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OF SUSSEX

THE SUSSEX HATE CRIME PROJECT

FINAL REPORT

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Table of Contents

Tables & Figures

Acknowledgements

Executive Summary

This report summarises the findings from a five year research project, the Sussex Hate Crime Project, funded by the Leverhulme Trust. The aim was to examine the **indirect impacts of hate crimes** – how hate attacks on members of a community affect the thoughts, emotions and behaviours of other members of that community. The project focused on hate crimes targeted against LGB&T and Muslim communities and used a variety of different research methods, including questionnaire surveys, individual interviews and social psychological experiments.

Key findings were:

- Respondents were likely to have been victimised in a hate crime/incident in the past 3 years
  - 72% of LGB&T respondents and 71% of Muslim respondents had been victims

- Respondents were likely to know someone else who had been victimised in a hate crime/incident in the past 3 years
  - 87% of LGB&T respondents and 83% of Muslim respondents knew another victim

- Experiences of hate crime via the media and online were also extremely common
  - 83% of LGB&T respondents and 86% of Muslim respondents had been directly targeted online
  - 86% of LGB&T respondents and 88% of Muslim respondents knew someone who had been targeted online
  - 90% of LGB&T respondents had seen at least one hate crime reported in the media in the past 3 years

- Hate crimes, whether experienced directly, indirectly, through the media, in person or online were consistently linked to:
  - Increased feelings of vulnerability, anxiety, anger, and sometimes shame
  - Being more security conscious, avoidant, and more active within the community

- Hate crime victims received more empathy than non-hate crime victims and sometimes were blamed more than non-hate crime victims

- The indirect effects of hate crimes can be described as a process:
    1. Hate crimes increase feelings of vulnerability and empathy
    2. Feelings of vulnerability and empathy then increase emotional reactions (anger, anxiety, shame)
    3. These emotional reactions motivate specific behavioural responses:
        - Anger leads to pro-active behaviours and less avoidance
        - Anxiety leads to avoidance and security concerns
        - Shame, although not always felt strongly, is linked to avoidance, pro-active behaviours, security concerns, and uniquely to retaliation

- Perceptions of the criminal justice system were generally negative – especially when people had indirect experiences of hate crimes

- Around a quarter of respondents had contacted the police about a hate crime while less than 10% had experience with the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) about a hate crime
    o Contact with the police was associated with more negative perceptions for Muslim respondents
    o Contact with the CPS did not significantly affect perceptions about this institution

- Respondents were unlikely to report verbal or online abuse but were very likely to report acts of vandalism and assault to the police
    o Younger participants and those less identified with their community were less likely to report hate crimes to the police
    o Some participants would not report hate crimes because they felt that it would not help and that they may experience secondary victimisation by the police

- 61% of LGB&T and Muslim participants preferred restorative justice (RJ) as a criminal justice response to hate crimes than an enhanced prison sentence
    o LGB&T participants perceived RJ to be more beneficial to the victim and the offender and were more satisfied with RJ compared to an enhanced sentence

- The more identified people were with their community, the angrier they felt about hate crimes and the more they wanted to get involved in combating the harms of hate

- Interviews revealed that LGB&T and Muslim people felt connected to their communities at three levels: locally, nationally and globally

- Interview participants felt greater levels of anger and anxiety about hate crimes committed in their local neighbourhood

- Some interview participants felt connected to other LGB&T and Muslim people globally through a sense of "shared suffering"

- Interview participants felt angry about hate crimes against other groups but felt less vulnerable and anxious about these compared with hate crimes against their own community

In sum, hate crimes spread fear and anger throughout communities that impact upon people's actions and their perceptions of the criminal justice system. Individuals themselves do not have to be targeted to be impacted: simply knowing someone who has been victimised is sufficient to cause these effects. Hate crimes, then, have the potential to cause injury and distress both at the individual and community level.

1. Introduction

This report summarises the findings of 20 studies that were conducted as part of the Sussex Hate Crime Project, which was funded by the Leverhulme Trust. The aim of the project was to examine the **indirect impacts of hate crimes** – that is, how hate attacks on members of a community affect the thoughts, emotions and behaviours of other members of that community. The project focused on hate crimes targeted against LGB&T and Muslim communities and used a number of different research methods, including:

- Surveys to ask LGB&T and Muslim people whether they knew other group members who had been victimised and what effect this had had on them
- Interviews with individuals about their knowledge and the effects of hate crimes committed locally, nationally and globally
- Experiments which compared reactions to hate crimes with reactions to similar non-hate crimes.

The project provides, for the first time, a comprehensive empirical basis for understanding *what* these indirect impacts are and *why* they are likely to occur. The results of the project should have important implications for the ways in which policy makers and practitioners respond to the impacts of hate-based victimisation. By understanding the types of emotions that hate incidents typically give rise to, and how each of these emotions predict certain behavioural and attitudinal responses, we hope that this report will help to enhance community and statutory responses to hate crime (see sections 6 & 7).

1.1 What is hate crime?

The project used the following definition of hate crime and hate incidents, which is adapted from the College of Policing's (2014) guidance on hate crime:

> "*Any criminal offence, or non-crime incident, which is perceived, by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by a hostility or prejudice.*"

For studies concerning the LGB&T community, we examined the effects of prejudice and hostility directed against a person's sexual orientation or perceived sexual orientation, and a person who is transgender or perceived to be transgender. We termed these collectively 'anti-LGB&T' hate crimes.

For studies concerning the Muslim community, we examined the effects of prejudice and hostility directed against Muslim people and termed these crimes 'Islamophobic' hate crime.

The use of these definitions of hate crime and hate incidents was important to the study as we explored various types of hate-motivated conduct ranging from verbal abuse and online (cyber) abuse (which may or may not amount to a crime) through to property offences and crimes of violence.

1.2 How prevalent are hate crimes?

The number of recorded hate crimes has nearly doubled in 4 years

Within England and Wales the police officially monitor five strands of hate crime motivated by a prejudice towards individuals' presumed race or ethnicity; religion; sexual orientation; disability; and transgender identity.[i] The most recent police statistics reveal that there were 80,393 hate-motivated offences recorded by the police in 2016/2017 – a 29% increase from the previous figures in 2015/2016 and a figure that nearly doubles the recorded figure of 42,255 in 2012/2013 (O'Neill, 2017). The following table shows the breakdown of recorded hate crime by strand.

Table 1: Hate crimes recorded by the police by monitored strand 2016/17

Monitored strand	Total recorded hate crime offences
Race	62,685
Religion	5,949
Sexual orientation	9,157
Disability	5,558
Transgender identity	1,248

These statistics can be compared with the data collated by the Crime Survey for England and Wales, which estimates the total number of hate crimes that are committed each year via a victim survey conducted with 50,000 households nationally. The most recent data show that there was an average of 204,000 hate crimes estimated to have been committed each year between March 2014 to March 2016. This is a 7% decrease from the previous data published in 2015 (Corcoran, Lader, & Smith, 2015). The following table shows the breakdown of estimated hate crime for each of the five strands and the estimated numbers that were reported to the police.

Table 2. CSEW-estimated 12-month averages of hate crime incidents monitored by strand (March 2014 to March 2016)[ii]

Monitored strand	Estimated number of incidents	Percentage of incidents reported to police
Race	104,000	58%
Religion	31,000	43%
Sexual orientation	27,000	*no estimates available
Disability	67,000	52%
Transgender identity	*no estimates available	*no estimates available
All hate crime	204,000	54%

The CSEW data do not include the period after the EU referendum and it remains unclear whether actual hate crime numbers have increased in line with the rise in officially recorded offences during this period. What is certain is that the total number of hate crimes remains worryingly high, and many incidents continue to go unreported or under-recorded by the police.

1.3 What are the impacts of hate crimes?

Hate crimes are considered to be particularly dangerous to society because of the significant trauma they cause to victims and because they are likely to cause vicarious harms to entire communities.

1.3.1 Direct effects of hate crime

Victimisation that is motivated by prejudice and hostility against someone's identity can have devastating consequences. These frequently violent crimes typically target minority group members and personal characteristics that are often unchangeable. Research has shown that hate crimes are likely to have significant physical and psychological consequences for victims that are more severe than similar non-hate motivated offences (Corcoran et al., 2015; Iganski & Lagou, 2015). For instance, analysis of the Crime Survey for England and Wales by the Home office revealed that victims of hate crime were more likely than victims of crime overall to say they were emotionally affected by the incident (92% and 81% respectively: Corcoran et al., 2015, p. 22). Even more stark was that 36% of hate crime victims stated they were "very much" affected compared with just 13% for non-hate crime victims. The emotional impacts of hate crime can be especially severe, with twice as many hate crime victims suffering a loss of confidence or feelings of vulnerability after the

incident compared with victims of non-hate crime (39% vs. 17%). Hate crime victims were also more than "twice as likely to experience fear, difficulty sleeping, anxiety or panic attacks or depression compared with victims of overall CSEW crime" (Corcoran et al., 2015 p.22; see also Chakraborti et al., 2014; Williams & Tregidga, 2013).

1.3.2 Indirect effects of hate crime

The impacts of hate crimes are not confined to the individuals directly targeted. Hate crimes are symbolic acts that are intended to send a message of hostility and intolerance to anyone who shares the identity or characteristic of the victim targeted. Violent attacks can signal to entire communities that they are not welcomed or tolerated, and are even hated, and so are likely to have far-reaching emotional and behavioural consequences. Interviews with members of targeted communities, for example, have revealed that hate crimes against others in their communities leave them feeling angry that their group is under attack and vulnerable as they fear that they too will be targeted (e.g., Bell & Perry, 2015; Noelle, 2002; Perry & Alvi, 2012). Entire groups of people, then, may feel stigmatised and rejected, potentially resulting in community tensions and social isolation.

> *The impacts of hate crime reverberate through targeted communities with significant consequences for individuals, communities and society as a whole*

2. The Sussex Hate Crime Project

The Sussex Hate Crime Project is the world's largest and longest running research project into the community effects of hate crimes. Conducted by Prof. Rupert Brown, Prof. Mark Walters, Dr Jenny Paterson and Dr Harriet Fearn, working with numerous organisations, schools, and charities, the five-year project (2013-2018) collected data from over 4000 people to understand the impacts of hate crimes on LGB&T and Muslim individuals and communities. This report summarises the most significant findings from the project and provides important evidence-based insights for practitioners, policy makers, and community members who want to combat these divisive crimes.

2.1 Aims

Although a great deal of research has illustrated the highly damaging effects of hate crimes on direct victims, previous empirical investigations have overlooked or simply assumed how hate crimes affect other people in the targeted group. Our main aim, then, was to explicitly examine the indirect effects of hate crimes on two often targeted groups: the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans (LGB&T) community and the Muslim community. In doing so, we aimed to:

- *Understand the wider impacts of hate crime*

- *Raise awareness of hate crimes and their indirect effects on communities*

- *Provide information on the attitudes and confidence levels amongst these communities on policing, criminal justice sanctions and government policy*

- *Work with individuals, community organisations, and the criminal justice agencies to develop and improve initiatives designed to combat hate crimes*

- *Stimulate further academic discussion and research on the effects of hate crimes*

> *The project aimed to provide robust research that would help to improve community relations, reduce social exclusion, and improve community safety*

2.2 Why focus on Muslim and LGB&T communities?

LGB&T and Muslim communities were selected because they are two of the most commonly targeted groups that experience hate crimes (see section 1.3 above). While we recognise that these communities sometimes overlap (e.g., gay Muslims), the two groups also have distinct characteristics that allowed us to compare and contrast differences in both frequency of indirect experiences of hate crimes and their impacts. For this reason, we chose to focus separately on Muslim individuals' experiences and reactions to anti-Muslim/Islamophobic hate crimes and LGB&T individuals' experiences and reactions to anti-LGB&T hate crimes.

2.3 Why do hate crimes affect others? A theoretical perspective

Intergroup Emotions Theory is a social psychological theory which proposes that when we share common identity traits, experiences, interests and backgrounds with other people, we are likely to form social groups with them (see Mackie & Smith, 2015 for an overview of the theory). These groups can be formal or informal, large or small, and include, for example, religious groups (e.g., Muslims) and people who have similar sexual identities (e.g., LGB&T). Through sharing a group identity, individuals form attachments to the group and its members as a collective. Thus, when something good or bad happens to the group (or any of its members), it is felt by others as if it is happening to them and so can affect how they think, feel, and act – especially if the social group is particularly important and meaningful to them. For instance, if a person is attacked *because* they are from a particular social group – as in the case of a hate crime – other group members may feel like it is an attack on themselves and so are likely to be impacted in similar ways to that of the direct victim. Reactions to such attacks include increased feelings of anxiety, which are likely to result in individuals avoiding certain locations, and anger which may motivate individuals to provide support for victims and the community in general. Below, we show some examples of how hate crimes impact the thoughts, feelings and actions of other community members, as predicted by intergroup emotions theory.

Figure 1. Diagram of how hate crimes can affect others' thoughts, feelings and behaviours

| *Hate crime against a fellow group member*
• verbal abuse
• online abuse
• vandalism
• physical assaults | ⇨ | *Thoughts & perceptions*
• Feel the group is under attack
• Feel personally vulnerable
• Feel for the victim | ⇨ | *Emotional reactions*
• Anger
• Anxiety
• Shame | ⇨ | *Behavioural responses*
• Community action
• Avoidance
• Confrontation
• Retaliation |
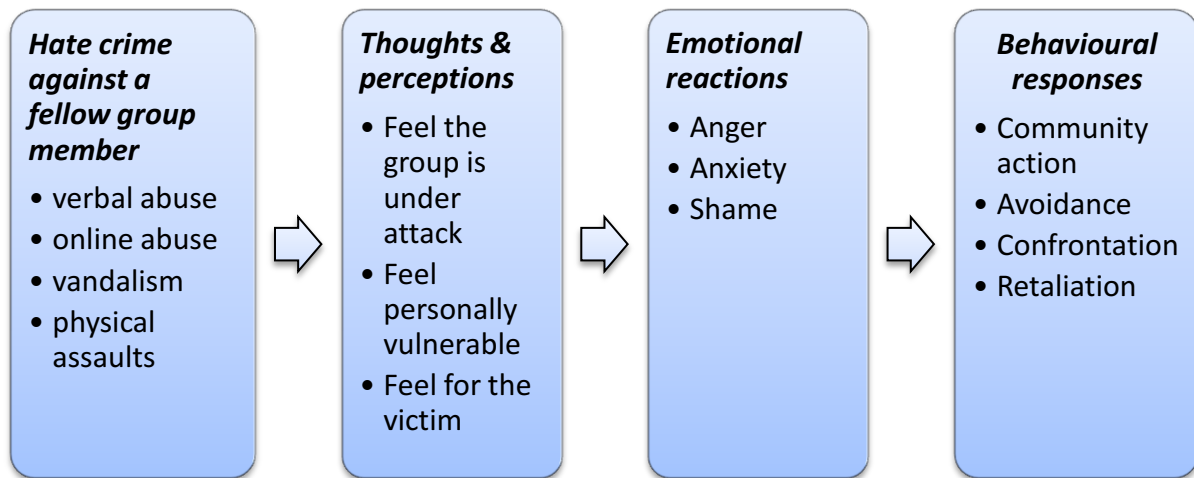
2.4 Method

To gain a thorough understanding of the experiences and consequences of hate crimes, we conducted 20 different studies with over 2000 LGB&T respondents and over 1000 Muslim respondents (with around 1000 additional respondents who identified as neither LGB&T nor Muslim). We used a variety of techniques including surveys, experiments and interviews, detailed below.

2.4.1 Surveys

We recruited 855 LGB&T respondents and 476 Muslim respondents to five survey-based studies from a wide variety of sources including specific community groups and charities (e.g., Stonewall, Galop, MEND, Muslim Council of Britain) and student organisations (e.g., LGB&T and Muslim university groups). In the surveys, we asked participants about their own (direct) experiences of hate crimes and their knowledge of others' victimisation (indirect experiences). In our two largest surveys (LGB&T N = 589; Muslim N = 347), we also asked them to imagine a hate crime being committed against a member of their community in their local community (i.e., Islamophobic or anti-LGB&T) and how they thought they would feel (emotional reactions) and react (behavioural responses). They also gave their perceptions of the criminal justice system's response to hate crimes.

Using this large volume of data, we were able to see how both direct and indirect experiences of hate crimes were linked to how people reacted to hate crimes committed against other community members. Importantly, because personally being a victim of a hate crime is likely to have a large

effect on how people react, we were able to use advanced statistical analyses to "statistically control" for these effects so that we could see how *indirect* experiences of hate crimes affected individuals' reactions – above and beyond the effect of their own experiences. This meant that we were able to use statistical evidence to show that hate crimes not only affect the individuals involved but have additional consequences for other people in the community.

2.4.2 Longitudinal survey

We recruited a further 774 LGB&T individuals to take part in a two-part study. Similar to the initial surveys, respondents were asked about their experiences of hate crimes but instead of imagining a hate crime being committed, they read an adapted news article describing a homophobic attack.[iii] They then indicated how the article made them feel and how likely they were to change their behaviours after reading about it. Three months later, respondents were contacted again and answered the same questions as before but with additional questions about how they *actually* reacted to the hate crime that they had read about three months previously. Conducting such research was important because it allowed us to see if and how others' hate crime experiences had *lasting* impacts on individuals' thoughts, feeling and *actual* actions.

2.4.3 Experiments

Although surveys provide invaluable information, they do not necessarily inform us if hate crimes *cause* these thoughts, emotions or behaviours. For example, our results show that knowing someone who has been a victim of a hate crime is *linked* with being proactive in the community (see section 3.2.2 below). This may mean that indirect experiences cause more community involvement, or it could be that being involved in the community leads to people knowing more victims – or both. One way to find out if hate crime experiences do cause community consequences, as we suggest, is to conduct experiments in which we compare the reactions to hate crimes to reactions to non-hate crimes.

In total, we conducted 13 such experiments and were able to test whether certain types of hate crimes have different consequences. Most were conducted with both LGB&T and Muslim respondents but we were also able to conduct two further experiments with the LGB&T community and one further experiment with people who identified as neither LGB&T nor Muslim. Below, we list the experiments we conducted:

- *Comparing the reactions to a physical assault versus an act of vandalism described as either hate-motivated OR as a random crime*

- *Comparing a hate crime attack versus a random attack that was perpetrated either by one individual OR a group of perpetrators*

- *Examining the effects of a hate crime committed against a victim who shared one OR two identities with the respondent undertaking the experiment*

- *Comparing the reactions to online hate material targeting their group versus unpleasant online material not specific to their group*

- *Comparing the use of restorative justice versus a prison sentence for a hate crime offender OR a non-hate crime offender*

- *Assessing the use of an "enhanced" prison sentence versus a community sentence for a hate crime perpetrator (LGB&T only)*

- *Comparing the reactions to an anti-LGB&T hate crime versus a non-hate crime (LGB&T only)*

- *Comparing the reactions to an Islamophobic hate crime versus a non-hate crime (identified as neither LGB&T nor Muslim)*

In the majority of the experiments, we used adapted newspaper articles describing the specific crimes to examine and compare the responses. Figure 2 is an example of one of the articles we used in the experiments. Different groups of respondents received slightly different articles. For example, in the example below, one group would receive this article, and another group would receive a similar article in which certain details were altered so that the crime described was not hate-motivated. By comparing the two groups' reactions, we were able to assess the specific effect of being exposed to a hate crime.

Figure 2. Example of the articles used in the experiments and longitudinal study.

Gay Activist Mugged in Hate Attack

A prominent gay activist required stitches after being attacked by a gang as he left a friend's house Sunday evening. Mark Hodgson, 48, was treated in hospital after the hate-motivated assault.

A representative from the LGBTQ charity where the victim volunteers said Mr Hodgson received severe cuts and bruises and was released from hospital later that night.

"A gang of youths set upon Mark after he was recognised from the talk he had given earlier in the day to the LGBTQ community. The attackers began hurling homophobic abuse at him and then mugged him. The attack has left him understandably shaken"

A police spokesperson said: "At 8:15pm Mr Hodgson was set upon by a group of youths in what we believe to be a hate motivated mugging. Hate crimes of this nature are taken very seriously and we are currently questioning eyewitnesses to the attack."

2.4.4 Interviews

In addition to providing comprehensive statistical evidence for the general effects of hate crimes on the LGB&T and Muslim communities, we conducted 34 in-depth interviews with members of the targeted communities (18 Muslim and 16 LGB&T). These qualitative interviews provided a more thorough understanding of the impacts of hate crime. They allowed us to explore complex feelings and thoughts in much more detail, providing a rich source of information and personal insight into the effects of hate crimes.

Below are some of the questions we posed to the interviewees. During this study, questions for LGB&T interviewees referred to anti-LGB&T hate crimes and questions for Muslim participants referred to Islamophobic hate crimes. However, we also asked participants to discuss how hate crimes committed against other groups affected them.

How important is your sexual orientation or gender identity to your individual identity, i.e., the way that you see yourself as an individual?

Do you ever hear or read about Islamophobic hate crimes or incidents occurring in your local neighbourhood?

When you hear or read about hate crimes or incidents against LGBT people outside of your local neighbourhood, how does this make you feel?

Do you think the police do enough to tackle anti-LGBT hate crime/incidents?

Do you agree with enhanced sentencing for Islamophobic hate crimes?

3. Experiences of hate crime and hate incidents

Hate crimes take many forms, ranging from name calling and online trolling to more violent attacks and even murder. These crimes can have significant effects on victims, other people who know the victims, and others who hear about the crimes through friends or the media. Here we outline the different types of hate crime our respondents had experienced directly, indirectly and through the media. We also show the impacts of these experiences and highlight the effects of online hate.

3.1 Direct experiences

We asked respondents if they had _personally been victims_ of hate-motivated verbal abuse (e.g., shouted at), online abuse (e.g., trolling), vandalism (e.g., graffiti), physical assault (e.g., punched), and physical assault with a weapon (e.g., stabbed) within the past 3 years.

3.1.1 How common are hate crimes?

> _Overall, 7 out of 10 people had been directly victimised in the past 3 years_
>
> _72% of LGB&T respondents had been victims_
>
> _71% of Muslim respondents had been victims_

Hate crimes remain a common experience for people who identify as Muslim and LGB&T. Figure 3 shows that the majority of our respondents were subject to verbal attacks, many experienced cyber bullying, and 1 in 10 had been physically attacked. The survey found that the two communities experienced similar levels of physical and verbal attacks, though Muslim respondents were more likely to have been abused online (45% vs. 30%) and were more likely to have been the victim of vandalism (15% vs. 9%).

Figure 3. Percentage of participants who have been a victim of a hate crime
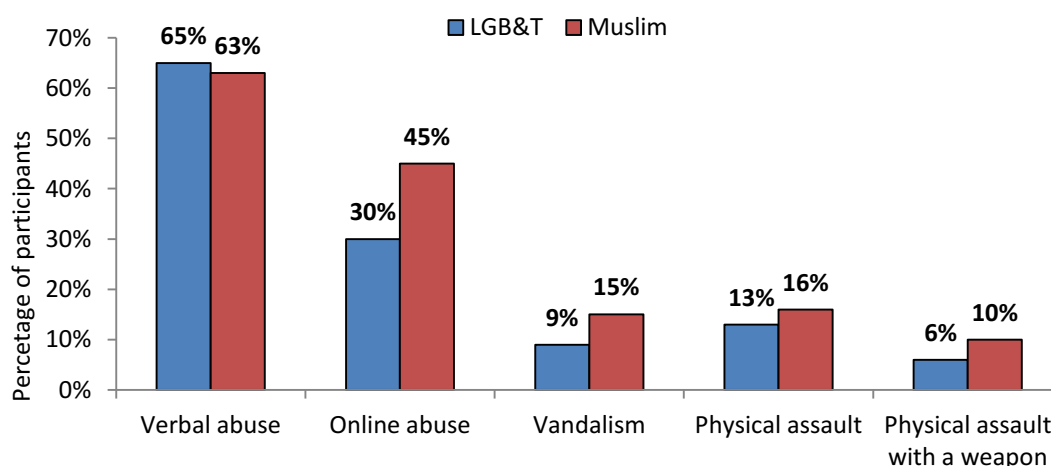
3.1.2 Repeated victimisation

Not only were participants likely to have been a victim of a hate crime/incident, but many also experienced repeated attacks. Figure 4 shows that of those who had been verbally abused, 1 in 3 LGB&T victims and almost 1 in 2 Muslim victims had been targeted more than 3 times in the past 3 years. Of those who had been physically attacked, around 1 in 5 LGB&T victims and 1 in 3 Muslim victims had been targeted 3 times or more in the past 3 years (Figure 5).

Figure 4. Frequency of victims' experiences of verbal abuse in the past 3 years

LGB&T (N = 381)

- 1-3 times 66%
- 4-6 times 14%
- 7 times or more 20%

Muslim (N = 219)

- 1-3 times 55%
- 4-6 times 21%
- 7 times or more 24%
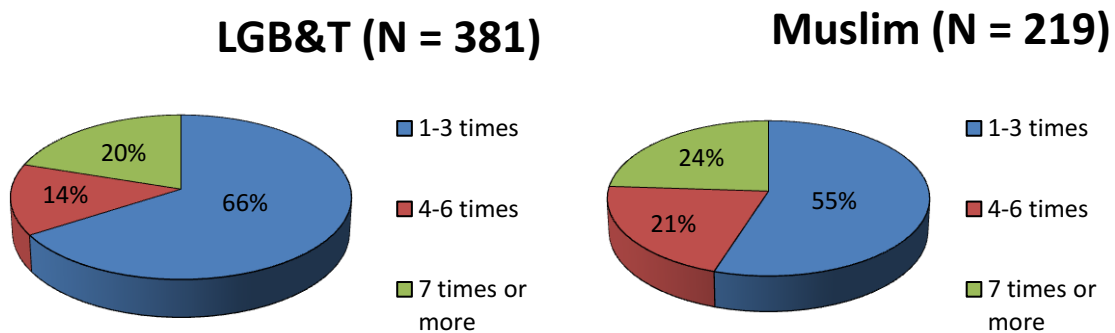
Figure 5. Frequency of victims' experiences of physical attacks in the past 3 years

LGB&T (N = 79)

- 1-2 times 81%
- 3-4 times 11%
- 5 times or more 8%

Muslim (N = 55)

- 1-2 times 71%
- 3-4 times 13%
- 5 times or more 16%
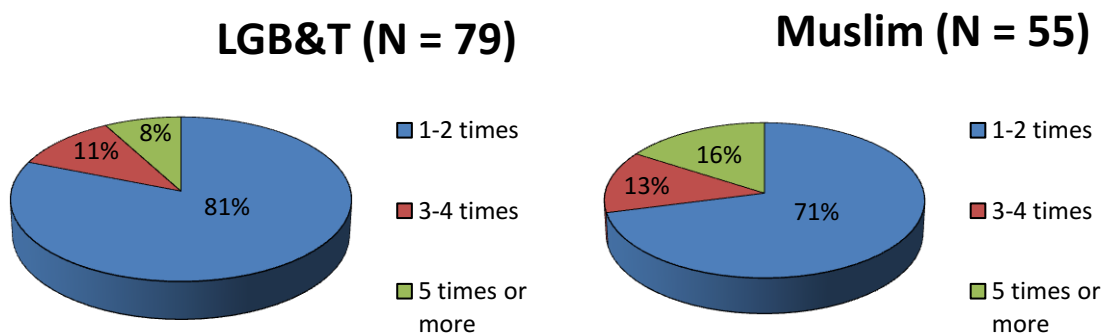
3.1.3 The impacts of direct victimisation

Being a victim of a hate crime or incident affected how people felt, thought and acted

In the surveys and longitudinal study we repeatedly found that being a victim of a hate crime has considerable impacts on individuals. It can:

- *Alter their sense of safety making them feel more vulnerable and anxious*

- *Increase feelings of anger and injustice*

- *Lead to increased suspicion and social withdrawal*

- *Motivate increased community engagement through specialist groups and charities*

These consistent findings show that responses to hate crime victimisation are significant and varied. For some, it can lead to feeling anxious and avoidant, while for others it can lead to feeling angry and engaged. Furthermore, these feelings and behavioural responses may be felt by the same victim at different times.

3.2 Indirect experiences

Our surveys also asked participants whether they *knew someone* who had experienced these types of hate crimes/incidents. They did not need to be close friends but they did need to know of them (i.e., not just have seen them in the media).

3.2.1 Do people know about others' hate crime experiences?

Overall, 8 out of 10 people knew someone who had been victimised in the past 3 years
87% of LGB&T respondents knew a LGB&T victim
83% of Muslim respondents knew a Muslim victim

Figure 6 shows that the majority of participants knew someone who had been a victim of a hate crime/incident. Over three quarters knew someone who had been verbally abused while 2 in 5 people knew someone who had been physically assaulted within the past 3 years. These indirect experiences were generally similar between LGB&T and Muslim participants, though Muslim participants were more likely to have known someone whose property had been vandalised and to have known someone who had been physically assaulted with a weapon.

Figure 6. Percentage of participants who knew a victim of a hate crime
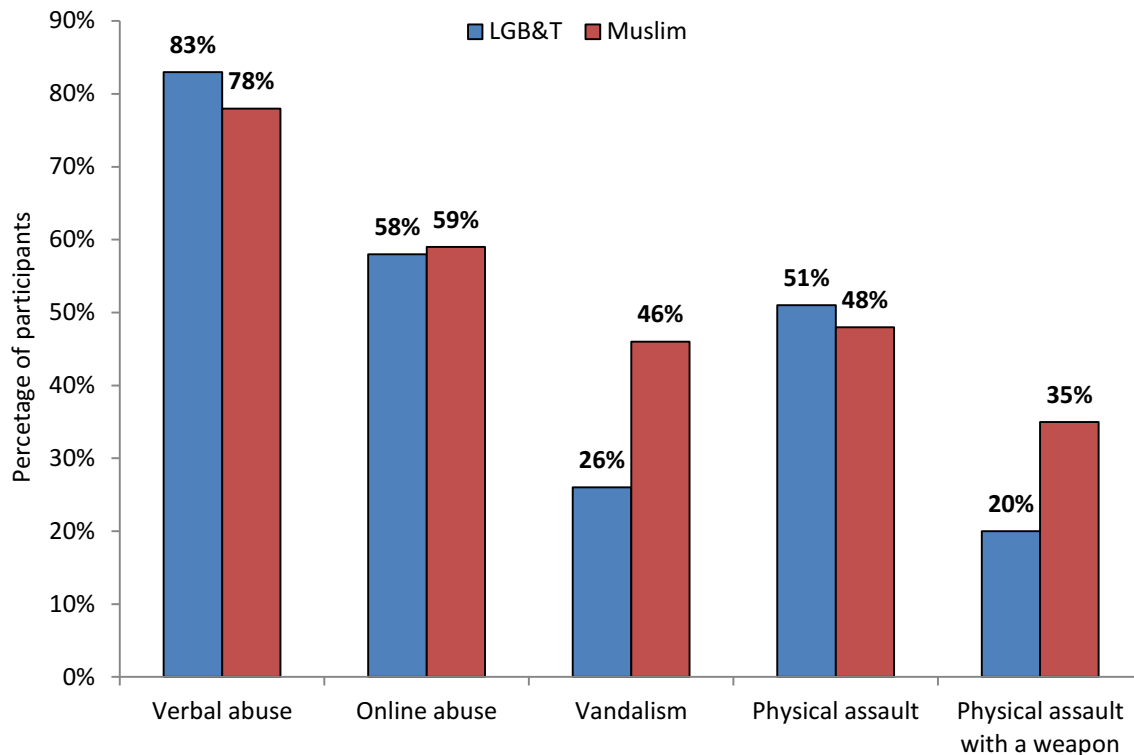
3.2.2 The impacts of others' victimisation

> *Knowing victims of hate crime has significant impacts on how people think, feel and act*

These *indirect experiences* were consistently linked with enhanced emotional and behavioural responses to hate crimes. That is, participants who knew more hate crime victims and more instances of hate crimes:

- *Felt more anger and injustice about hate crimes*

- *Felt more vulnerable and anxious about hate crimes*

- *Wanted to be more 'proactive' in the community*

- *Were more security conscious*

- *Were more likely to avoid certain places and locations*

Our interviewees supported this survey data and reported a variety of emotional and behavioural responses when hearing about hate crimes in their local community and from further afield:

> *Yeah, it does affect my behaviour. Because I become more fearful and 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.* Muslim participant

> *Yeah, well you feel angry at the point that this is a vulnerable person – he was a very innocent boy. He was just walking in the street and just because he's a Muslim he was attacked… So I was angry, yes, definitely - and angry at the fact that they started on a Muslim – angry at the fact that this is an innocent person.* Muslim participant

> *I won't be booking any holidays to Uganda or Russia … If I was to go on holiday to a country, 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.* LGB&T participant

Adding to this, our longitudinal study allowed us to compare respondents based on their direct and indirect experiences: those who had both direct and indirect experiences; those who only had indirect experiences; and those who had neither.

After reading the hate crime article (similar to the one in Figure 2), participants were asked to indicate how emotional they felt (e.g., angry, anxious, embarrassed) on a 7 point scale where 1 = Not at all to 7 = Very much so. They then indicated if they would consider certain behavioural reactions in response to reading the article (e.g., avoid certain places, join support groups) on a 7 point scale where 1 = Strongly disagree to 7 = Strongly disagree. Figure 7 shows the mean levels of these scales

and indicates the average level of impact amongst respondents in the three groups. Participants who had both direct *and* indirect experiences (green columns) generally showed the strongest emotional and behavioural reactions. Notably, those who only had indirect experiences (red columns) showed stronger reactions than those who had no previous experiences of hate crimes (blue columns). With one exception (Shame), all the differences between the Indirect only and the No experience groups were statistically significant.

Figure 7. Comparing the impacts of having direct, indirect, and no experiences of hate crimes
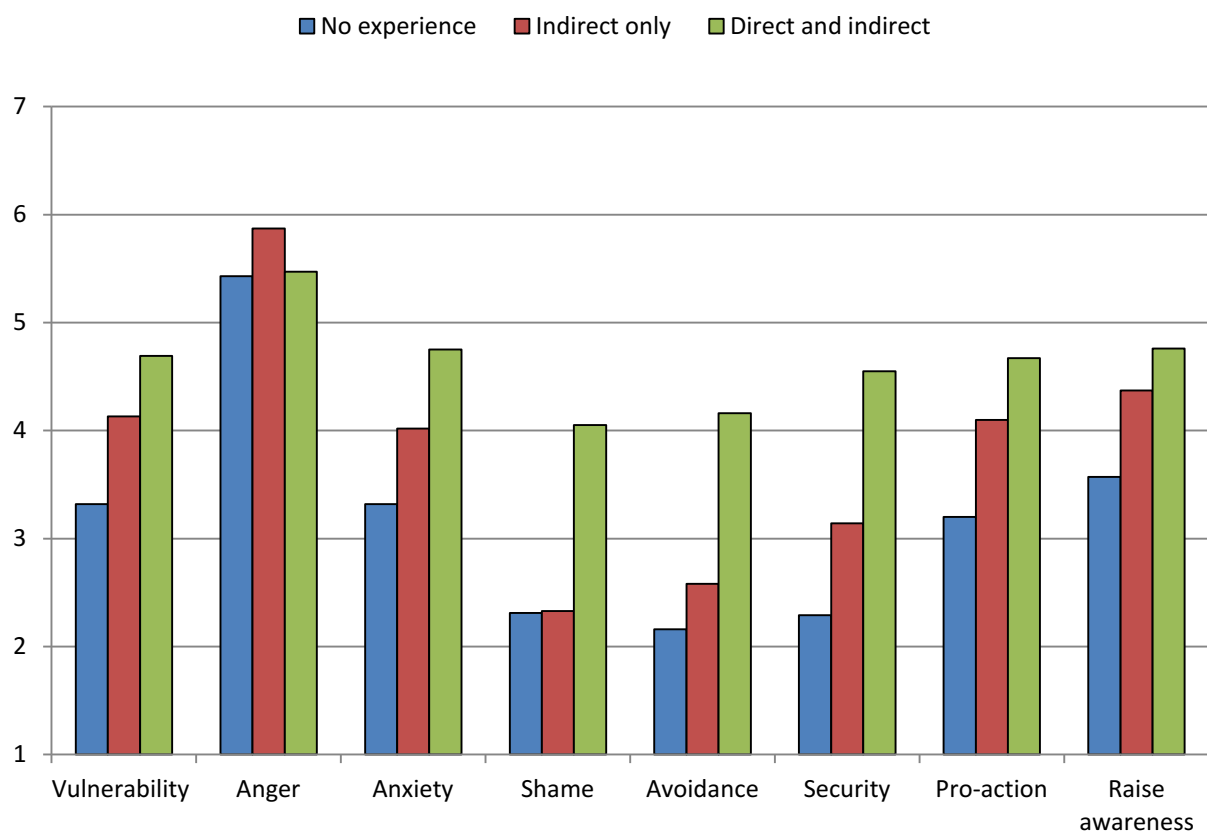
The results of this longitudinal study, along with the survey findings and interviews with people from the LGB&T and Muslim communities, show that indirect experiences of hate crimes have considerable impacts on other community members. Simply hearing about others' victimisation – whether they are friends, friends of a friend, or even a complete stranger – can make people feel vulnerable, angry, and are likely to affect their behaviours.

3.3 Hate crime in the media

Acid attack on two Muslim cousins in London being treated as hate crime

<div align="right">The Guardian, 30th June 2017</div>

The Guardian, 30th June 2017

Gay man nearly killed in 'homophobic' attack had gone out to make friends in new area

The Independent, 17th August 2017

Whilst we focused most of our attention on understanding how *personally* knowing hate crime victims affected individuals, we were also acutely aware that media coverage of hate crimes – like the ones above – can affect community members. To examine these effects, we asked LGB&T individuals in the longitudinal study about their experiences of hate crimes via the media.

> *9 out of 10 LGB&T participants had seen a media report of a hate crime in the past 3 years*

Possibly because media reports generally report upon the most serious types of offences, the impact of such coverage was considerable. Even when statistically controlling for their own personal direct and indirect experiences of hate crimes, experiences of hate crimes via the media were strongly linked with:

- *Feeling more vulnerable, angry and anxious about hate crimes*

- *Wanting to be more proactive within the community*

- *Wanting to raise awareness of the hate crime throughout the community*

3.4 Online experiences

A particular concern for many of our participants was hate crimes and incident perpetrated online. Respondents felt that they were easy targets for perpetrators and felt the criminal justice system and internet companies offered little protection or support.

> *I mean that is just a daily occurrence. That is just something that I have come to expect. If in fact I don't see it I will be surprised. If there is some sort of topic related to that [Islam] and I don't see that type of abuse then I will be perfectly surprised.* Muslim participant

> *So I think different companies, whether it is social media, independent forums or news sites they all need to look at their processes for allowing comments, or filtering comments, or reactively dealing with comments and what their guidelines are and what they should and shouldn't allow. There doesn't seem to be any consistency across the board.*
>
> LGB&T participant

3.4.1 Frequency of hate online

In two surveys, we asked 116 LGB&T participants and 129 Muslim participants about their experiences of online hate crime. Figure 8 shows that around 80% of both samples had endured at least one hate incident online and over 85% had been indirectly victimised online at least once.

Figure 8. Percentage of participants experiencing direct and indirect online hate crime
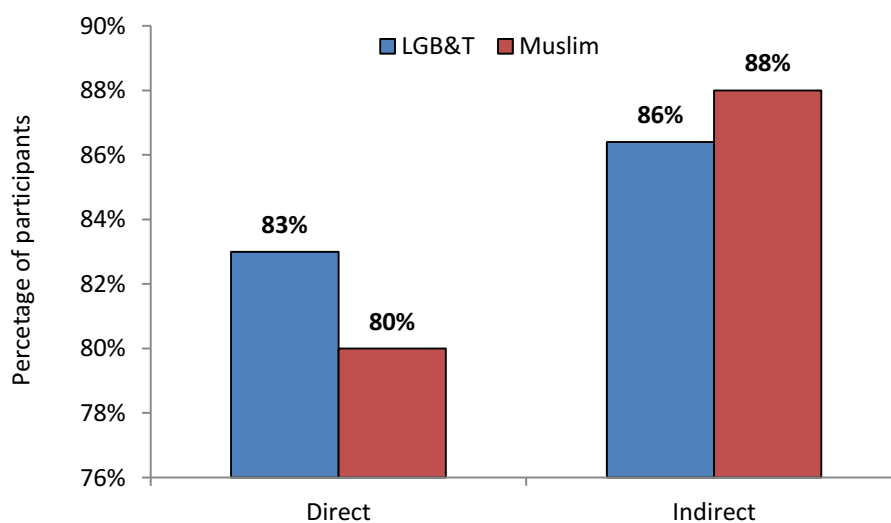
3.4.2 Who is targeted online?

The surveys also revealed that the more time people spent on group-related websites (e.g., forums and LGB&T or Muslim specific sites), the more likely they were to have directly and indirectly experienced hate online. In addition, Muslim men were more likely to have been direct and indirect victims than Muslim women. Gay and lesbian individuals, meanwhile, were less likely to have been directly and indirectly victimised compared to individuals identifying as other sexual minorities (e.g., bisexual, pansexual, etc.).

3.4.3 Impacts of hate online

Similar to hate offline, instances of hate online were linked to emotional and behavioural responses. Viewing hate online generated feelings of anger and anxiety and was more likely to provoke help-seeking responses (e.g., discussing and reporting online abuse) and avoidant behaviours (e.g., ignoring the abuse, changing their profile) than retaliatory actions (e.g., insult them back, be more aggressive). Furthermore, we found that for LGB&T respondents, the more direct experiences of online hate they had, the more fearful and angry they felt about online hate. Feeling anxious was then linked to seeking out help and support, while feeling angry was linked to more retaliatory wishes.

To supplement our surveys, we also conducted two experiments with 70 Muslim respondents and 68 LGB&T respondents into the effects of looking at hate online. For both groups, viewing hate materials specific to their group (i.e., anti-LGB&T or Islamophobic) made people angrier and more likely to engage in proactive behaviours than viewing similarly unpleasant material that was unrelated to their community.

4. Perceptions of hate crime and victims

A key impact of hate crime is its effect on people's feelings of safety. Throughout our surveys and experiments, respondents who experienced hate crimes both directly and indirectly felt more vulnerable and were more likely to feel that their community is under threat. In addition, we found that previous experiences of hate crimes influenced people's perceptions of hate crime victims – whether they felt sorry for them and whether they (partially) blamed them.

4.1 Feeling vulnerable and under threat

As noted above, the more times respondents had experienced hate crimes directly, indirectly, and via the media, the more vulnerable they felt. Although our findings suggest that hate crimes are a special type of crime because they threaten entire communities, it could well be that *any* type of crime could have the same impacts.

To test whether hate crimes were more threatening than non-hate crimes, we used a variety of experiments. In one study, for example, participants read an article in which an act of vandalism was described as hate-motivated or as random. Figure 9 shows that both LGB&T and Muslim participants perceived the hate-motivated act of vandalism (blue columns) to be significantly more threatening than the same, but non-hate motivated, crime (red columns). Further analysis revealed that this feeling of threat was directly linked to feeling more anxious and angry about the hate crime. Collectively, the results suggest that hate crimes are more impactful than other comparable crimes because they are deemed to be more threatening to the entire community, and this leads to greater levels of anxiety and anger amongst group members.

Figure 9. The perceived threat of hate-motivated vs. random acts of vandalism
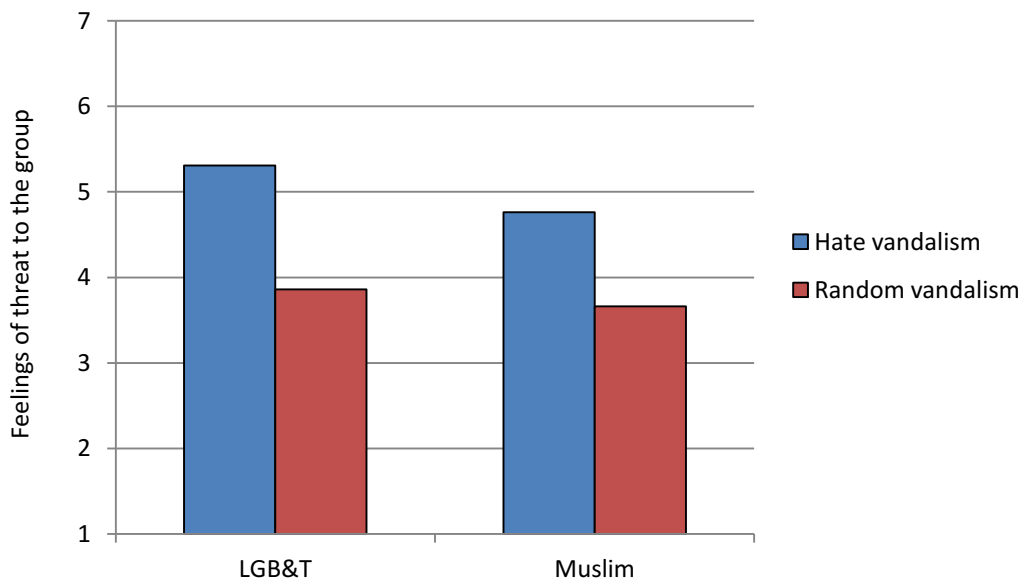
4.2 Empathy

Respondents felt a great deal of empathy for hate crime victims

A key reason why hate crimes are likely to impact LGB&T and Muslim individuals more than non-hate crimes is because group members feel more emotionally connected to the victim. In all our experiments, respondents reported more empathy for the hate crime victim from their community than the victim of a non-hate crime. Using a 7 point scale, where 1 = Strongly disagree to 7 = Strongly agree, we measured levels of empathy by asking respondents how much sadness, sympathy, respect and empathy they felt for the victim. Figure 10 shows the average empathic responses to the different crimes and clearly shows that participants felt more empathy for the victims of hate-motivated vandalism (blue columns) compared to victims of random vandalism (red columns). In further analysis, we also found that this empathy was linked to feeling more angry, anxious and even ashamed.

Figure 10. Empathy for victims of hate-motivated vs. random acts of vandalism
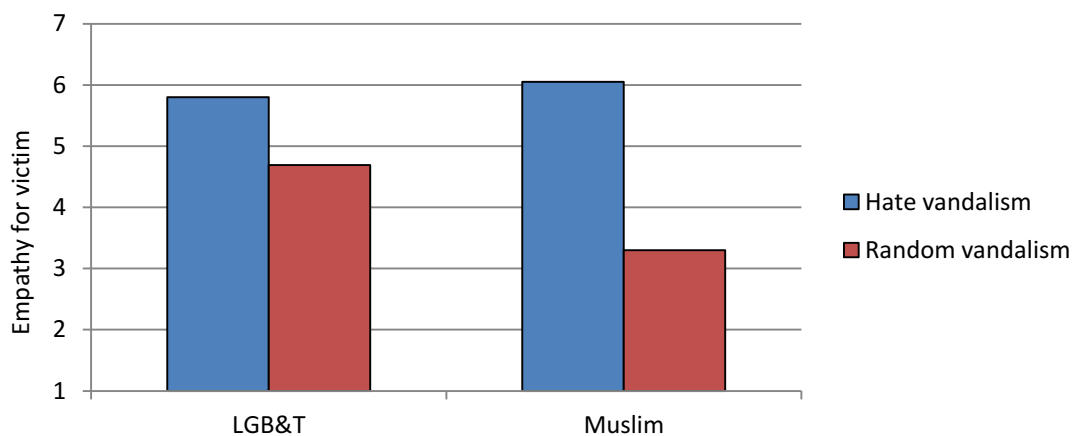
> *It's upsetting and it's angering 'cause it's just the fact that you can sort of empathise with that person and to think that you might potentially go through that kind of pain just for something you've never even chosen, you know, you just are gay. That's upsetting, but it also makes you really angry … How have you got this whole country and they're being told from the policy makers that that's an acceptable way to behave pretty much?* LGB&T participant

Together, our findings suggest that hate crimes can harm entire communities because an attack reverberates through the deep emotional ties that community members are likely to feel towards one another. As we will see below, these emotional ties can extend well beyond local and national communities, reaching out to entire global identity groups.

4.3 Victim blaming

While feeling connected to other group members is important to understanding the impacts of hate crime, these connections may also bring about an adverse reaction. In our studies, we had expected that a shared identity connection would lead to more empathy and *less* blame for hate crime victims; however, we found that some participants blamed hate crime victims *more* than victims of non-hate crimes. Although this blame was minimal (e.g., a score of 2 on a 1-7 point scale), it was statistically significantly more than the blame attributed to the non-hate crime victims.

4.3.1 Why blame the victim?

Hearing of others' victimisation may remind individuals of the hate that their community faces and, by extension, the possibility that they too may be victimised. One way to downplay these fears is to look at the role of the victim. For example, suggesting that the victim was too "visible" or walking in the "wrong" part of town at the "wrong" time of day may help individuals feel safer by giving them some sense of control. That is, in blaming the victim's actions, individuals give themselves hope that they would avoid victimisation. For instance, they would not be as "visible" and would not go to the "wrong" places at the "wrong" time.

Consistent with this explanation, we found that participants who felt most vulnerable were more likely to engage in victim blaming. However, the more participants blamed the victim, the more they felt ashamed. So, it seems that some, especially vulnerable, individuals may blame hate crime victims more than other victims so as to feel a little safer, but doing so may make them feel more ashamed about the crime.

5. Emotional and behavioural reactions

During our studies, we asked participants how angry, anxious and ashamed they felt when they imagined or read about a hate crime. We also asked them how they thought they would act after this indirect experience of hate crime, for example, would they avoid certain places? Would they spread awareness of the crime? Would they join support groups? Would they retaliate in some way?

5.1 Emotional reactions

> *Totally disgusted. Totally disgusted. Why should somebody be attacked for their sexuality? It's just sickening. Totally disgusted.*   LGB&T participant

> *When you hear about anything that is, whether somebody is being victimised due to sexuality … there'll always be that worry of, you know, if an area becomes unsafe or there are people who are behaving in that manner, I think it would affect how I feel … About my own safety I suppose.*   LGB&T participant

Figure 11 shows that, using a 1 (Not at all) to 7 (Very much so) scale, people on average felt very angry, quite anxious and not that ashamed after reading about a hate crime. Further experiments and interviews consistently revealed the same pattern of responses suggesting that indirect experiences of hate crimes provoke much anger and anxiety throughout the targeted communities but only a small amount of shame.

Figure 11. Emotional reactions to imagining a hate crime in their local area
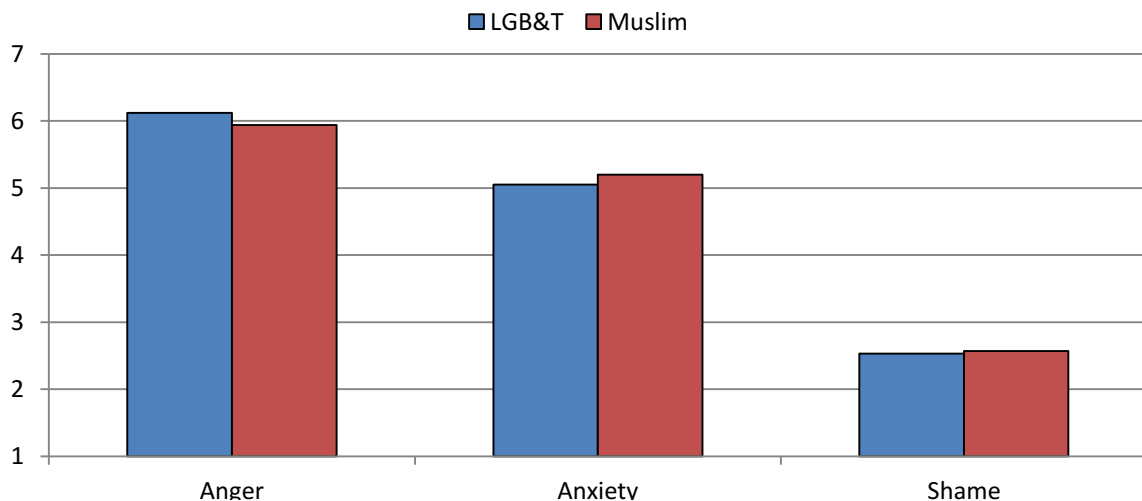
5.2 Behavioural responses

> ***Hate crimes provoked more proactive responses***

Others' experiences of hate crimes – actual, imagined or fabricated – impacted on how people thought they would subsequently behave. On average, the responses were generally *proactive* in that respondents were much more likely to say that they would join community organisations and charities and use social media to raise awareness of hate crimes, compared to engaging in avoidance or retaliation-based conduct.

5.3 Do behavioural intentions relate to actual behaviours?

To provide a further test of how hate crimes impacted upon *actual* behaviours we showed participants a hate crime article and then contacted them 3 months later to see if they had altered their behaviours.

On average, participants' behaviours did not change much. Importantly, though, what the respondents said they would do was significantly linked to what they actually did – but only for the more proactive behaviours. This meant that when respondents said they would increase their participation in community groups and raise awareness of the hate crime, they did exactly that. However, when they said they would avoid certain places and people and improve their security, they were less likely to follow through with these intentions. One possible reason for this difference is the practicalities of engaging in these behaviours. For example, it may be impractical to avoid certain places and people. However, tweeting about hate crimes may be relatively simple. For others, the behaviour may be short-lived and simply forgotten within a couple of days.

> *You know it doesn't empower me in any way; but ... for a couple of days I will probably not go out, I suppose. But obviously, end of the day, it's my religion and I don't want to change it!*
>
> Muslim participant

5.4 Emotions as motivators of behaviours

Throughout the project, we found that the emotions people felt about hate crimes were consistently and strongly linked to how they intended to react after imagining or hearing about a hate crime.

- ***Anger was predominantly related to proactive responses and often to confrontation***

- ***Anxiety was predominantly related to avoidance and often to improved security***

- ***Anxiety was also consistently related to pro-action for LGB&T participants***

The emotion of shame, however, was more complex. As noted above, it was not felt as strongly as anger or anxiety. Furthermore, it was only in the larger sample studies (i.e., with more than 300 participants) that we found any links between shame and subsequent behaviours. Nevertheless, within these studies shame was linked to pro-action, avoidance, improved security and – uniquely – to retaliation. This suggests that while hate crimes may not make people feel much shame, when individuals do feel some – even a relatively small amount – it can impact on a wide variety of behaviours and may account for why some people seek out retaliation.

Figure 12 presents a flow chart illustrating the results of the survey studies with the LGB&T and Muslim communities, showing how experiences of hate crimes are linked to thoughts, feelings and, ultimately, behaviours.[iv] It shows that experiences of hate crimes, both direct and indirect, make people feel more threatened and vulnerable. These feelings of vulnerability, in turn, make people feel more anger, more anxiety, and more shame in response to thinking about a hate crime. These emotions then have specific behavioural reactions: feeling angry leads to more proactive responses (e.g., joining community groups) and *less* avoidance (the red line denotes a negative relationship); feeling anxious leads to *more* avoidance and improving security (it also led to more pro-action in the LGB&T sample); and feeling ashamed was linked to engaging in all the behavioural responses, including the endorsement of retaliation.

In other studies, we show that feelings of empathy also impact on the emotional reactions to hate crimes, as well as the perceptions of threat and vulnerability. These studies also show that emotional reactions, particularly anger and anxiety, are clearly linked to specific behavioural reactions (e.g., anxiety to avoidance; anger to pro-action).

Figure 12. A flow chart illustrating the impacts of hate crime from the results of the surveys
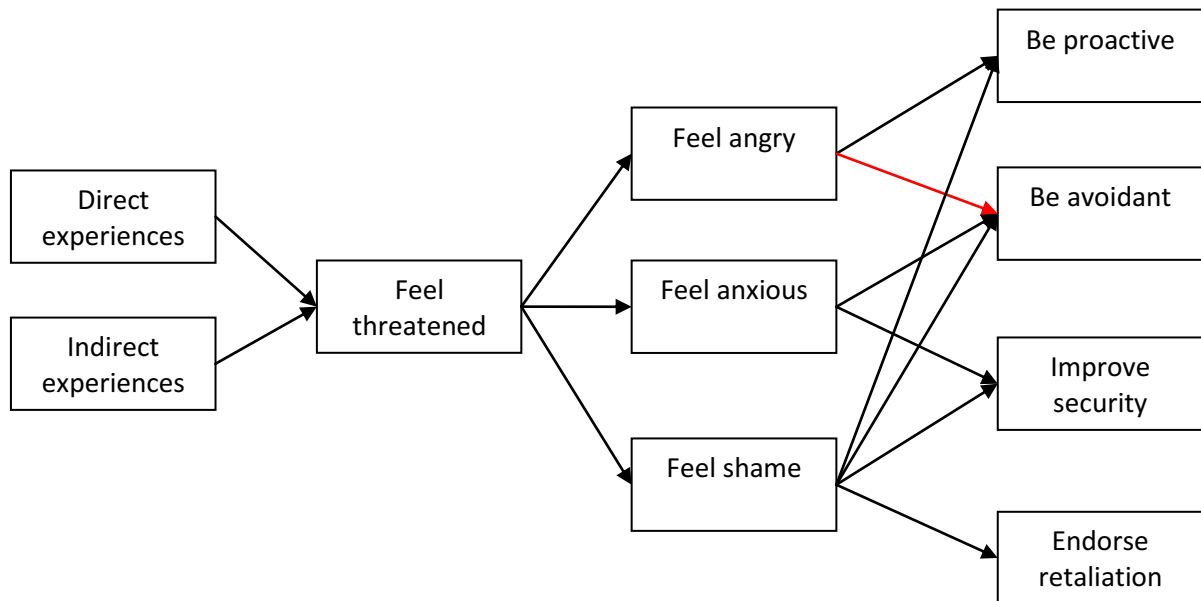
Note. Black lines denote a positive correlation and the red line denotes a negative correlation

5.5 Mixed emotions

A mixture of anger and upset I guess. If it's someone who is really close to me, it's more anger than upset, but if it's somebody who's really far to me, it's more sort of an upset emotion, because, yeah ... none of us should get treated like this, obviously.   LGB&T participant

As illustrated by the above quote, it is often the case that hate crimes stir up more than one emotion, and they can do so at the same time. So, what happens then? Results from our surveys suggest that people are most likely to react to hate crimes when they feel both highly anxious *and* highly angry. For example, when LGB&T respondents felt both angry and anxious they were more likely to say they would improve their security, be more avoidant, be more proactive, and have more retaliatory wishes than participants who did not feel both these emotions simultaneously. Acknowledging that individuals may feel mixed emotions at the same time and that these feelings have different behavioural impacts is important for understanding the complexity of the indirect impacts of hate crime and could also help practitioners better understand under what circumstances community members may, or may not, react.

6. Perceptions of the criminal justice system

From my experience in London, the police would say "We can't find the people who's done it." Whereas if you chase them, you probably would find them, but because, when there's something that a Muslim does, it's flashed on the TV - Muslim terrorist! They flash it so much, newspaper, media. They'll attempt to find them, they'll dig them out from ... So then why can't they do it to people who do it to Islam? ... [There's] definitely … a police bias. Muslim participant

My experiences were very good actually. I'll use as an example … Brighton has its own little LGBT group of officers … I reported it to one of those officers via Facebook. I had a message back from them within an hour, and you know, just saying what we could do, what the options were. And then I spoke to him the next day on the phone, and he ran me through exactly what they'd do, etcetera, which essentially speaking was that they would basically speak to the public house in question and ensure that there was sufficient training in these circumstances for the door staff. And, you know, they were never going to catch the guy, but that was significantly more than I was hoping for. LGB&T participant

In the studies we asked participants about their perceptions of the police, the Crown Prosecution Service (the body that prosecutes hate crime) and the legislation for hate crimes on a 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*) scale. As shown in Figure 13, respondents, in general, did not believe the police or the Crown Prosecution Service were effective in dealing with hate crimes. In addition, respondents felt that hate crimes should be a special category of crime, that the Government needed to do more to tackle hate crimes, and that the police should have special policies for dealing with hate crimes. Notably, LGB&T and Muslim respondents felt similarly about the criminal justice system (CJS), though LGB&T participants believed the police and the CPS were somewhat more effective and felt more strongly that police should have specialist policies to deal with hate crimes.

Figure 13. Perceptions of the criminal justice system's response to hate crimes
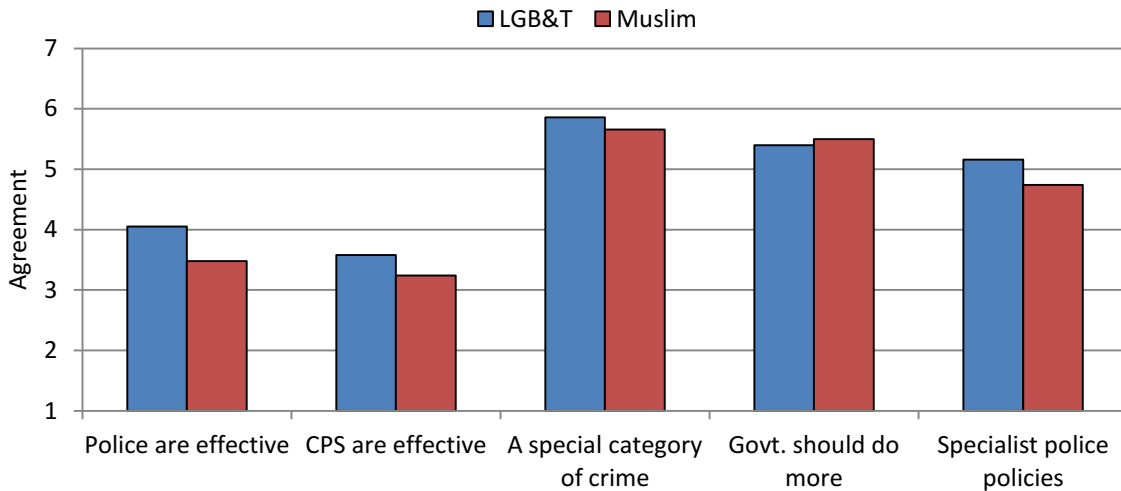
6.1 What influences the perceptions of the criminal justice system?

The perceptions of the CJS may depend on a variety of factors and so we examined whether past experiences of hate crimes and contact with the police and CPS affected these perceptions.

6.1.1 Experiences of hate crime

Indirect experiences of hate crimes were consistently linked to negative perceptions of the CJS

For both Muslim and LGB&T respondents, being a victim of a hate crime was linked to perceiving the police and CPS to be less effective at dealing with hate crimes. For LGB&T respondents, these direct experiences were also associated with believing the Government should do more and that the police should have specialist policies for dealing with hate crimes.

Importantly, simply knowing of others' victimisation was significantly related to <u>all</u> the perceptions of the CJS for both community samples – above and beyond the effect of direct victimisation. That is, knowing more hate crime victims was associated with *less* positive attitudes towards the police, CPS and the Government, and more support for hate crime legislation and specialist police policies for hate crime even when we statistically controlled for their direct experiences. This suggests that hearing about hate crimes against the community is especially important in how hate crimes are perceived to be policed and prosecuted.

6.1.2 Contact with the police

> ***Overall, 1 in 4 respondents had contacted the police about a hate crime***
>
> ***27% of LGB&T respondents had contact with the police about an anti-LGB&T hate crime***
>
> ***26% of Muslim respondents had contact with the police about an Islamophobic hate crime***

Contact with the police was associated with more support for specialist policies and procedures in the policing of hate crime. This contact was also associated with perceiving the police to be *less* effective at dealing with hate crimes – but only in the Muslim sample. This suggests that contact with the police may be more negative for Muslim people than for LGB&T people, and so may worsen their already poor perceptions of the police (see Figure 13).

6.1.3 Contact with the CPS

> ***Overall, less than 10% of respondents had contact with the CPS about a hate crime***
>
> ***7% of LGB&T respondents had contact with the CPS about an anti-LGB&T hate crime***
>
> ***8% of Muslim respondents had contact with the CPS about an Islamophobic hate crime***

Both LGB&T and Muslim participants generally had negative perceptions of the CPS, regardless of whether they had contact with them about a reported hate crime. Nevertheless, this lack of difference may be attributed to the small numbers involved in the statistical analyses.

6.2 Reporting intentions

> ***Respondents were likely to report acts of vandalism and assault but not verbal or online abuse***

In our surveys we also asked participants how likely they would report hate crimes to the police on a 1 (*I would definitely NOT report it to the police*) to 7 (*I would definitely report it to the police*) scale. Figure 14 presents the average responses to the items and shows that both LGB&T and Muslim respondents were unlikely to report verbal or online abuse to the police but they were very likely to report acts of vandalism and physical assaults. We can also see that LGB&T respondents, on average, were more likely than Muslim respondents to report acts of vandalism and assaults – perhaps because they believe the police to be more effective than their Muslim counterparts (see Figure 13 above).

Figure 14. Likelihood of reporting various types of hate crimes
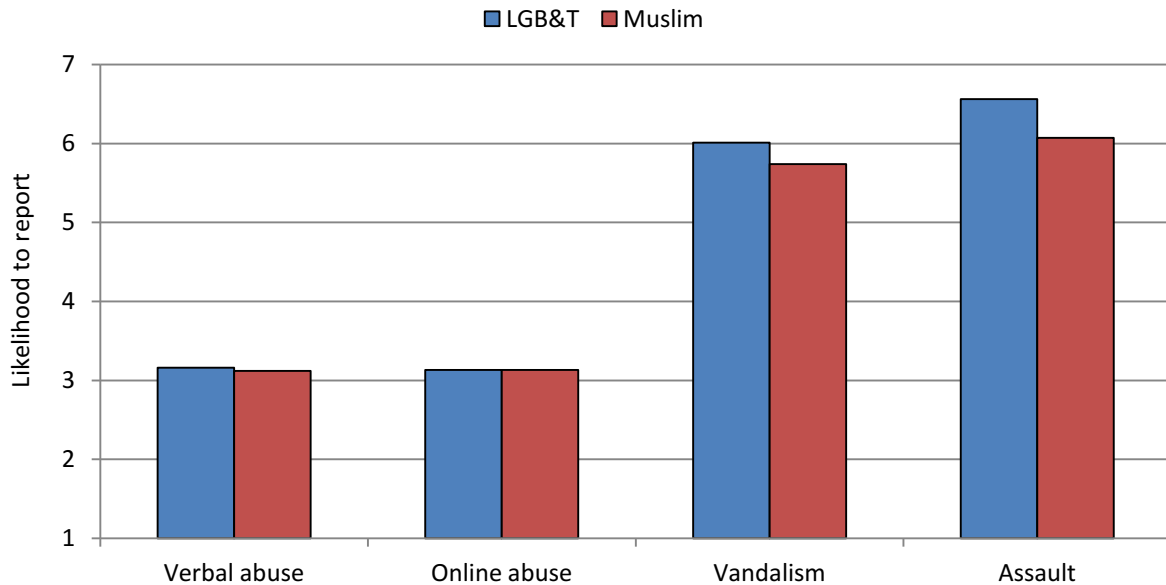
6.2.1 Who was likely to report hate crimes?

In both surveys we found that older participants and those who were more strongly identified with their community were more likely to report hate crimes to the police. Interestingly, we also found that LGB&T respondents who had previously been a victim of a hate crime were *less* likely to report hate crimes to the police compared with people who had not been a victim.

In the qualitative study, participants tended to state that they would report incidents of serious violence but were unlikely to report incidents of verbal abuse. The explanations for not reporting hate crimes/incidents included:

- *That nothing much could be done about it*

- *That the incident was not serious enough to report*

- *That it would be a waste of police time and their time*

- *A lack of trust in the police*

- *Fear that the police might misuse personal details (Muslim participants only)*

- *The responding police officer might be prejudiced*

These respondents typified some of the concerns about whether to report a hate crime/incident:

> *Well it's a bit of a time waste really, because they'd need you to come down and make a complaint and then they won't do anything about it. I mean, even if they could, the time has passed, you know. It's very difficult to sort of combat, so ... what actually is going to be achieved by it? Not a lot I don't think.*
>
> Muslim participant

> *... what if you report it to the police and then the police officer comes over as anti-gay? What do you do?*
>
> LGB&T participant

> *I don't think they'd take it [reporting verbal abuse] seriously, even if it was myself, if I went to a police station and said, 'Oh someone's just drove past me and started shouting abuse at me on my way to work', I don't necessarily think I would be ... taken seriously or that I'd be wasting their time. 'Cause what are they going to do if someone's shouting abuse at you? I don't know, I think that's what probably would stop me [from reporting].*
>
> LGB&T participant

7. Justice responses to hate crimes

Under current hate crime legislation, the penalties for offenders are significantly enhanced. This means that convicted perpetrators are more likely to be sent to prison for longer periods of time, compared with non-hate motivated offenders (Walters, Wiedlitzka, & Owusu-Bempah, 2017). Due to this punitive approach to legislating against hate-motivated offences, few alternative interventions are available for hate crimes. Despite this, one alternative justice measure that has been increasingly used to address hate crime is that of restorative justice (RJ) – a practice that uses inclusive dialogue which is focused on harm reparation (Walters, 2014). The relative success of either of these justice processes for hate crime depends on a number of factors, including matters of principle (including individuals receiving their "just desserts") and other more practical outcomes such as whether sanctions help to reduce reoffending rates, and whether they provide support and assistance to victims. Integral to the success of criminal justice responses for any type of crime is whether the public support the use of such measures. If the public lacks confidence in any part of the CJS this will undermine its capacity to reduce crime and support victims. In the project, we therefore examined respondents' perceptions of and levels of support for the current criminal justice responses to hate crimes (i.e. enhanced penalties) while also measuring levels of support for alternative measures such as RJ.

7.1 Enhanced penalties and restorative justice

In the surveys, participants read the following definitions of an enhanced penalty and RJ and then indicated how much they agreed with their use and purpose as a response to hate crime (Figure 15).

Enhanced penalty

"As hate crimes are a special category of crime, hate crime offenders can receive enhanced sentences (e.g., a longer jail term)."

Restorative justice

"Restorative Justice gives the victim a chance to directly tell the offender how their criminal behaviour has affected them and to ask the offender questions. It also gives the offender a chance to:

• admit what they have done and understand the impact it has had on victim(s) and other people

• make up for it in some way (e.g., written apologies, community service, financial payments)

• work to change their behaviour."

Figure 15. LGB&T respondents' perceptions of the use of enhanced penalties and RJ
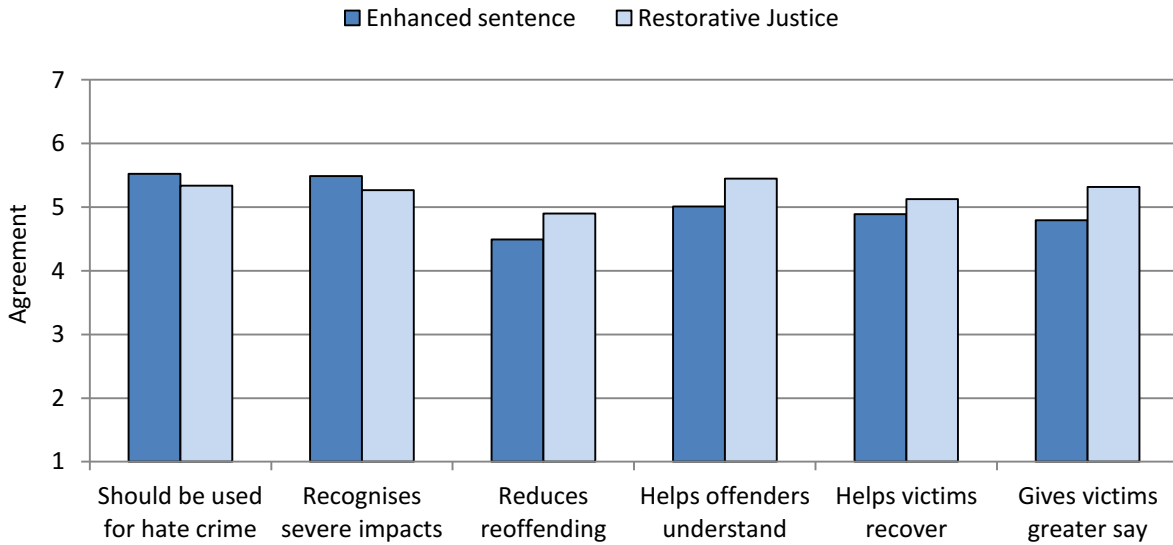

Figure 15 shows that, on average, there was more support amongst LGB&T participants for enhanced sentences and that these penalties recognised the severity of hate crimes more so than RJ interventions. Importantly, though, the results also indicated that LGB&T respondents believed RJ would be better than the enhanced sentence for both the offender (by increasing their understanding and reducing reoffending) and the victim (by giving them a greater say about their experiences and helping them to better recover).[v]

In addition to looking at the *average* support of the justice interventions throughout the samples, we asked participants to indicate which intervention they would choose for a hate crime. Using this 'forced choice' response option, the results were clear: in both the LGB&T and Muslim survey 61% of participants chose RJ as the most appropriate justice intervention to address hate crimes.

> *6 out of 10 respondents preferred RJ over an enhanced penalty as an intervention for hate crime*

Experimental evidence also suggests that RJ may be preferred to imprisonment. LGB&T participants read about an assault in which the victim suffered a black eye and were informed that the offender was either sentenced to a short period of imprisonment (12 weeks) as a form of punishment, or participated in an RJ conference that had resulted in an apology and an agreement to undertake unpaid community work involving cleaning graffiti off a local community centre as a form of reparation. Figure 16 shows that respondents reading about the RJ intervention thought it to be more beneficial to the offender and the victim, and was less likely to make the offender bitter and

revengeful than participants who read about the prison sentence. Respondents were also less angry and sad about the RJ arrangement than the prison sentence and were slightly more satisfied with it. Interestingly, by perceiving RJ to be more beneficial for offenders and victims, RJ was also thought to be more beneficial to the LGB&T community and society as a whole than the prison sentence.

Figure 16. Perceptions of prison sentences and RJ
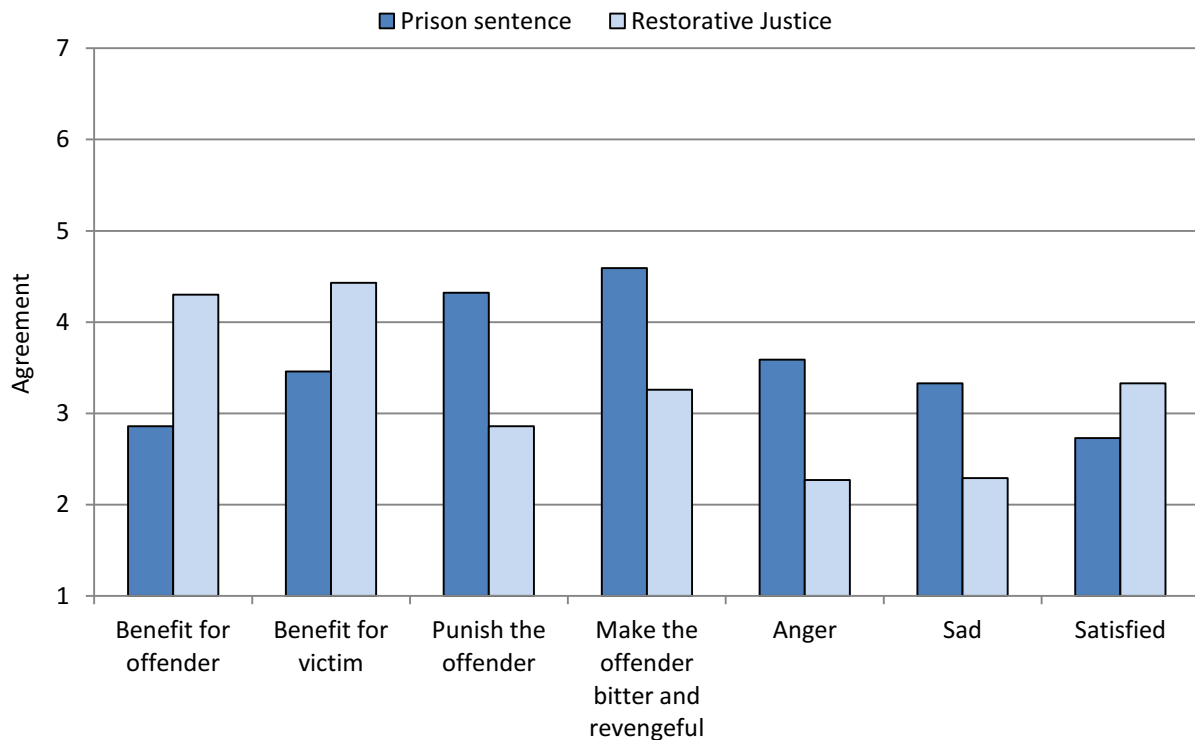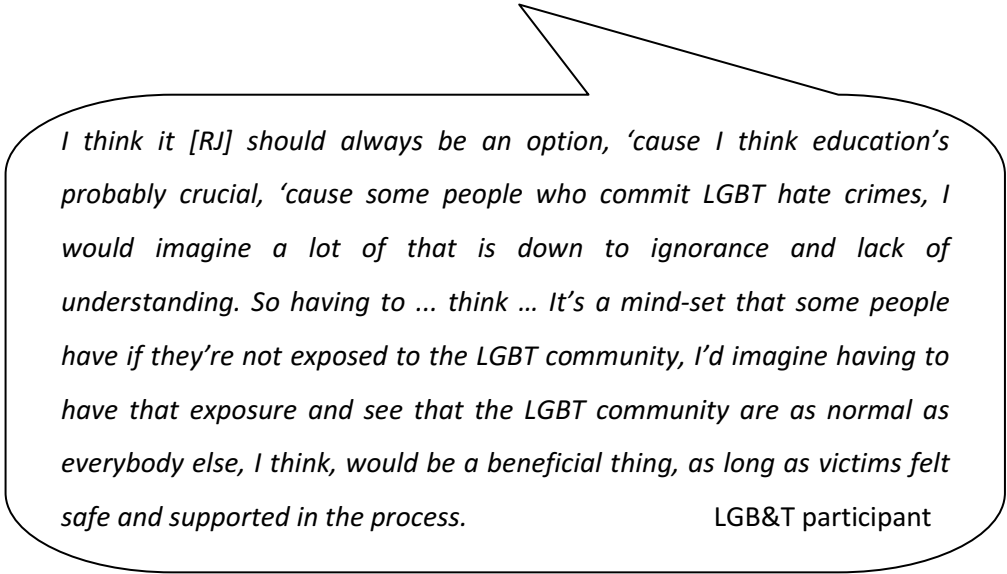
7.2 Restorative justice as a response to hate crime

> *Targeted communities may view RJ to be an especially effective response to hate crimes*

The findings from our survey and experimental work suggest that respondents were more supportive of RJ interventions than prison sentences in response to hate crimes. The majority of respondents would rather have RJ than an enhanced jail term and, for LGB&T respondents in particular, RJ was thought to be much more beneficial to both victims and offenders.

Our interviewees also held favourable views of RJ:

> *I think it [RJ] should always be an option, 'cause I think education's probably crucial, 'cause some people who commit LGBT hate crimes, I would imagine a lot of that is down to ignorance and lack of understanding. So having to ... think … It's a mind-set that some people have if they're not exposed to the LGBT community, I'd imagine having to have that exposure and see that the LGBT community are as normal as everybody else, I think, would be a beneficial thing, as long as victims felt safe and supported in the process.* LGB&T participant

Drawing on this evidence we believe that RJ is likely to be supported by LGB&T and Muslim communities as a potentially effective response to hate crimes because it is perceived to be better than imprisonment at:

- ***Repairing the harms caused to the victim and the community***

- ***Empowering the victim and targeted community***

- ***Educating perpetrators about the harms they have caused***

- ***Reducing reoffending***

8. The importance of identity

As outlined above, our research clearly shows that hate crimes have significant impacts on entire communities. We believe that it is the identification *as* a community member and *with* other community members that is important in understanding the indirect effects of hate crime. Nevertheless, how people define their 'community' and how connected they feel to their community can vary depending on a number of individual and cultural factors.

8.1 Strength of identification

Being a member of the LGB&T and Muslim communities was important to our respondents

Perhaps because we generally specified LGB&T and Muslim participants in our recruitment efforts, often at identity-related events (e.g., Prides and Muslim networking events), it is not surprising our participants were relatively well identified with their communities. However, some participants felt much more identified with their community than others.

> *It's definitely central. It's definitely - it's a central part. It's not just this part: I'm Muslim for this part and non-Muslim for this part - it's just a central thing. So everything I do I tend to say, "Okay, is it acceptable to my religion?" If it's not I wouldn't do it. So it's really central to my identity.* Muslim participant

> *I feel it's completely unimportant about my sexuality, 'cause I am who I am – it doesn't matter about what goes behind closed doors. In my mind we're all equal; it makes no difference about my sexuality or not.* LGB&T participant

The interviews revealed a number of important factors that were relevant to how strongly they identified with their identity and whether they felt part of a "community". These included:

- *Different levels of "community" – including local, national and global*
- *The level of physical and virtual participation in community-based institutions and spaces*
- *The strength of a shared cultural, moral and religious norms*
- *Perceptions of shared suffering*

The majority of LGB&T participants interviewed stated that they felt part of a local LGB&T community. The most common ways in which individuals felt part of such communities was via socialising with other LGB&T friends and frequenting LGB&T bars and other dedicated physical spaces. However, several LGB&T interviewees did not feel connected to a local community at all and did not participate in any LGB&T-based spaces. A similar number of Muslim participants felt that they were part of a local community. Local Muslim community membership predominantly revolved around attendance at mosque and the social activities that went with this. The Muslim participants who did not feel part of a local community explained that they were members of a different strand of Islam (e.g., Shia) or that they were not a "proper" Muslim (referring to the fact that they did not strictly follow religious doctrine).

About half of LGB&T and Muslim interviewees also felt connected to a national community. For LGB&T people, this connection was cultivated via attendance at events such as LGB&T Prides, campaigning for LGB&T rights, and by reading LGB&T national news (such as PinkNews). While the proportion of national communities was similar for Muslim people, the ways in which they experienced membership was slightly different. National Muslim community was described as being linked to brotherhood (or ummah). This was expressed as the sharing of cultural, moral and religious norms that were central to each of the participant's way of life.

Finally, just under half of LGB&T participants felt connected to a global community, while a majority of Muslim participants felt that they were. Muslim interviewees again referred to brotherhood or ummah as central to their belonging to a global community of Muslim people. However, consistent across both groups was an articulation of "shared suffering" that people from each group are likely to experience as a direct result of them being "different". For these individuals, then, community was related not just to spatial or institutional practice, but more specifically to their group identity, which in turn gave rise to greater levels of empathy with those with whom they shared a central identity.

In the surveys and experimental studies, we found that those who were more identified with their community were generally more likely to know someone who had been a victim of a hate crime. They were also more likely to feel angry about hate crimes and become more active within their community after hearing about a hate crime. Collectively, our studies suggest that not only are LGB&T and Muslim people likely to experience membership of community on different levels, but that the extent to which individuals identify with their community is important to how they react to attacks against other community members.

8.2 Community or communities?

In this research, we used the broad and inclusive labels of 'LGB&T' and 'Muslim' to study the community effects of hate crimes; however, these terms include many different communities. For example, the LGB&T community represents individuals with various sexual identities (e.g., gay, lesbian, bisexual) and gender identities (e.g., Trans, non-binary), while the Muslim community represents different branches and schools of beliefs (e.g., Sunni, Shia, Sufi). So, to understand whether hate crimes are experienced and reacted to similarly throughout these broader interpretations of communities, we compared the experiences and reactions of various specific identities where possible.

Figure 17, for example, compares Trans people's experiences of hate crimes with non-Trans LGB counterparts. It reveals that a higher percentage of Trans participants had experienced verbal abuse and a physical attack both directly and indirectly. Further analyses revealed that Trans people endured more repeated victimisation and perceived less support from family and society than their non-Trans LGB counterparts. These findings show that Trans people are more at risk of hate crime victimisation – both directly and indirectly – and have less social support to deal with the negative consequences than non-Trans LGB respondents. However, when we compared their reactions to hate crimes against their non-Trans LGB counterparts' reactions, their emotional and behavioural reactions to others' victimisation did not dramatically differ. This suggests that while some may be more at risk from hate crime victimisation, others' experiences of victimisation are felt similarly throughout the LGB&T community regardless of respondents' more specific identities.

Figure 17. Trans participants' experiences of hate crime compared to non-Trans LGB participants
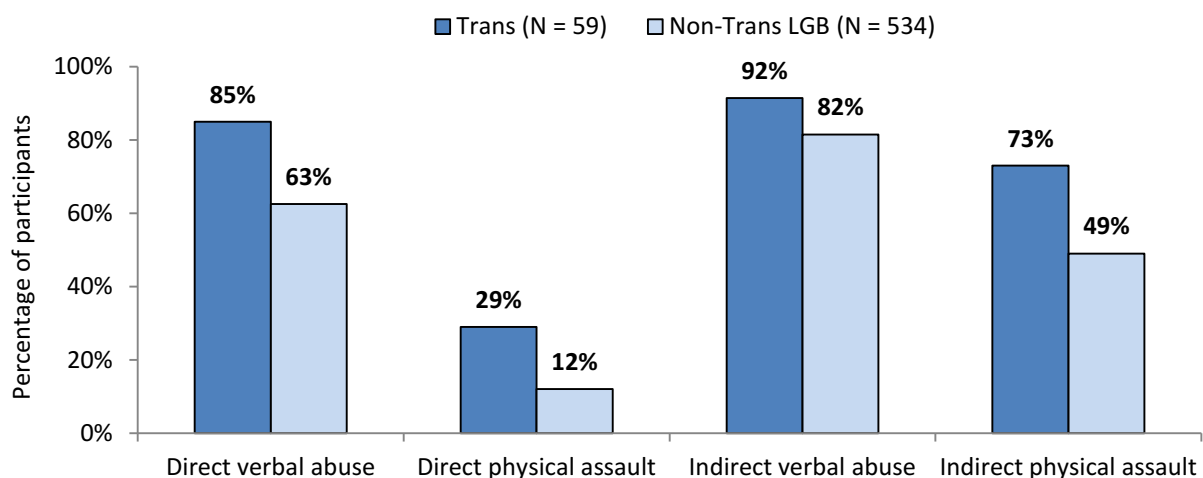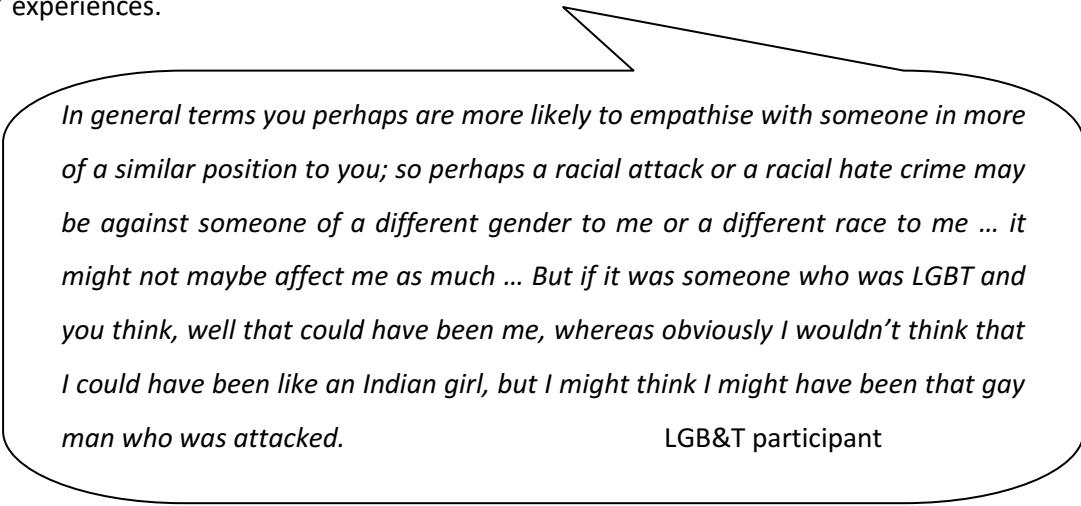
We also conducted an experiment with LGB&T participants in which they read about a homophobic attack on a victim described as either a gay male or a lesbian female. We then examined the reactions to both types of hate crime. We found that reactions to the crimes were extremely similar amongst all LGB&T people, regardless of whether the participants identified directly with the victim's sexual orientation or gender. Instead, we found that people who *felt* similar to the victim felt more empathy for the victim and, as a result, reported feeling more emotional about the hate crime. This suggests two things: (1) hate crimes affect entire communities and not just subsets of the community, and (2) hate crimes radiate through communities because individuals feel similar and connected to other members.[vi]

8.3 The impacts of other types of hate crime

Within the qualitative interviews we explored the impacts of other strands of hate crime on both LGB&T and Muslim people (for LGB&T participants we asked about racial and anti-religious hate crimes and for Muslim participants we asked about the effects of racial and sexual orientation-based hate crimes). Many interviewees noted that other types of hate crime made them feel angry, while a minority also stated that incidents made them feel threatened and generally concerned about the levels of bigotry in society. However, it was clear that even though other strands of hate crime had a negative impact on LGB&T and Muslim people, the gravity of these impacts was not as severe as indirectly experiencing same-group hate crimes. Two main factors emerged as to why other types of hate crime do not have the same level of impact. First, interviewees explained that where they did not share the characteristic that had been targeted by a perpetrator they did not feel as at risk of this type of victimisation. Second, participants spoke about empathy, noting that that they were more likely to feel strongly about the suffering of people within their communities as these were "shared" experiences.

> *In general terms you perhaps are more likely to empathise 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 … But 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.*   LGB&T participant

9. Practical implications

The findings from the Sussex Hate Crime Project have a number of implications for the ways in which the Government, statutory agencies and community organisations address hate crimes. This is the first large mixed method empirical study to show that the **indirect** experiences of both anti-LGB&T and anti-Muslim/Islamophobic hate crime are similar to those of direct experiences. Importantly, we have been able to describe not only how hate crimes affect individuals' emotional wellbeing (predominantly causing anger and anxiety), but we have shown that these emotions are linked to certain behavioural responses (both proactive and avoidant). If the CJS is to address the community harms of hate crime, statutory agencies (and other key organisations) will be assisted in their work where they have a more comprehensive understanding of the nature of these emotions and their effects on behaviours. Central to this work is to produce measures that carefully aim to reduce targeted communities' perceptions of threat and to alleviate individuals' feelings of anger and anxiety, while also reducing individuals' need to avoid certain locations or to change their appearance.

The findings provide additional justification for treating hate crimes as a distinct type of offending that requires a specific legislative response. The courts and Parliament can use these results to support the use and extension of hate crime legislation that treats such crimes more seriously than other offences. However, the findings should also lend weight to measures that specifically aim to address community harms during the criminal justice process (e.g., via the use of Community Impact Statements during criminal trials). The inclusion of community impacts during the criminal justice process will more fully reflect the harms that hate crimes cause.

Our findings that hate crimes cause heightened levels of anger and anxiety amongst LGB&T and Muslim communities should also lend support to those individuals and organisations who call for new interventions that aim to reduce the indirectly experienced emotional harms caused by hate. Community-based interventions are likely to be best suited to reducing community-based anxieties and the inter-group tensions that they give rise to. We have explored the levels of support for alternative community measures such as RJ showing that, contrary to a pervasive belief within the policy domain, there is extensive support for the use of measures that aim to include community dialogue which aims to increase knowledge, reduce ignorance, and repair the harms caused by hate and prejudice.

Since indirect hate crime victimisation is linked to lower levels of confidence in the police and the CPS, much more needs to be done by these institutions to increase confidence. Comments made during interviews highlighted that negative experiences of the police, and fears that they may lack respect, or worse be prejudiced towards LGB&T and Muslim communities, were clearly a cause for concern. Improving public confidence must therefore remain at the heart of policing hate crime.

Finally, much may be achieved by more effectively communicating to LGB&T and Muslim communities the policies, practices and support measures that are already in place. For example, there was evidence to suggest that where individuals made use of specially trained officers, or where they came into contact with a LGB&T (for example) liaison officer, they were very satisfied with the way they were treated. Ensuring that communities are more aware of the special measures available for hate crime will likely increase confidence and improve overall satisfaction with the CJS.

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Footnotes

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[i] Some police forces also monitor other characteristics such as sub-cultures (e.g., Greater Manchester) and other forms of prejudice and hostility such as misogyny (e.g., Nottingham).

[ii] Table taken from Walters, M.A, Wiedlitzka, S., and Owusu-Bempah, A. (2017) *Hate Crime and the Legal Process*: Options for Law Reform, University of Sussex, p. 53. Note that due to low numbers, a yearly estimate for transgender identity hate crime and the estimates for reporting transgender identity and sexual orientation hate crime to police are not available.

[iii] The articles used in the longitudinal and experimental studies were presented as actual articles that had recently been published in an online newspaper. They were, however, fictitious in content but based on typical articles that are reported in the media. We used fictitious but typical content to ensure that there were no biases in responses due to participants' prior exposure to the crime.

[iv] This flow chart is based on the results of path analysis which is an advanced statistical technique which tests the magnitude and significance of associations between variables.

[v] Although the differences may not seem particularly large on the graph, statistical analyses revealed that these differences were significantly different at $p < .05$.

[vi] Unfortunately, due to ethical concerns around the reporting of specific faiths in the Muslim sample, we were unable to examine whether there were any notable differences within this community.