Group Identity, Empathy and Shared Suffering: Understanding the "community" impacts of anti-LGBT and Islamophobic hate crimes

Mark A. Walters

University of Sussex, United Kingdom

Jennifer Paterson

University of Sussex, United Kingdom

Liz McDonnell

University of Sussex, United Kingdom

Rupert Brown

University of Sussex, United Kingdom

Abstract

This article examines the *indirect* impacts of hate crimes on LGBT and Muslim communities in the United Kingdom. Based on 34 qualitative interviews, we explore both the perceived meaning of "community" in the context of targeted victimization, and the emotional and behavioural effects that anti-LGBT and Islamophobic hate crimes have on other members of the victim's group. Building on previous quantitative data undertaken as part of a larger programme of research, this study helps to explain *how* and *why* hate crimes have significant indirect consequences on two distinct but commonly targeted communities. The focus on LGBT and Muslim communities allowed us to draw out similarities and commonalities across different groups, further enhancing understanding of the impacts of hate crime. In particular, the article highlights how for many LGBT and Muslim people feelings of anger and anxiety about hate crimes were linked to enhanced levels of empathy towards those that they share a group identity with. These empathic bonds often gave rise to a sense of "shared suffering", with

participants frequently feeling connected to group members worldwide through their common experiences of hate and prejudice. Although group identity was important to many participants' sense of belonging to LGBT or Muslim communities, it was clear that the most profound impacts of hate crime were experienced when incidents occurred within someone's local area. This highlighted the importance of location as a key variable in understanding both the meaning of "community" and the indirect impacts of hate crime.

Keywords

Hate crime; community; group identity; intergroup emotions; empathy

Introduction

There have been significant increases in the number of recorded hate crimes in both Europe and the United States over the past two years (Southern Poverty Law Centre, 2016; Home Office, 2018). The huge spikes in recorded incidents have attracted extensive media and social media coverage. Technological advancements in the ways in which "news" is now delivered mean that awareness of hate crimes can spread well beyond the local communities where they occur. Such is the reach of some new media platforms that what occurs in one community can be seen, heard and felt in communities on every corner of the globe within minutes. The devastating attack in Orlando is a case in point. The news of the targeted killing of 49 people and injuring of 50 others at an LGBT venue in Florida spread internationally within hours. An outpouring of emotion and, in turn, community activism was witnessed as LGBT and non-LGBT allies converged to make a stand against what some labelled an act of "homophobic terrorism" (Schweppe and Walters, 2016). Within just 24 hours, vigils were being held globally involving thousands of people demonstrating in the streets of London, Sydney, Hong Kong, Bangkok, and many cities beyond (Taylor, 2016).

The terrorizing effects of hate crime are often used by policy makers and legislators to justify the treatment of hate-motivated offences as a distinct type of

offending that requires a specific legislative response. Yet little is known, empirically at least, about the exact nature and extent to which hate crimes *indirectly* impact targeted communities. Perry and Alvi (2012: 70) point out that:

> "If we are to continue to insist that one of the primary reasons for differentiating bias-motivated crime from its non-bias-motivated counterpart is the effect on the broader community, we need to firmly establish this dynamic."

It is on this dynamic that this article focuses. Connecting previously analysed quantitative data (Paterson, Brown, & Walters, 2018a; 2018b; Paterson, Walters, Brown, & Fearn, 2018; Walters, Paterson, Brown, & McDonnell, 2017) with 34 in-depth qualitative interviews, we examine how *indirect* experiences of hate crimes can impact upon two commonly targeted groups: LGBT people and Muslim people. Our combined analyses reveal a more nuanced understanding of how hate incidents affect entire identity groups, while additionally building upon contemporary conceptions as to the ways that "community" is defined and experienced by LGBT and Muslim people in the context of targeted violence.

The ripple effect of hate incidents

There is now substantial evidence on the *direct* impacts of hate crime that clearly illustrates the damaging consequences of such incidents (e.g. Benier, 2017; Herek et al., 1999; Iganski and Lagou, 2015; McDevitt et al*.,* 2001). For example, Herek and colleagues (1999) found that lesbian and gay victims of homophobic hate crime were more likely to report greater levels of anger, depression, post-traumatic stress, and anxiety compared to victims of non-hate crimes. Lesbian and gay victims of hate crimes were also more likely to be fearful of future incidents of crime while additionally experiencing "greater perceived vulnerability", compared with victims of non-hate motivated offences (Herek et al., 1999: 6). Numerous other studies that have examined the impacts of different types of hate crime have, collectively, provided cogent evidence that prejudice-based offending is *more likely* to have profound emotional and behavioural effects on those who are victimized (Home Office, 2018).

But do the same emotional and behavioural reactions to hate crime extend beyond the direct victim to those who share the same or similar characteristics? A number of scholars have asserted that hate crimes are likely to have the effect of terrorizing other people who share the same or similar identity characteristics to that of the victim (Iganski, 2001; Weinstein, 1992). These *in terrorem* (intimidation) effects mean that a single incident of hate is likely to have emotional and behavioural impacts that quickly reach across entire communities (Noelle, 2002; Perry and Alvi, 2012). Although by no means its intention, the media's reporting of hate violence is also likely to help to promote a message of danger to minority communities. Such a message, it has been asserted, is likely to create climates of fear amongst minority groups who worry that they too will be attacked (Herek and Berrill, 1992: 3; Iganski, 2001, pp. 630–31; Herek et al., 1999). If this is true, it means that a single act of hate-motivated violence may result in entire communities of people experiencing a heightened sense of vulnerability, anxiety and fear about future targeted victimization (Perry and Alvi, 2012).

There is some limited qualitative (and quantitative) research that supports these assertions. For instance, Noelle (2002) conducted a small study involving questionnaires and semi-structured interviews with LGB participants in the wake of the homophobic murder of Matthew Shepard in the USA in 1998. Using assumptive world theory, her findings suggested that high profile homophobic violence can have significant impacts on other gay, lesbian and bisexual people's assumptions that "their" world is a safe and/or benevolent place. She reported that the respondents reported feeling personally threatened as a consequence of sharing the victim's social identity. Other reactions included avoidance (less willingness to be open about their sexual orientation) and/or proaction (a desire to confront homophobia in society).

Other qualitative studies have also begun to explore the likely emotional and behavioural indirect impacts of hate crime. For instance, Bell and Perry's (2015) small focus group study into the community impacts of anti-LGB hate crimes in Canada found that some members of LGB communities engaged in "victim-blaming", such as where they considered gay male victims to have provoked their

attack by not curbing their effeminate behaviours. The authors argue that such attitudes were an attempt at self-preservation, in order to manage their own feelings of fear about homophobic violence (see also Perry and Alvi, 2012). Participants also spoke of feeling vulnerable, which led to them making changes to the way they dressed and expressed themselves.

In a previous study, Perry and Alvi (2012) found that feelings of anger about others' targeted victimization could also have a mobilizing effect on community members, including the desire to educate others about identity "difference". However, other researchers have pointed out that feelings of anger *may* give rise to further acts of hate-motivated violence as individuals who feel threatened by outgroup members seek to retaliate against them (McDevitt et al., 2002). More recently, Paterson et al. (2018a) found that feelings of shame caused by indirect experiences of hate crime may give rise to a desire to retaliate amongst some community members.

The role of "community"

Understanding the likely community impacts of indirect hate crimes involves a nuanced exploration of the concept of "community" itself. Noelle (2002: 45) states that it is the shared group membership of targeted individuals that leads to a "vicarious traumatization" effect. But why does forming a shared identity mean that indirect experiences of hate crimes have particular impacts on group members? The answer to this question lies in an understanding of both identity, as forming part of an individual's sense of self, and its symbiosis with individuals' perceived position within a "community" of people.

"Community" is an elusive concept which is contested amongst social scientists. It can have differing meanings, depending on context or the purpose for which it is used (Bauman, 2001). Normative assumptions about community have given rise to a common vernacular where it is often used as a descriptor for the purpose of certain policies and practices. Within law and order discourse, "community" has often been used imprecisely to refer to local neighbourhoods who are assumed to hold a homogenous collective purpose and who typically share a single physical location (Crawford, 2002). Broad statements referring to "community safety" or

"community wellbeing" are often used by government officials without proper explication as to whose safety and wellbeing is being targeted (Crawford, 2002).

A number of sociologists have attempted to identify a more coherent meaning of community. For instance, Studdert asserts that communities can only be formed through action or speech, and are "impossible to perform without the presence of other people" (Studdert, 2006: 2). Conceptualized in these terms, Studdert argues that community is better understood as a verb rather than a noun, as it is the *doing* of community that gives it its true meaning. This means that community is contingent on action, or more precisely, on social interaction (sociality). Sociality is established where people share social spaces that result in routine inter-personal interactions that make up individuals' general living patterns. By interacting in physical spaces, a common purpose or collective interest develops, resulting in the formation of a social bond (and potentially social capital, i.e. the capacity to draw on the support of other individuals within a community) amongst individuals. Within these physical spaces of sociality a "culture" is also likely to develop, serving to establish (and re-establish) the ways that people live. The social mores and values attached to a community give rise to certain norms and social rituals, which can shape the way that members of a community interact and socialize in any given location.

For other scholars, however, individuals do not necessarily need to share common space or even a common interest to form a community, but instead simply share an "essence" through which members form a bond with one another (Lash, 1994). Kennedy and Roudometof (2004: 6) explain that communities are "units of belonging whose members perceive that they share moral, aesthetic/expressive or cognitive meanings, thereby gaining a sense of personal as well as group identity." Accordingly, while "communities" will frequently be defined by space and location, they are not necessarily bound by territory, and may instead simply be constructed via the sharing of an identity that gives individuals a collective meaning, and potentially shared cultural norms.

This latter conception is not dissimilar from the social psychological conception of social identity articulated by Tajfel and Turner (1986) in their social identity theory (SIT). SIT proposes that individuals form attachments and a sense of belonging to

groups with whom they share similar identity-defining characteristics. Group-based identities can comprise a variety of different attributes, including (amongst others) political beliefs, religious beliefs, social class, ethnicity, nationality, or sexual orientation. When people perceive themselves as being part of a group, they acquire that "ingroup" identity, thereby becoming members of a specific community (e.g. the "gay community" or the "Muslim community"). Any given social identity may be chronically salient for a person, or may become personally relevant only in certain intergroup contexts – for example, where an incident or some public discourse highlights the significance of a particular group membership.

The psychological process by which individuals develop a sense of belonging with a group has been defined as self-categorization (Turner et al., 1987). Self-categorization leads individuals to perceive themselves as less unique and more "typical" of someone who shares characteristics with other members of the given group. These group characteristics are typically expressed via the articulation of certain attitudes, beliefs and behaviours that are directly associated with that group membership. Connected to self-categorization is intergroup emotions theory (IET), which posits that intergroup behaviour is driven by emotions that are predicated on social categorization of self as belonging to an ingroup (and not to an outgroup) (Mackie and Smith, 2015; Smith, 1993, 1999). Ingroup members, this theory argues, evaluate events in their social environment in terms of their outcomes for the group as a whole (known as intergroup appraisal). Hence, an attack against another ingroup member is likely to be experienced by other group members as an attack against *all* members (see e.g. Gordijn et al., 2001; Mackie et al., 2000). IET theorists propose that where groups feel threatened by conduct that discriminates against them, this will result in emotional reactions amongst group members (predominantly anger and anxiety), which are then thought to instigate certain behaviours (e.g. proaction and avoidance respectively).

It is through understanding minority communities as collective "ingroups" who are likely to be connected emotionally, that we can begin to comprehend more fully the indirect impacts of hate-motivated crimes. Below, we explore data collated as part of the Sussex Hate Crime Project (SHCP) using quantitative surveys, experiments and qualitative interviews to examine the emotional and behavioural

impacts that indirect experiences of hate crime have on two commonly targeted identity groups in the UK: LGBT communities and Muslim communities.

Findings from the Sussex Hate Crime Project

The question of whether hate crimes have indirect impacts on other group members formed the focus of a five-year research project (Paterson, Walters, Brown & Fearn, 2018). Quantitative data reported elsewhere, based on cross-sectional and longitudinal surveys and experiments with over 3,000 LGBT and Muslim people, have provided evidence that simply knowing someone in the local community who had been a victim of a hate crime, had significant impacts on group members' emotions (especially anger and anxiety) (Paterson et al., 2018a; 2018b). In turn, those emotions were linked to proactive behavioural intentions (e.g. joining rights-based groups, community-focused charities, and being more active on social media) and avoidance (e.g. avoiding certain locations and changing one's appearance) (Paterson et al., 2018a). Moreover, longitudinal and experimental studies also found that media exposure to hate crimes had lasting demobilizing impacts on actual behaviours (Paterson et al., 2018b). The researchers found that a key mediating factor explaining these enhanced impacts of indirect hate crimes was empathy – i.e. the willingness or capacity to feel the emotions of others (Batson et al., 1997). Individuals from within LGBT and Muslim groups were more empathic towards other ingroup members' experiences of hate crime and it was this capacity to vicariously feel "other's pain" that resulted in heightened emotional responses for hate crime victims compared to non-hate crime victims.

While these quantitative findings support the claim that hate crimes have significant "community" impacts, and that these are linked to both identity and empathy, it remains unclear as to the *ways* in which group members identify with their ingroup to form identity-based "communities", and why some members feel stronger levels of membership to, and empathy with, these groups than others. These questions are addressed in the analysis presented below.

Methodology

The SHCP focused exclusively on the indirect effects of anti-LGBT and anti-Muslim hate crime. Both groups remain frequent targets of hate, with data from the Crime Survey for England and Wales suggesting that each group has experienced a significant increase in hate crimes in recent years (Home Office, 2018). The decision to research these two groups was also based on the fact that it enabled the researchers to explore whether differences in relation to identity traits and how the two communities engage in community-based practices affects the ways in which hate crimes impact group members.

This qualitative study is based on a sample of 34 in-depth interviews (16 participants who identified as LGBT and 18 who identified as Muslims). Interviewees were recruited with the help of our partner LGBT and Muslim organizations and via "snowballing", which is used to identify new interviewees via those already interviewed (Bryman, 2012: 202–203). Participants' ages ranged from 18–53 (LGBT) and 18–59 (Muslim). Gender was self-assigned by participants and included: 10 Male, three Female, one Male to Female Trans, one queer, and one gender queer woman (LGBT); and 12 Male and six Female (Muslim). The sexual orientations of participants were also self-categorized and included: nine gay, five bisexual, one lesbian and one queer (LGBT); and 16 heterosexual and two unassigned (Muslim). The ethnic backgrounds of participants were listed as: 10 White, two unassigned, one European, one White Other, one Black African, and one mixed race (LGBT); and four Bangladeshi, four mixed race, two Arab, two Muslim, two unassigned, one British Bangladeshi, one British Pakistani, one Indian and one Afghani (Muslim).

Within the interview guides there were four main areas of enquiry: community identification and identity; experiences of direct and indirect hate crime (and consequent emotions and actions); experiences and perceptions of the current criminal justice system responses to hate crime; and the potential of restorative justice in hate crime cases. This article focuses on community identification and indirect experiences of hate crime, including exploring how indirect hate crimes (against ingroup members and outgroups) are processed by victims, and

examining the role that group identity plays in emotional and behavioural responses to such incidents.

Interviews were coded using NVivo and a primarily deductive thematic analysis was employed (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This allowed us to categorize findings based on nodes (themes) and to create sub-themes which emerged across the data as they related to our key theoretical perspectives (SIT and IET) (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This approach also enabled us to highlight both the commonalities and differences that existed between the two cohorts of interviewees (LGBT and Muslim). The study received ethical approval from the Cross-Schools Research Ethics Committee at the University of Sussex. All names referred to in this article have been changed to protect the anonymity of participants.

Understanding "community" as part of the community impacts of hate crime: the importance of location

Interviewees were asked a number of questions regarding their feelings of belonging to either LGBT communities or Muslim communities. We asked each participant whether they felt connected in any way to these communities at a local, national and/or global level. We then asked participants about how strongly they felt their identity as LGBT or Muslim meant to them and how their identity impacted on the way they viewed the world.

Within the LGBT group, twelve out of 16 interviewees stated that they either currently felt, or had previously felt, part of the LGBT community in their local area. Membership of the community was predominantly linked to knowing other LGBT people, living in a defined LGBT area, and/or participating in local LGBT events. Within the Muslim group, a similar proportion of participants (15/18) felt that they were part of the local Muslim community, with two stating that they were not active members. For one interviewee, this was because he was Shia and the local mosque was Sunni, and one stated he was not a "proper" member which was linked to his (lack of) devoutness.

A minority of LGBT participants noted that they did not feel connected to any local LGBT community, nor did they particularly seek this out. Some of these individuals resisted the idea that they should be part of any identity-based community at all. One participant spoke in terms of "I" being "just me", rather than being characterized as a gay or lesbian (for example) person. Another participant commented:

> No, I just generally see myself as an individual and as part of everybody. I don't like to categorize in a group, 'cause I believe that you'd open yourselves up to other people's opinions and that. I just try and be myself as in generally just fit in and, yeah, just to get on with everyone. I don't see it as this ... in a group or a community. (Karen/LGBT)

Beyond being part of a local community, seven LGBT and seven Muslim participants stated that they felt some sense of belonging to a UK-wide LGBT or Muslim community. For LGBT participants, this was often characterized through their activities as engaging with people via campaigning, or by accessing UK-wide information via news outlets (e.g. Pink News). Others also participated in large scale events such as city Pride marches. For Muslim participants, rather than focusing on events and activities, the majority of individuals evoked a religious doctrine to support their view of national identity, such as the idea of "brotherhood" and "one nation" – the idea that all Muslims are the brothers of other Muslims. For Muslims then, the sense of belonging was directly linked to a religious idea that connected individuals together by belief and community support for one another.

> As the main belief of Islam of the actual religion Islam is brotherhood, that's the way … I feel a part. So it's about brotherhood, you know? It's about supporting each other in times of need, donating. So only that way, yeah. (Mohammed/Muslim)

Only two Muslim participants felt that they were not part of a UK-wide Muslim community. In one case the interviewee stated they were just a "normal Muslim", while for the other they again linked this partly to being Shia as opposed to a Sunni Muslim.

A slightly smaller, but still significant, proportion of LGBT participants (six) saw themselves as belonging to a global LGBT community. This global community was based on sharing a common identity that transcended other spatial, cultural, ethnic or national identities. One interviewee described this as follows:

> It's an identity that will sort of define me and place me in certain social situations wherever I go, and it will give me something in common with other people in other places, so ... in a way, yeah. (Abi/LGBT)

An even higher proportion of Muslim participants (14/18) stated that they felt part of a global Muslim community. As with national community, this perception was frequently linked to the notion of brotherhood:

> As a Muslim, all Muslims are brothers and we are all alike, we consider ourselves to be one big family. So that's the teaching of the Prophet and that's the Muslim belief, so if one Muslim's hurt everyone else is hurt. So we are pretty much all the same. So that's how I see it. But also I know people from other communities, other countries. And most of the people in my community are from all over the ... world literally. There is not one single country they don't come from. (Abdul/Muslim)

This expression of shared global identity was often mediated, for both groups, through the empathic connections that LGBT and Muslim people felt towards other group members (concurring with our quantitative findings, Paterson et al., 2018a). This was articulated by one LGBT participant who remarked:

> I mean … you grow up as gay, struggling with your … you know the same expectations of you perhaps won't be fulfilled, or you know that you are [different] in some ways from other people that you're at school with … So you kind of know that anyone that goes through that anywhere in the world will have some sort of struggle in terms of their day-to-day existence or just their life; so you can kind of ... you have some sort of empathy with people who are in more difficult situations than you, which are those ones that you read about in the papers. (Martin/LGBT)

Such comments suggested that a sense of belonging to a "community" could be fostered where individuals feel a sense of shared suffering. The research indicated

that increased empathy towards other group members is likely to heighten the emotional responses to group-based attacks, which in turn, strengthens a person's connection to the group.

Community-based practices and engagement as forming part of "community"

The degree to which individuals felt part of identity-based communities was often influenced by the extent to which they engaged in community-based practices. Thirteen different practices were identified by LGBT participants as ways people felt that they were "part of" an LGBT community (whether local, national or global). Most commonly (n=12), participants spoke of their involvement in charities or charity events such as Pride, Terrence Higgins Trust, Stonewall, or LGBT switchboards. Half of the LGBT participants also spoke of socializing with other LGBT friends as a way of expressing their group identity, while seven reported going to gay pubs/clubs, and six people mentioned their connection to the LGBT community through work.

As with LGBT participants, six Muslim participants mentioned charity involvement that included Islam awareness activities, setting up mosques, and relief aid as being central to their community membership. However, a significant difference emerged between the LGBT and Muslim samples in relation to practice-based engagement. For most Muslims, their local mosque was a single site where relationships, friendships, as well as prayer as a routine activity, served to confirm their Muslim identities. Sixteen out of 18 Muslim participants stated that going to mosque was the *main* way in which they engaged with or felt part of the Muslim community.

Strength of group identity as forming part of community membership

In order to explore further the relationship between an individual's strength of identification as LGBT or Muslim and their experiences of hate crime, we asked participants how strongly they felt attached to their identity as LGBT or Muslim.

There was a range of responses amongst LGBT participants in relation to the individual importance of their sexual orientation. Only three people stated that it was "very important" to them; for one interviewee below this was linked to the process of "coming out" and self-acceptance:

> Yeah, it's very important to me. It's interesting because my partner … it's not very important to him; it's just something you do. Whereas I have a really, really difficult time coming out and coming to grips with myself ... So now that I have properly … I'm really quite proud of the fact that I am. And it is quite a big part of who I am, and I will tell people. And I'm quite a "straight-acting" gay, if that makes sense, so it's ... a lot of people don't realize, so I feel the need to tell them [laughs] ... Really odd sometimes, but, yeah, I am quite proud of it, and it is a lot of who I am, 'cause … it really formed who I am today, so it's very important for me. (Dan/LGBT)

For a larger group of people (six), it was not especially important in terms of how they saw themselves in the world, while five LGB interviewees positioned themselves somewhere in between these two positions, recognising the significance of their sexual orientation but saying that their identity was made up of other things as well.

The idea that an LGBT identity was mobilized as a result of interactions with others or based on social categories was mentioned by six participants and this is important in terms of differences with the Muslim sample and in relation to experiencing hate crime, which could clearly activate a negative self-awareness.

> I think in a political way more than a personal way. I feel like, because I am queer, it's important to engage politically with that and sort of demand, where it's appropriate or where it's possible, that people are capable of dealing with that issue. So I find it more important … if I'm, like, in the situation where there is discrimination going on, or … broadening the options for people in my identity group, I suppose. (Abi/LGBT)

Whereas participants in the LGBT sample had varied and context specific views of the importance of their sexual orientation, Muslim participants told a different story about the importance of their Muslim identity. Seventeen of the 18 Muslim

participants stated that their Muslim identity was a central part of how they saw themselves. Often interviewees mentioned the fact that they had been brought up this way and sometimes that they were proud of it.

> It's very important. I believe that I am a strong Muslim. The first identity in fact I would say being a Muslim is my first identity I would say. And there is no way I would hide it. I would deny it never. I would go straight forward to anyone and I would say I'm a Muslim because that is what my religion taught me to be. The main identity is you are a Muslim, you are a person, you are a human. And as part of it, being Muslim is really important to me. (Alisha/Muslim)

Not surprisingly this strong front-stage identity, often embedded from an early age and sanctioned through prayer and religious practices, meant that a Muslim identity shaped behaviour in a much more noticeable way than in the LGBT sample. Fourteen interviewees said that being a Muslim significantly shaped their behaviour in a proactive way. For example, Islamic doctrine guided their everyday life and their sense of morality, marking a clear difference with the LGBT participants who did not feel that their sexual orientation or gender identity offered them a single way to live their lives.

> [T]he Holy Book of Qur'an it's got every answer to every steps in your life. So it kind of reflects everything you do in your life. So if you, say, step out of the door the book tells you what to do, how to behave with people, how to be yourself, how to find your inner self; the book tells everything. So I would say it's really connected to your life. (Alisha/Muslim)

Our data support the assertions central to IET that individuals form group attachments via sharing identity traits, which in turn help to shape their values and social norms. However, the data also revealed how some group identities are more homogenous than others, and that the influence that identity has on perceptions of "self" can differ depending on the centrality that the group identity has on its members' "way of life".

Intersecting identities

Clearly, for many individuals their group identity is either a central or significant part of who they are. However, it is important to acknowledge that some people form attachments to multiple groups (communities) with some of these identities intersecting. The impacts of intersectionality have been explored in the context of various types of targeted victimization, such as gender and Islam (Zempi, 2016), disability and gender (Balderston, 2013), ethnicity and trans identity (Grant et al., 2011), and LGBT identity and social class (Meyer, 2010). Within this qualitative study, there was some evidence to suggest that holding multiple identities can exacerbate, or at least affect, individual responses to hate crime. Seven interviewees spoke about more than one identity affecting their perceptions of threat of targeted anti-LGBT or Islamophobic victimization. For example, Abi, who identified as queer, stated that they felt more vulnerable to rape than homophobia and therefore avoided places where their body was viewed by others as female, or they would act more "male" in those places to repel unwanted sexual attention. Similarly, for Kylie, their gender identity was much more salient than their sexual orientation as bisexual when considering targeted victimization:

> The sexuality side of it isn't really that significant to me at all. However, the gender side of things is very, very important. You'll probably find that most transgender people would say that; 'cause gender's one of the most fundamental things in your identity, frankly. The fact that I'm trans does throw some ... spanners in the works, but it's definitely a very significant thing. (Kylie/LGBT)

In the Muslim cohort of interviewees, four mentioned the intersecting categories of their perceived race or colour and being a Muslim, and how it was hard to unravel these identities in terms of why they believed Muslims are the targets of hate crime.

> "First of all you're part of a religion which is probably one of the most hated religions of the Western world at the moment. And second of all, you fall within a minority even after you ... well you fall into another minority because of the colour of your skin. So it just makes it a double negative." (Rahim/Muslim)

Intersectionality is clearly significant to understanding the nature and dynamics of some forms of hate crime. Although many individuals feel part of a discrete "community" and that their identity as LGBT or Muslim is central to how they view the world, for others their experiences of prejudice may be marked by a complex relationship between different identity characteristics. Unpacking the effect that each of these identities has on individuals' emotional responses to hate crime victimization is no easy task. We are left unclear as to whether threats to an individual's gender identity or sexual orientation, or Muslim faith or ethnicity, is the key factor causing their heightened emotional response to hate crime. The degree to which a part of an individual's identity shapes their experiences of hate is likely to depend on spatial and temporal variables; such as where bodies are more or less vulnerable to targeted victimization depending on the time, place, and the social activity that an individual is participating in. Thus, while it is likely that the intersectionality of identities creates a distinct and complex sense of "self" for some individuals, it is also likely that individual identity traits become more or less salient depending upon the situational context within which individuals experience prejudice and hate.

The indirect impacts of hate crime victimization

The vast majority of interviewees stated that they were aware of hate crimes directed at LGBT or Muslim people across all three levels under discussion: local, national and global. Ten LGBT participants mentioned local hate crimes that involved physical assault; eight interviewees had recalled indirect hate crimes that involved murder; four people talked about indirect verbal hate incidents; one interviewee mentioned rape; while another mentioned vandalism. Amongst the Muslim cohort, 11 had indirectly experienced verbal assault; eight assaults; seven criminal damage to mosques; while three people mentioned hearing about activities organized by far-right organizations (e.g. the "English Defence League").

Analysis of the interviews revealed that there was a clear distinction between the levels of threat resulting from indirect hate crime and the emotional responses to it. For many participants, the *closer* the indirect experience of hate crime was to

their home (in a physical sense), the more their thinking shifted from "it could have been me" in an abstract sense to "it might be me next time". This illustrated that an individual's perception of a realistic threat is likely to be much stronger where the actual incident is close to them in proximity.

The most commonly experienced emotions that participants stated they felt as a consequence of local and/or national indirect hate crimes were in the anger and anxiety categories. Eleven LGBT and 13 Muslim participants spoke predominantly about incidents making them feel angry or disgusted:

> Totally disgusted. Totally disgusted. Why should somebody be attacked for their sexuality? It's just sickening. Totally disgusted. (Sally/LGBT)

These anger-based emotional responses could be directly linked to a number of behavioural reactions for both LGBT and Muslim participants. Six LGBT and seven Muslim participants mentioned proactive behaviours as a result of feeling angry. Many of these individuals stated that they also experienced further feelings of defiance, which resulted in a strengthening of identity:

> I can't say I feel scared, no, because I think to be defiant and I'll stand by who I am and I'll stand; and I'll feel more so if we back off or feel frightened then you're allowing people to win. The more we put ourselves out there and, you know, carry on with our everyday duties and be happy in yourself, then you shouldn't give two hoots what anybody else around ... and they'll end up being the ones who are the minority then – it won't be a majority, it'll be a minority and, you know, instead of hiding away we'll just show them that we're not afraid and we're not scared to be who we are; we're all entitled to have, live our lives the way we want to live ... (Karen/LGBT)

This finding concurred with earlier research by Noelle (2002: 45) who found that some indirect experiences of hate were characterized by an angry "reactance effect" that inspired some to increase their levels of political activism. It is this type of reaction that can lead to proactive behaviours intended to "fight back" against prejudice and hatred, often by raising awareness about hate crimes and educating others about "difference" (see also, Paterson et al., under review; Perry and Alvi, 2012: 69).

Wanting to do something … So it might be something like posting stuff on Facebook about this ... Or part of a campaign for signatures … Or mention it in passing to different people of any particular group I'm talking to … Or I might bring up the situation in a group like at the nursery when we're surrounded by, people that might not necessarily consider LGBT friendly just to raise the bar a little bit … (Nick/LGBT)

When I talk, I talk a lot about Islam and I share my actual values with anyone, with taxi drivers, with anyone ... I'm proud of being Muslim the way that when I talk about it, but it doesn't stop me to talk about this now … I talked about this event a lot with different people – Muslims and British – non-Muslim people. (Fatima/Muslim)

Various other emotions were cited by participants in response to indirectly experiencing hate crime. These included anxiety, fear, shock, hurt, and worry (cited by 12 LGBT participants and eight Muslim participants as a response to indirect hate crime). These feelings were often linked to an increased wariness and vigilance as well as avoidant behavioural intentions, such as a reluctance to return to certain locations.

Yeah, it does affect my behaviour … Because I become more fearful and would avoid going to certain places that I feel might be a risk to my safety. And especially within certain times, I would avoid walking within those areas … (Zainab/Muslim)

These indirect impacts illustrate that hate crimes continue to threaten the liberty and mobility of LGBT and Muslim communities and can limit group members' desire to interact with the rest of society. In order to avoid targeted victimization, some individuals learn to negotiate their safety by adopting strategies that help to minimize the risk of victimization (Perry and Alvi, 2012: 67). This can include actively changing physical appearance such as dressing differently, modifying gesticulations and mannerisms, and even tone and timbre of one's voice (O'Neill, 2017). Five interviewees discussed in detail how they attempted to hide their true identity from the world by changing their behaviour or appearance in order to avoid victimization (examples included acting more masculine or avoiding showing affection to partners in public spaces). One Muslim interviewee spoke of how he

would often "play down" his religiosity by saying things such as "I'm not really practising" and "I used to drink alcohol" (both untrue) so that others would relate to him more. Others took more extreme measures in an attempt to fit in, with one interviewee (a "Black African gay female"[1]) explaining that she had even tried to cure herself of homosexuality. During the interview she revealed that she had gone to great lengths to search for "cures" on the internet so that she could return home to be with her friends and family who had previously threatened to kill her when they found out she was a lesbian.

Collectively, these damaging emotional and behavioural impacts often gave rise to a more reflective feeling of sadness (noted by six interviewees). Such responses were sometimes phrased in philosophical tones, in which people contemplated more broadly the meaning of hate crime at a societal level:

> Well … disappointment and sad, because in the end of the day hate crime against anything or anyone is not good; no one wants to be hated, especially if it comes to religion, because everyone wants to practise his religion. There should be a freedom of practising your own religion, no matter what religion it is. And in the Qur'an there's a saying "*lakum dinukum waliyadin*", which means "You have your religion, I have mine". As long as you respect my religion, I will respect your religion. But if you come to me and offend me and you're really hurting my feelings, then I'm not going to let you hurt my feelings and my family and my religion. So of course I will prevent that, no matter what it will cost. (Hamza/Muslim)

The comments highlighted in this section illustrate what can be termed as an emotionally intersectional experience of hate crime. The data showed how the processing of emotions can begin with expressing anger, and are often swiftly followed by feelings of vulnerability, which for some, then shifts to a more reflective emotion of sadness. For others, indirect hate incidents can give rise to a conscious and more political resistance to the oppressive effects that hatred has on minority communities. Indeed, while at the social level some LGBT and Muslim people may feel forced to moderate their identity, there is, for some, a strong belief that this is unfair, unjust and must be resisted. This finding demonstrated again how some

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[1] Participants self-described their identities.

community members will be prepared to mobilize against perceived injustice, and this will mean that their group identity becomes an even more entrenched part of their perception of "self".

Global experiences and impacts of indirect hate crimes

Beyond the local and national level, fifteen LGBT interviewees also cited indirect instances of global LGBT hate crime including laws and brutal incidents of violence in Russia, Uganda and South Africa. A further eleven Muslim participants mentioned incidents of global Islamophobic hate crime and this included a wide range of contexts such as countries banning Islamic dress, and the conflict in Palestine and Syria. In both cases much of the "hate" that was spoken about related to state-sponsored violence that resulted in the ill-treatment or persecution of LGBT and Muslim people. For LGBT people, this often referred to brutal violence, torture and even murder. For Muslim people, hate incidents referred to both religious-based killings, but also laws which limited Muslim people from expressing their religious and cultural norms.

Participants' experiences of global anti-LGBT and anti-Muslim hate crimes and discrimination brought up a range of feelings that were both similar and distinct from indirect experiences at the local or national level. Most common were feelings of anger (LGBT n=9; Muslim n=5) and sadness (LGBT n=5; Muslim n=3). A higher number of LGBT people (11) than Muslims (3) said they would avoid or have avoided certain countries as a result of hate crimes/discrimination against group members in that country.

> I won't be booking any holidays to Uganda or Russia … I will always google the country and see how well their kind of ... what their views are to homosexuality, you know? I think it is something that would affect my behaviour because I wouldn't choose to go to certain countries that are notoriously hostile. (Chris/LGBT)

As with local and national experiences, ten LGBT participants and three Muslim participants intended to, or did, involve themselves in activism of various kinds that

related to the treatment of group members abroad, including petitions, campaigning, and posting on social media.

Overall, there were some similarities and differences in the emotional and behavioural reactions to hate crime at the global level. Again, it was empathy, as experienced through shared suffering, that resulted in both LGBT and Muslim people feeling strongly about others' experiences of hate and which, in turn, resulted in both proactive and avoidant behaviours.

> It's upsetting and it's angering 'cause it's just the fact that you can sort of empathize with that person and to think that you might potentially go through that kind of pain just for something you've never even chosen, you know, you just are gay. That's upsetting, but it also makes you really angry, especially when it's getting the approval of the sort of government, you start to think, well how is this okay? (Isabelle/LGBT)

Unlike local and national indirect experiences of hate crimes, participants tended to feel less anxious and worried about global crimes. This alluded again to the centrality of spatial sensitivity as being an important factor affecting emotional responses to indirect hate crime. Hence, although group identity alone is likely to provoke a strong reaction in ingroup members, the location and participation in physical community may well be significant to our understanding of the *gravity* of indirect impacts experienced by targeted groups.

Reactions to hate crimes targeting another group

In order to compare individuals' reactions to hate crimes that are committed against outgroup members we asked all participants about their feelings about other types of hate-motivated crimes (for LGBT participants we asked about racial and anti-religious hate crimes, and for Muslim participants we asked about racial and sexual orientation based hate crimes).

Overall, LGBT people were generally disturbed and upset by other types of hate crime and all thought they were "wrong". Participants spoke of the links between

themselves as a minority group and other minority groups that were also under threat:

> I suppose in some ways it does, because you think, if people are still attacking another minority, that there is still a lot of ignorance out there … So in that sense, yes it does make me worry … (Josh/LGBT)

It is likely that this perception of threat is linked to a perceived similarity with other victims of different types of hate crime, and perhaps to a shared victim identity. Indeed, other researchers have found that more positive attitudes may be engendered across groups by highlighting similarities in their discriminatory experiences (Cortland et al., 2017). During the interviews there was also qualitative evidence to support a hypothesis that similarity in discriminatory experiences results in an amplified emotional reaction. Eight LGBT people and eight Muslim participants described how they felt anger as a result of race hate crimes, and five LGBT people also stated that they also felt anger about anti-religious crimes:

> Well, you do imagine who is doing that, and you know that you're living on the same street as them or in the same town as them, and you know that they're capable of smashing up a mosque and killing a guy, and you wonder what else they're capable of, I guess ... and what else they would react to – they're volatile, angry people who hate difference ... So that sort of means that we're all screwed if we're different. (Abi/LGBT)

Comments such as these highlighted how targeted violence of all types can give rise to concerns amongst other groups that they too could be vulnerable to the same types of prejudice. In other words, it may give rise to a sense of "will it be us next?"

Although other group hate crimes elicited strong emotions such as anger, it was clear from both groups that the gravity of harm caused by these incidents was not as severe as incidents committed against their ingroup. Key to understanding the depth of the emotional reactions was again empathy. Although both LGBT and Muslim people were saddened by other forms of hate, it was clear that levels of empathy were likely to be greater for victims within participants' own community.

Perhaps in general terms you perhaps are more likely to empathize with someone in more of a similar position to you; so perhaps a racial attack or a racial hate crime may be against someone of a different gender to me or a different race to me … it might not maybe affect me as much … because … if it was someone who was LGBT and you think, well that could have been me, whereas obviously I wouldn't think that I could have been like an Indian girl, but I might think I might have been that gay man who was attacked. (Martin/LGBT)

Discussion: conceptualizing community and understanding the indirect harms of hate

This study illustrates the complexity of both group identity, as forming part of a "community", and the differing impacts that ingroup (community) membership can have on emotional and behavioural reactions to incidents of hate. The qualitative data showed that both LGBT and Muslim people are likely to feel an affinity with others who share their identity characteristics. However, the strength of this bond can differ depending on a number of interconnected variables. For instance, we found that Muslim identity was shared to a greater degree than LGBT identity because Muslim people experienced a stronger moral bond that was based on a shared cultural and religious belief system. This was linked to the concept of brotherhood (noted by several of our interviewees), or "ummah", which means "community of believers" (Zempi, 2016: 121). The moral and religious values central to brotherhood were intrinsically linked to the practice of Islam, as expressed via frequent attendance at Mosque.

Within the LGBT group local and national communities tended to be more fluid, with individuals feeling that their group identity played less of a role in shaping their sense of self and their "world views". LGBT people also tended to share physical spaces less regularly, meaning that they did not "perform" their group identity in this way as often.

Our findings highlight the complexity of the concept of "community", as converging with both identity characteristics *and* social performativity (as it is connected to group identity). That is to say, while community can be constituted by action (including language, dress, and rituals), which is shaped by individuals' sense of group identity, the relationship between action and identity may be more or less salient depending on a number of factors. Thus, while we might accurately refer to the existence of the "LGBT community" and "Muslim community", the cohesiveness of these "units of belonging" (Kennedy and Roudometof, 2004) may well depend on such factors as the strength of the groups' shared values and moral beliefs, as well as their local access to group communal institutions and social spaces where members will perform and re-perform parts of their collective identity (i.e. sociality: Studdert, 2006).

Many LGBT and Muslim people also felt connected to global communities; though fewer individuals identified as feeling they belonged to such a collective. As with local and national communities, Muslim people tended to feel a stronger sense of global identity than LGBT people, which was again due to the concept of brotherhood. Brotherhood or ummah transcends local or national boundaries to form a single global community of Muslims who share certain beliefs and cultural norms. The strength of brotherhood or ummah can be such that it also transcends ethnic or linguistic differences. It is this umbrella group identity that connects Muslims everywhere.

This finding is significant to both our understandings of "community" and the indirect impacts that hate crimes are likely to have globally. It demonstrated that simply sharing an "ingroup" characteristic was enough for individuals to feel that they were part of a collective group, despite individuals not personally knowing or socializing with other "members" of that group. Clearly then, "community" is a highly nuanced concept that can be partly established, and then shaped, by locality and sociality, but it can also be fostered simply through *membership* of a group identity. Important to understanding global communities in the context of hate crime is the emotionality of group members. Many LGBT and Muslim people felt connected to global communities, not just because they held a common identity, but because they shared experiences that this identity gave rise to. In relation to LGBT and Muslim people, this common experience was one of targeted

victimization and discrimination, which gave rise to an experience of shared suffering amongst group members. This sense of shared suffering, in turn, gave rise to strong empathic connections amongst group members that provoked the main emotional response of anger.

While it was true that most participants felt a sense of community, either via physical sociality or by sharing an identity trait, for some LGBT participants their identity was not seen as important to their perception of "self". These individuals consciously resisted identifying themselves as being part of a group. Such resistance appeared to be an attempt to demonstrate that sexual orientation does not define individuality, and that human beings should not be reduced to a single identity trait. Paradoxically, these political beliefs may serve to both strengthen and weaken group identity. Those who displayed strong political beliefs about identity were the most proactive in defending the rights of LGBT people in a manner that asserted group identity. However, in doing this, some individuals advocated ideas that served to underplay the importance of "community" in favour of a more individualized view of humanity. We see here evidence of a philosophical tension within identity politics, between on the one hand advocating of group-based rights, while simultaneously promoting liberal values that foster a more individual-based human rights agenda.

Other individuals held intersecting identities, which meant that there was not always a clear *part* of an individual's group identity that resulted in their vicarious experiences of harm. Some individuals who experienced heightened emotional responses did so because of threats both to their gender *and* sexual orientation, or because of threats to their religious beliefs *and* racial background. Some noted that it was their gender identity, rather than their sexual orientation, that was the most salient feature that caused them fear of future targeted violence. It is not clear in such cases which "community" an indirect victim belongs to, or whether an intersecting identity (e.g. a "queer woman" or "Muslim woman") is in and of itself an "ingroup" identity.

Nevertheless, the data showed that most participants felt that they belonged to different levels of community, which could be directly linked to the nature and dynamics of the indirect effects of hate crimes. SIT and IET accurately predicted

the types of emotional responses that group members were likely to experience as a result of indirectly experiencing hate crime at all levels of community. Most prominent were anger-based emotions, which resulted in certain behavioural responses (specifically, activities aimed at strengthening group identity, as well as raising awareness about the problem of hate crime). Hate crimes against both LGBT and Muslim people in a local or national context also gave rise to more anxiety-related emotions in both samples. Such emotions were frequently linked with avoidant behaviours, such as avoiding certain areas of town or changing physical appearance and mannerisms in order to avoid victimization.

Forced behavioural changes such as these amount to both an individual and a social (cultural) harm. The expression of identity within groups is frequently performed as part of one's sociality, which allows members to create identity-based norms, values and "ways of being". By denying themselves such performativity, LGBT and Muslim people are forcibly adhering to a heteronormative or a White Christian identity that denies them the capacity to truly express themselves. The denial of identity-based expression in public spaces means that many individuals feel forced to seek the sanctuary of "ingroup" community spaces. Benier (2017) notes that this risks damaging social cohesion, ultimately leading to the breakdown of inter-community relations. Those who retreat into safe spaces in order to avoid victimization may choose to dissociate themselves from dominant outgroups with the result that some communities become segregated and detached from other local and national communities (Benier, 2017).

Two key factors emerged as affecting the *gravity* of emotional harms and behavioural responses to indirect hate crime. First, emotional and behavioural reactions were amplified where a realistic threat was closer in *proximity*. This meant that a hate crime against someone known to the victim in their local neighbourhood resulted in more pronounced negative emotions that could directly result in both proactive or avoidant behaviours. Such a finding illustrated that, while community may be formed through group identity alone (and amplified by a sense of shared suffering), location was a prominent factor that impacted upon the *strength* of group identity, which then mediated how greatly an individual would be affected by indirect experiences of hate crime.

Second, the study showed that group members' capacity for empathy was key to understanding the enhanced harms of indirect hate crime. The capacity to feel others' pain means that hate crimes are more likely to give rise to emotional and behavioural reactions to indirectly experiencing hate crime victimization. This was especially evidenced during discussions about global suffering of ingroup members, but also when exploring the indirect impacts of hate crimes against other groups. In relation to the latter, individuals spoke of feeling angry about incidents but to a lesser degree than same group hate crimes, while fewer individuals also spoke of feeling vulnerable or anxious as a result (though these feelings were still observed amongst some interviewees).

Finally, we had expected that strength of group identification would also affect group members' reactions to indirect hate crimes. However, it was not clear from the qualitative data whether the level of group identity or connection to "community" mediated the types and level of harms experienced by group members. Muslim identities were certainly more unequivocal, central, and regularly enacted through religious practice/guidance, while LGBT identities were more fluid and contextual, and although there were shared practices, these were more socially based. Nonetheless, regardless of these slightly diverging experiences of identity and community, the perception of threat appeared to be similar across the groups. Indeed, both communities responded in ways predicted by IET (proactive and avoidant), showing that some minimal level of group identification is all that is needed to elicit group members' responses to indirect hate crimes.

The research showed that the indirect experiences of hate crime result in distinct types of harm, which are likely to affect entire communities of people. A key difference between hate and non-hate motivated offences is that the impacts of hate ripple out to other people who share a group identity, often causing emotional and behavioural harms that go well beyond the general anxieties and desires for safety and security that are typically caused by crime. A nuanced comprehension of community that takes into consideration locality, sociality and local practices, as well as group identity, is key to understanding both the types and gravity of harms caused by targeted victimization. If we are to more effectively respond to the deleterious impacts of hate crime, be it in law or via criminal justice interventions,

we must first understand the extent to which such incidents indirectly affect entire communities of people. Only then can the state offer a more comprehensive framework of measures that can properly address both the direct *and* indirect effects of hate.

Acknowledgements

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