual orientation. The pilot results had also, however, shown that many of the victims had been women, and that they also felt that the incidents targeted their gendered identity. While the full questionnaire was going to log the gender of the respondents, its design was intended to mirror that of the Criminal Justice Act, collecting data on the hate crimes that it itself criminalised, so as to show that they were being under-reported.

Mel Jeffs was at the meeting, in her role as Manager of the Nottingham Women's Centre. The centre has its own specific feminist geography. As a safe space for women, many of whom have been victims of misogynistic violence or intimidation, no men are allowed to enter. The centre was a NC member and Mel had joined the hate crime team. On hearing about the way women were to be addressed in the survey she pointed out that it would only reproduce the gender blindness of the Criminal Justice Act. It was a powerful intervention and highlighted the tensions between the two definitions of hate crime (as defined by the law or by the victim). The survey was amended, and the version that was answered by over 1000 respondents included the option of logging gender based hate crimes. This marked one of the first steps in a long and ongoing journey, pioneered by the Nottingham Women's Centre as a member of Nottingham Citizens, to have misogyny recognised nationally as a hate crime.

The second pressure point occurred between NC and the police on 2nd September, but took place in private. The location was the University of Nottingham staff club, where I had hired a room in which Saj Mohammad, George Gabriel, Mel Jeffs, Chantelle Whelan and myself hosted the Nottinghamshire's Chief Constable and Chief Inspector Ted Antill, who oversaw the police's hate crime brief. We discussed our proposed recommendations for the commission report. One suggestion was that misogyny be included as a hate crime, as the police rules allowed if local conditions justify it.

The Chief Constable pointed out that misogyny was not included in the 2003 Act, and that gender-based violence was covered by other laws, including those targeting domestic violence and indecent assault. Mel responded that the existing laws prioritised violence and domestic space, whereas hate crime covered all forms of discrimination and was not geographically limited to the home, a point which the Chief Constable conceded. The exchange heightened the atmosphere in the room, and we broke up shortly afterwards. The Chief Constable engaged me in some light chat (he was a geography graduate, it turned out . . .) but was soon bustled out of the building by George, who reminded me that the police were not our friends (or enemies). In our debrief Mel said that the Chief Constable's language (referring to her as 'love' at one point) had been demeaning. Our collective failure to raise the issue of language was noted and we committed to being more attentive during our next, public, meeting a month later at which the police would be publically pressed to back our recommendations.

The third, public, form of pressure point took place through a NC assembly. Our October 9th public launch, followed by the Eid celebration meal, concluded with 'asks' being put to the Deputy Police Commissioner, Nottingham City Councillor Dave Liversidge, and the Chief Constable, Chris Eyre. Each guest had a NC member propose questions to them on stage, and 'pin' them to commit. Mel Jeffs was tasked with pinning the Chief Constable. While NC has no formal record or archive, the tightly planned public

events leave an unintentional but minutely detailed account of the micro-timings and scriptings of what was asked. At 7.38pm (we ran very nearly to time) Mel thanked the police for their efforts, especially under austerity-slashed budgets, and asked them to:

- “1. Agree to respond in writing to the recommendations pertinent to you and meet us within a month to discuss ways forward
2. Respond to our urgent recommendation for the resurrection of partnership working between key agencies ...
3. Respond to our recommendation that Notts Police create dedicated specialist resource to tackle hate crime ...
4. Respond to our recommendation that Notts Police work with us at the Women’s Centre, the City Council and others to develop the appropriate tools to truly gain a picture of the extent of misogynistic crime ...

You will have 5 minutes to respond and the bell will sound at 4. I will then have two minutes to seek further clarity from you.”

The Chief Constable agreed to respond (see below) but continued to cite police work on domestic violence as evidence of progressive work being done. Mel pinned him on this account, insisting that our report included accounts of street harassment and misogynistic abuse that women in Nottingham face every day, outside of the home, and asked him what he was going to do about that. He agreed to look in to it further, and it was widely felt that this public confrontation marked a water-shed and the beginning of steps towards Nottinghamshire Police recognising misogyny as a hate crime.

These three pressure points, crossing NC’s private-public divide, show how our hate crime work emerged through internal pressure and dialogue, negotiation and public debate. It also emerged through the text of the commission report, which is summarised below before moving on to the reception of the report and how this project speaks to broader interest in the geographies of social justice and activism.

No place for hate

The 32-page NC commission report was launched on 9 October 2014 and is freely available online.⁵ It summarised and responded to over 1000 questionnaire surveys, interviews, focus groups and expert submissions. It worked both with and against official definitions of, and responses to, hate crime. The cover of the report features excerpts from the Criminal Justice Act of 2003, making clear that the commission was not seeking a new law but that the existing law be applied (and its provisions used to cover gender). The explicit focus of the report’s framing was that the police were not doing enough to register and investigate hate crimes, as evidenced by the Nottinghamshire police only logging 696 hate crimes in 2013–14, the same number of incidents of racial abuse NC had found directed towards 130 taxi drivers in a single week.

Though a 1000 person survey in a city of 300,000 is not quantitatively significant, our focus on communities who were explicitly and regularly targets of hate crime meant that we portrayed a Nottingham that was qualitatively richer and representative than official statistics allowed. The report’s key findings were that: hate crime amongst those surveyed was under-reported by 13%-34%; hate crime was widely misunderstood and thus misreported; since the police and council had cut dedicated

hate crime staff there had been a 40% reduction in recorded hate crimes; 38% of female respondents identified a gender-based hate crime (despite it not being recognised in national legislation); and that 'sentence uplift' (harsher sentences for hate crimes) was not being applied.

292 (29%) of the respondents had been the victim of a hate crime, and the report broke down the responses by sex, age, type of crime, and location. It became clear, in terms of geography and mobilisation, that hate crimes were being experienced in enclosed spaces (40 [14%] at work, 49 [17%] at home, 12 [4%] at places of education) but the majority were in open spaces (27 [9%] on public transport and 164 [56%] listed as being in public). Harassment was the main type of hate crime, and the report was populated with testimonies of insults in the street, as well as repeated reports of disbelief in the willingness or capacity of local institutions (in the context of repeated and severe 'austerity' funding cuts) to respond.

The commission's recommendations were that: an interagency panel be established to scrutinise hate crime cases alongside a hate crime hub to provide victim support and increase public awareness; that the police and council appoint dedicated hate crime staff; that public bodies and civil society organisations campaign against hate crime; and that:

Nottinghamshire Police should work with Nottingham Women's Centre and other groups specialising in gender equality to monitor crimes and incidents motivated by misogynistic intent and should disambiguate the "religious" category of hate crime to respond to local needs.⁶

Receptions

Successes

The 9 October 2014 launch went well, being covered in regional media. All those called upon to commit their support did so. Over the following three months the team met periodically to monitor responses to the recommendations and to give the report further publicity. This campaigning resulted in an unprecedented joint-letter being sent to George Gabriel and NC on 10 February 2015. It was authored by Paddy Tipping, the Nottinghamshire Police and Crime Commissioner, on behalf of Nottinghamshire Police, Nottingham City Council, Nottinghamshire County Council, the Crown Prosecution Service and the Safer Nottinghamshire Board (Hate Crime Steering Group). Responding to the NC commission, as discussed at the December 2014 conference mentioned above, and in cooperation with a new hate crime steering group, a two-year delivery plan had been proposed for approval that spring.

The plan included commitments to: a new police 'hate crime manager' and a dedicated hate crime post in the city council; a 'no place for hate' pledge for public sector agencies, including commitments to increase reporting and sentencing uplift; support training materials for schools; better training for police officers and increased reporting; encouraging the new police and council posts to fulfil many of the functions of the suggested hate crime hub; enhancing the analysis of hate crime statistics; better support for victims of hate crime; and hosting a seminar to share practice regarding different forms of hate crime, especially that against women.

Jane Wills has spoken about the different ways in which campaigners and academics deal with success.⁷ For many campaigners, successes can and must be advertised, to secure future funding and support. For many academics, the advertisement of supposed successes can be taken as a sign of co-option (by capitalism, or the state), of compromise (fudged aspirations) or compromise (giving in). While the paper will conclude with evidence of the commission's problems and shortcomings, it is also important to recognise the successes achieved by the campaign, and its lasting legacies.

First, the campaign represented an unusual experiment in 'intersectionality' (for a summary of related research and debates see Hopkins, 2019, and in relation to hate crime see; Mason-Bish, 2015). It did this in two ways. First, it paid attention to the ways in which identity strands intersected in individual experiences of hate crime. But we also practiced intersectionality in working together, sharing experiences of and responses to hate crime on the basis of religion, ethnicity, race, sexuality, gender and disability (Cairn, 2016). The commission has become a model for other Citizens UK campaigns, being cited as an inspiration in commissions in Citizens UK chapters in East London, Manchester, and Tyne and Wear.⁸ It was also held up as a model of mobilising self-interest in Citizens UK Executive Director Matthew Bolton's (2017, pp. 37–48) book *How to Resist: Turning Protest to Power*.

Second, the report forced local authorities to work together in new ways (as the co-authored letter of February 2015 attests). This has had legacies in terms of increased cooperation and dialogue, especially between the council and the police (and their funding of new hate crime posts), as well as embedding Nottingham Citizens within local power structures and debates. The commission is also cited by local organisations making the case for taking hate crime seriously within their own structures, such as Nottingham City Home's hate crime and domestic abuse response strategy.⁹

Third, the commission lent institutional and statistical support to the case for recording misogyny as a hate crime. Following on the commitments made in the co-authored letter, the Nottingham Women's Centre worked with the police to better understand the types of abuse and harassment women face in Nottingham, producing two 'Because I am a Woman' videos in 2016, detailing misogynistic hate crimes in the city.¹⁰ As a result of these collaborations, in 2016 Nottinghamshire Police made history by becoming the first force in the country to recognise misogyny as a hate crime, flagging incidents as misogynistic (Figure 3). This has provoked considerable debate about the harmfulness, or not, of 'wolf whistling', and led to the online trolling of Mel Jeffs from the Women's Centre and Lydia Rye of Nottingham Citizens.¹¹ In July 2018 Citizens UK led a push to have the Nottingham measures accepted by police forces across the country.¹² The measure was not accepted, but in response the UK government has instigated a major review of hate crime legislation, with a focus on gender specific hate crime.¹³

The final success relates to leadership. The Industrial Areas Foundation, established by Saul Alinsky and the model for much of Citizens UK's methodology, produces a citizen's handbook. Its 'iron rule' is: 'never do for others what they can do for themselves'.¹⁴ The aim is to foster new leaders. As Lydia and Mel discovered, becoming these leaders can come with costs, but many of the members of the hate crime commission have since used these experiences in their community organising ever since. George Gabriel and Lydia Rye moved on to jobs with Citizens UK and London Citizens respectively. Mel has promoted the misogyny campaign nationally, and the work is continued by Helen Voce at the Nottingham Women's Centre. The Emmanuel School has won a prize for promoting

It's not OK to be harassed because you're a woman

GROPING ME IN A CLUB

CALLING ME A BITCH

ABUSING ME ONLINE

THREATENING TO RAPE ME

FOLLOWING ME HOME

REPORT IT. STOP IT.

Nottinghamshire Police take misogyny hate crime seriously

You can report it:

Emergencies - call 999
Non-emergencies - call 101
Report online - www.report-it.org.uk
 (You do not have to give your details)

 **NOTTINGHAMSHIRE POLICE**

 **Nottingham Women's Centre**
 come on in

Nottingham Women's Centre is a registered charity, no. 1105937

Figure 3. Nottingham Police take misogyny hate crime seriously.

From <https://twitter.com/nottswcentre/status/848924982361165826>. Permission to use granted by the Nottingham Women's Centre .

voluntary service, including their engagement with the commission.¹⁵ Pastor Clive Foster, one of the commission leaders, went on to fill the new hate crime post created by the council and the police, a position now occupied by Zaimal Azad, who had given a public testimony at the commission launch in June 2014.

In October 2014 Bilal Hussain had spoken about the attack on his father. Three years later, he would take up the position vacated by Lydia in Nottingham Citizens, and launch a follow-up hate crime report, in the context of the spike in xenophobic hate after the 23 June 2016 'Brexit' referendum and in the face of mounting evidence that children were experiencing severe online and face-to-face hate crime.¹⁶ The report contained many members of the original team, and is testament to the ongoing power of community organising and to the additional demographics which need to be brought in to the hate crime debate.

Critique

Mason, Brown, and Pickerill (2013) have reminded us that many academics' instinctive position is to criticise designs, practices and behaviours. For practitioners, this external criticism can feel threatening or frustrating, given the difficult work put in to, in this case, community organising. The NC model, however, incorporates frequent and frank appraisals. After every public meeting we would have a debrief, sharing our feelings over how the event had gone. In this spirit, I offer some reflections from within, building upon conversations at the time and since about the commission, and in dialogue with broader questions about the NC approach. The points below relate to identity, pressure points, originality, and the principles guiding our work.

Whilst the commission encouraged an intersectional approach, there were necessarily imbalances across identity strands. The commission succeeded in having more female respondents (468, 53%) than male (396, 45%, in addition to 15 respondents [2%] who identified as trans-gender). Yet the sample was skewed towards the young (with only 18 respondents being over 75 years old), and the white, who made up 62% of the respondents. Despite the last statistic, many of the lead organisers and the leading institutions represented local black and Asian communities. Their framing for hate crime was that of religious and racial hate, which was not necessarily the main frame for those whose primary concerns related to sexuality and gender.

As outlined above, the majority of our meeting spaces were religious institutions. While, from my perspective as a gay man, it felt liberating to be taking our concerns to these spaces, Feona Cairn (2016) has reported how for some LGBTQ participants in Nottingham religion had historically been an agent of homophobic hate. For them, churches and Muslim community centres were uncomfortable spaces (some non-Muslim women also expressed unease at men and women sitting separately in Muslim community spaces). Likewise, the packaging of the March 2015 assembly (see [Figure 2](#)) as a 'city on a hill' was taken from a quotation used on the night from Jesus's Sermon on the Mount in the Bible. Subsequent emails repeated the phrase, which secular, atheistic or anti-religious members could have found deeply problematic.

Second, the pressure point tactic's force necessarily makes it a blunt and potentially damaging tool. While Nottingham Trent University fully signed up to the commission, the University of Nottingham (as opposed to individual schools or departments) was not a member of NC. When I attempted to secure a UoN space for the October 2014 launch of the report, it was clear that the institution was uncomfortable with the campaigning tactics and what an email referred to as the 'emotive language' used.

The individual pressure of these points could also be uncomfortable and ethically problematic. This was especially the case regarding the testimonials, which formed the centrepiece of our public events. I was onstage with Bilal Hussain when he related the attack on his taxi driver father, to an audience of around 300 people. It was a pivotal moment, but also an ethically troubling risk to the speaker, and to the audience (although we always made sure there were trained personnel at the events for people to talk to after or during the assemblies). On 12 February 2015, for an assembly at Emmanuel School, I was asked at the last minute to step in and deliver a testimony after the pre-arranged speaker couldn't attend. I didn't really feel comfortable doing it, but was pressed by George to share what I could. I spoke about an incident of homophobic violence in the city, which wasn't something that testimonials had covered before. It was cathartic, and important, and my most emotional contribution to the commission, but not one I had willingly volunteered.

Third, while the commission report and its successes were original, there was, of course, pre-existing and ongoing work in the city on these topics. The council and police had hate crime strategies, although our report pointed out how severely their budgets and staff had been cut. The December 2014 conference at which I co-presented had been organised by the Safer Nottinghamshire Board, which continued to campaign on hate crime issues in the city and county, while Dr Loretta Trickett at NTU brought her expertise in designing questionnaires and helping with the interpretation of the results. NC advertised the law regarding hate crime to communities who had disengaged from the legal system, and used their numbers to force policy innovations at the local level, but only through drawing on existing work and collaborating with existing organisations.

Finally, to return to some of the literature referenced at the opening of this paper, there are those who doubt the hate crime approach itself. Some feel that it distracts from the everyday, ongoing nature of prejudice by focusing on episodic crimes or incidents (Hall, 2019). There are also those who doubt whether the law can change societal norms, or whether encouraging people to think of themselves as victims is the right approach to empowering and enabling citizens (Browne et al., 2011). We were aware of these concerns and tried to address them in the questionnaire, asking people how regularly they experience hate crime, while we made sure that our recommendations spanned the police, the council and local communities. This is a practical issue, but also a deeply conceptual one regarding how we imagine society and the state working, and how we imagine change. In the brief conclusion below I would like to relate this work to the ongoing debate about the role of geographies and geographers in social change.

Geographies

It is entirely possible to situate the Nottingham Citizens hate crime commission with the frames of analysis proposed by Routledge (2017) in his studies of *radical* geographies of protest and social change. In terms of his six strategies, the campaign relied upon place knowledge (investigating local conditions and working in community hubs), making space (using the symbolic city landscape for public gatherings, raising awareness through public surveys), mobility (moving organisers around the city), textual space (using local newspapers, posters and, later, twitter and online videos, as well as spoken testimonies) and networking (sharing results via local conferences and Citizens UK), though it made

relatively little use of more performative-emotional tactics to make people feel 'out of place' (although pressure points used these tactics). These are far from the examples Routledge appealed to, however. In place of revolutionary Nepal we have the Mencap coffee shop; for Tahrir Square we have the Nottingham Concert Hall; in place of Zapatista information campaigns we have the Women's Centre's anti-misogyny posters.

How, then, can we attend to protests at the other end of the 'contentious politics' spectrum? The question was taken up by Horton and Kraftl (2009, p. 16–17) who summarised seven appreciative critiques of the shortcomings of existing activist literature. This work was said to:

- (i) romanticise heroic and occasional acts over everyday activism
- (ii) prioritise representable legacies
- (iii) highlight the acts of key figures instead of works of co-production
- (iv) focus solely on activism linked to broader social movements
- (v) associate activism with a pre-conceived model of the activist
- (vi) divide the world into a power/resistance binary
- (vii) presume a straightforward set of intentions driving the actions of the activist

As an alternative to models of 'explicit' geographical activism, Horton and Kraftl (2009, p. 21) suggest we attend to 'implicit' models of activism that, while being politicised and transformative, are '... modest, quotidian, and proceed with little fanfare', upturning the seven assumptions above. The problem with this model for Nottingham Citizens is that our work was 'explicit' without falling into the model of traditional activism. While our work was celebrated at mass gatherings, the majority of work was modest and behind the scenes (i). While the reports and impacts here outlined represent a verifiable legacy, much of our consciousness raising around hate crime is unrepresentable (ii). While key leaders (such as Saul Alinsky or local organisers) were highlighted, it was the work of whole communities that was celebrated (iii). While links were made to hate crime research and theories of civil society, there was no guiding philosophy or –ism (iv). While those involved enacted a form of citizenship, there was no model citizen evoked (v). The object was to reform rather than defeat the local government or police, while insisting that they were not our friends (vi). And while each individual motivation was recognised as conditional and singular (vii), all were encouraged to pursue their self-interest as part of the campaign.

The work of Nottingham Citizens also fits uneasily amongst other alternatives to the radical activist tradition. While its work relied upon '... embodied, practical, tactile and creative ways of acting, resisting, reworking and subverting' (Pottinger, 2017, p.217) it was far from a form of 'quiet activism'. This work could be compared to practices of what Kye Askins (2016) has termed 'emotional citizenry'. Askins explores the geographies of citizenship making beyond the purely formal political sphere, in everyday spaces of meaningful encounter and vulnerability. While the hate crime research depended upon these sort of moments, in both information collection and communication, it brought these stories and sets of information back to the institutions of the state to demand reform to protect Nottingham's citizens. The hate crime commission was, therefore, policy-focused, but without being either reactionary or plugged in to local decision making (The Autonomous Geographies Collective, 2010, p.249 also see Ward, 2007).

What the hate crime commission represented was a form of community organising that, very self-consciously, positioned itself between radical and more everyday forms of mobilisation (Wills, 2019). It relied upon everyday forms of labour and mobility but pulled these together in pressure points which pushed for policy change. This paper suggests how the lived experiences of community organising and social mobilisation might be thought of geographically. I hope it will contribute to broader debates on activism through encouraging us to share our smaller stories about engaging, mobilising and collaborating with non-academics. The focus here has not been on Geography as a discipline but on the geographies of method (meeting, listening, pressuring), mobilising (religious, educative, public sites and pressure points) and of impacts and critique as part of a local but widely influential contribution to making Nottingham ‘no place for hate’.

Notes

1. All named individuals have read this paper and consented to being named.
2. For instance, see <https://connected-communities.org/>.
3. <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-stephen-lawrence-inquiry>.
4. <http://www.beardandbible.com/blog/nottscitz-ge15?rq=citizens>.
5. http://www.citizensuk.org/notts_commission.
6. http://www.citizensuk.org/notts_commission, page 7.
7. Jane Wills, ‘Work, Politics and the Living Wage’ research seminar, School of Geography, University of Nottingham, 22 October 2014.
8. Personal communication from Citizens UK, 11 September 2018.
9. <https://www.nottinghamcityhomes.org.uk/EasySiteWeb/GatewayLink.aspx?allid=2111>.
10. See <http://www.nottinghamwomenscentre.com/misogyny-hate-crime/>. For the videos see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kSUymNuQyVQ> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eNUT65tHcZY>.
11. <https://www.leftlion.co.uk/read/2016/august/misogyny-hate-crime-legislation-instigators-receive-increased-abuse-8500/>; https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/wolf-whistling-misogyny-hate-crime-nottingham_uk_579756cce4b06d7c426da55d?guccounter=1.
12. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PudBIMqnaVM&feature=youtu.be> and <https://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk/news/campaigners-call-for-police-chiefs-to-make-misogyny-a-hate-crime-nationwide-ahead-of-key-vote>.
13. <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/sep/05/first-step-to-misogyny-becoming-a-hate-called-amazing-victory>.
14. <http://www.citizenshandbook.org/iaf.pdf>.
15. <https://nottinghamlocalnews.com/nottingham-emmanuel-school-receives-lord-lieutenants-award-for-promoting-voluntary-service/>.
16. <https://www.citizensuk.org/stillnoplacforhate>.

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ORCID

Stephen Legg  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-9548-9763>

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