THE NORMALCY OF HATE

A Critical Exploration of Micro-Crimes Targeting
Transgender People
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Abstract

This thesis explores the 'lived reality' for transgender people who experience a range of hate crimes targeting their gender identity. More specifically, it focuses on exposing 'everyday' and 'mundane' incidents of abuse which manifest in the form of verbal abuse, harassment and threats of violence. The study adopts a mixed method approach and draws on data from 396 online surveys and 32 semi structured interviews with transgender and gender non-conforming people. It also addresses the changing landscape in which hate speech is facilitated through an exploration of the construction of transgender people online. A discourse analysis of YouTube comments on 'gender-neutral toilets' was conducted. The findings of this study highlight the pervasive and 'everyday' nature of both offline and online hate crime in which victimisation is normalised and intrinsically embedded into 'everyday' routines. It emphasises the importance of 'space' and 'belonging' and argues that particular sex-segregated spaces are conceptualised as significant spaces of risk for transgender people. The thesis embraces a Queer theoretical framework throughout and challenges dominant hate crime hierarchies, introducing 'micro-crimes' as a concept that seeks to legitimise the criminality of many incidents of transphobic abuse.

Acknowledgements

Content's Page

Declaration

List of Tables and Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis provides a critical exploration of hate crime targeted at transgender and non-binary individuals. In doing so, there is a specific focus on 'everyday' and 'mundane' incidents which often manifests in the form of verbal abuse, harassment and threats of violence. The term 'hate crime' has assumed increasing prominence within academic, political and social spheres within the UK over the past three decades. Despite the relatively recent uptake of this term, the behaviours and motivations associated with 'hate crime' have a much longer social presence within the UK. Existing hate crime literature tends to focus on either physical and sexual violence or non-criminal incidents which have been termed 'micro-aggressions'. This thesis also contributes to a growing literature addressing the changing landscape in which hate speech is facilitated and explores the ways in which transgender people are constructed online. This thesis addresses a significant gap in existing literature that relates to the conceptualisation and theorisation of low-level incidents of criminal victimisation. Furthermore, when transgender people experience incidents of verbal abuse, harassment and threats of violence, these are often perceived to be non-criminal and therefore unworthy of police attention. It is argued throughout that more socially recognisable forms of victimisation such as physical abuse and sexual abuse impact transgender people's perception of their own experiences as non-criminal.

This chapter provides an overview of the overarching research questions that this thesis answers. Furthermore, several key terms are defined that are used throughout this thesis. The inherently complex nature of defining terms such as 'transgender', 'transphobia' and 'hate crime' is highlighted. However, clear definitions are provided in relation to the understanding of these terms for this thesis. Additionally, this chapter provides a range of background information that contextualises this study within the current UK

legislative, political and social climate. The latest official hate crime statistics are drawn upon before framing transphobic hate crime within current UK legislation. Contemporary social debates are also outlined, highlighting the current tensions between transgender communities and wider feminist and lesbian communities. The theoretical perspective that is adopted throughout this thesis is also outlined, drawing upon Perry's (2001) theory of 'doing difference' and outlining an overarching 'Queer' theoretical perspective. This chapter finishes by providing an outline of this thesis, detailing the contents of the forthcoming chapters.

1.1 Research Questions

The overarching aim of this thesis is to draw attention to the often-neglected experiences of transgender people who encounter verbal abuse, harassment and threats of violence, although this list of examples is not exhaustive. More particularly, this research addresses the following research questions:

1. What are the experiences of transgender people in relation to low-level, 'everyday' incidents of transphobic abuse?

2. How do transgender people's conceptualisation of their experiences impact the likelihood of reporting low-level, everyday incidents of hate crime to the police?

3. What intersectional characteristics influence transgender people's experiences of hate crime victimisation, and what is the nature of those relationships?

4. What is the impact of low-level, everyday incidents of hate crime on transgender people?

5. How are transgender people and identities constructed online within relevant contemporary debates?

This thesis adopts a mixed-method approach and addresses these questions by drawing on data from 396 online surveys, 32 semi-structured interviews and a discourse analysis of 1,756 comments obtained from *YouTube* videos which focused on gender-neutral toilets.

1.2 Definitions

Defining the term 'transgender' is a complex yet necessary task. The term 'transgender' has been defined as denoting:

> 'a range of gender experiences, subjectivities and presentations that fall across, between or beyond stable categories of 'man' and 'woman'. 'Transgender' includes gender identities that have, more traditionally, been described as 'transsexual', and a diversity of genders that call into question an assumed relationship between gender identity and presentation and the 'sexed' body.' (Hines, 2010:1)

This definition of 'transgender' has been chosen for this thesis as it acknowledges gender expressions that fall between and beyond the gender binary[1] of 'man' and 'woman'. It was important for this research to be as inclusive of as many gender non-conforming people as possible. Nonetheless, it is acknowledged that there is some contention within communities over the use of the term 'transgender' and Monro (2003) acknowledges the inherently problematic nature of the term, suggesting that the inclusivity of such a wide array of social groupings neglects to acknowledge their range of needs and interests. However, this thesis explores hate crime victimisation through an intersectional lens and this helps avoid making generalisations relating to empty notions

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[1] The 'gender binary' is the classification of sex and gender into two distinct categories of 'male' and 'female'.

of a singular, transgender community. The abbreviated term 'trans' is also used throughout this thesis to denote transgender identities. When the term trans is used it can be assumed to function as an umbrella term, inclusive of all gender non-conforming identities. In relation to the intersectional analysis presented, specific terminology relating to particular communities of trans people is used throughout when discussing specific identity groups under the trans umbrella.

The terms 'transphobia' and 'transphobic' are also used throughout this thesis. These words have been chosen as they are easily recognisable and identifiable and reflect the language used by participants in this research. Nevertheless, the term 'transphobia' is difficult to conceptualise. The word 'homophobia' has been largely replaced by the more accurate term 'heterosexism' (Hill, 2016). The use of the word 'phobia' to describe a dislike, intolerance or hatred towards trans people may be misleading, in that it suggests that these feelings are irrational. Instead, this thesis acknowledges that these feelings may be considered wholly rational based on a social system that privileges cisgenderism and are therefore based in a rational, untreatable system of beliefs. However, the terms 'transphobia' and 'transphobic' are used throughout this research but are conceptualised as a hostility towards the deviation of gender norms.

Another identity marker term that is used throughout this thesis is 'cisgender'. This is a term that is used to describe an individual whose gender identity aligns with the sex they were assigned at birth. Johnson (2015) claims that an overwhelming amount of research into trans lives too often allows 'cisgender' to be the unspoken norm. In this sense, much research does not identify participants as 'cisgender' but does identify participants' as trans. In this sense, 'cisgender' is presented as unremarkable and not requiring specification, whilst highlighting the exceptionality of trans people. In choosing to use the term 'cisgender' throughout this thesis it challenges dominant

representations of both cisgender and trans people. The term 'cisgender' actively challenges the privilege of people who claim a gender based on a biological basis from birth.

The term 'hate crime' is used throughout this research having gained currency after a series of high-profile media events in the late 1990s with the publication of the McPherson Report (1999) investigating the racially aggravated murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993. Although there is no statutory definition of 'transphobic hate crime', the term 'hate crime' has been defined by The Home Office (2012) as:

> 'any criminal offence which is perceived, by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by a hostility or prejudice based on a personal characteristic' (2012:6)

The personal characteristics referred to include race, religion, disability, sexual orientation and transgender status and are the five strands of hate crime which require annual monitoring from police forces (Home Office, 2012). There are inherent problems within the definition provided by The Home Office. The definition provided lacks clarity in relation to a range of terminology that is included within the definition including 'hostility' and 'perceived'. Chakraborti and Garland (2009) argue that the concept of 'hate crime' has been embraced by academics without a coherent understanding of the term. The requirement for a crime or incident to only be 'perceived' by the victim or any other person to be motivated by prejudice or hate is ambiguous and does not provide an objective definition. Perception is likely to be highly influenced by personal characteristics which are deeply rooted in cultural and social development. Furthermore, the lack of clarity around the term's 'hostility',

'prejudice' and 'hate' can cause issues of interpretation which may lead to difficulty applying 'hate' to the *mens rea* element of a criminal act (Jacobs and Potter, 1998).

Furthermore, there is added complexity to the policing of hate crimes, by the introduction of 'hate incidents'. These incidents have been defined by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) as:

> 'any incident, which may or may not constitute a criminal offence, which is perceived by the victim or any other person, as being motivated by prejudice or hate'. (2005:9)

There is a clear overlap between definitions of hate crimes and hate incidents, with both involving acts that may constitute a criminal offence. It is then unclear whether criminal offences that are motivated by hate or prejudice should be recorded as a hate crime or a hate incident. It is important to acknowledge the similarity between the definitions of hate crimes and hate incidents, as the ambiguity may have significant real-life consequences. If an incident is recorded as such, rather than as a crime, then no criminal prosecution will occur. This thesis argues that there is a significant amount of hate crime being recorded as hate incidents which are therefore excluded from the statistics published in official reports.

1.3 Background and Context

Hate crimes are a subset of crimes that the Home Office (2018) suggests represents around 1% of all recorded crime in England and Wales. Although a small percentage of overall crime, incidents of recorded hate crime are increasing annually with 94,098 hate crimes being recorded by polices forces in 2017-18, an increase of 17% from the previous year (Home Office, 2018). It is important to note that this is the most significant increase in reported incidents of hate crime since official monitoring began

in 2011. There are a number of political, social and cultural factors that may contribute to the increasing rates of recorded hate crime. The Home Office (2017) attributes this rise in recorded hate crimes to two main factors: the EU referendum resulting in higher levels of hate crimes being committed and a continued improvement in police awareness of diligently recording hate crimes appropriately. Overwhelmingly, the majority (78%) of hate crimes recorded include an incident based on the victim's race, followed by incidents targeting a victim's sexual orientation (11%). Much smaller proportions, 7% and 7% respectively, of hate crime based on the victim's religious affiliation and disability status are recorded. Transphobic hate crime accounts for the smallest amount of recorded hate crime with the Home Office (2018) reporting that only 2% of hate crimes recorded are transphobic in nature.

Hate crime can occur in a variety of contexts and official statistics show that the type of crime experienced is similar across the five monitored characteristics: race, religion, sexual orientation, disability status and trans identity. Around half of all recorded hate crimes involve a public order offence, which may include causing harassment, fear or alarm to the victim (Public Order Act, 1986). Similar rates of violence resulting in injury and resulting in no injury are also reported across the five monitored strands. A smaller amount of crime involving criminal damage and arson is recorded annually in relation to hate crime. Overwhelmingly, public order offences constitute around half of all recorded hate crimes, yet account for less than 10% of all recorded crime.

Issues regarding gender identity have become a significant topic of interest within private, political and media spheres. In May 2018, Channel 4 aired a live debate show titled 'Genderquake' which brought together a range of trans, non-binary and cisgender individuals to debate issues around gender identity. The live debate saw heckling from audience members shouting phrases such as 'you're a man' and 'you have a penis' at

trans women panellists. Despite requests from panellists to have hecklers removed from the building, Channel 4 continued to allow all audience members to remain throughout filming. Not only does this highlight the significant contemporary othering of trans people, it also emphasises a much wider structural process that allows for the exclusion of trans people. Moreover, the London Pride parade in 2018 was disrupted by a group of trans-exclusionary lesbian activists, who lay in the road to prevent the parade from beginning, covering themselves in signs displaying phrases such as 'transactivism erases lesbians' and 'lesbian = female homosexual'. This protest resulted in a Twitter trend of other lesbians using the hashtag '#GetTheLOut' who agreed that trans inclusion results in the erasure of lesbian identities. Again, not only does this illustrate the contemporary exclusion of trans people, but wider societal and organisational structures that allow for this exclusion to prosper. The protest group was subsequently allowed to lead the London Pride parade.

Additionally, the right to access traditionally sex-segregated spaces has garnered increasing media and political attention. Providing 'gender-neutral toilets' can be (and has been) framed within a discourse of broad inclusivity and rights, given that they allow people who may require assistance, such as people with disabilities and children, to be accompanied to the toilet by a helper of any gender. However, the topic has largely acted as a lens for public discussion and debate about trans people and communities who are assumed to be the primary group whom the provision of gender-neutral toilets (and/or any relaxation of restriction in usage predicated on 'biological sex') is designed to accommodate. The debate has been engaged with from an academic perspective (for example, Jeffreys, 2014; Nirta, 2014) but has been more socially visible in contemporary political and policy discussion and in media and social media. For example, in 2017 President Donald Trump rescinded instructions that had been issued in 2016 by then-

President Barack Obama instructing schools across the USA to allow students to access toilets appropriate to their gender identity. The result of this has been a significant growth in media representation of trans people and a heightened social awareness of issues relating to gender identity.

1.3.1 Legislation

The social construction of hate crime is evident through the varying international legislative protections afforded to trans people. The focus of this thesis is within a UK context and therefore a comprehensive overview of UK legislation is provided. Despite there being no specific legislation that deems transphobic hate crime an offence, there is an array of legislation that polices incidents of hate crime. The history of legislation dealing with hate crime in general is more extensive than the relatively brief history of legislation concerning transphobic hate crime and can be dated back to the introduction of the Race Relations Act (1965) concerned with racial discrimination. Forty years later, section 146 of the Criminal Justice Act (2003) was implemented in April 2005 which imposes a duty upon courts to increase the sentence imposed on an offender for any offence which is aggravated by hostility or prejudice based on a number of personal characteristics including an individual's sexual orientation or disability. At this time, section 146 did not apply in cases where hostility was based on the victim's trans status.

The Police Reform Act of 2002 introduced new guidelines on dealing with complaints regarding police discrimination in relation to gender reassignment. In 2004 the Gender Recognition Act (GRA) was introduced and has significantly '…improved the protocols… [that] protect the rights of transgender people' (Jamel, 2018:43). Nonetheless, it is noted that the introduction of the GRA simultaneously reinforced the gender binary and did not allow for alternative gender expressions. It did however,

place a duty on criminal justice agencies to improve sensitivity when working with trans individuals as the Gender Recognition Act prohibits the disclosure of an individual's trans identity without their consent.

In 2009 transphobic incidents were the last to be added to the list of monitored categories, meaning data on the prevalence of transphobic incidents is only available from 2010. The Equality Act of 2010 sought to bring together a range of pre-existing discrimination laws and afforded 'protected characteristic' status to 'gender reassignment', making discrimination in relation to employment and provision of goods based on this characteristic unlawful. Two years later the Legal Aid, Sentencing and Punishment of Offenders Act (2012) amended section 146 of the Criminal Justice Act to include trans identity as a characteristic to be considered as an aggravating factor during sentencing. Not only did this legislation define trans identity as an aggravating factor, it also increased the starting punishment from 15 years imprisonment to 30 years imprisonment in relation to transphobically aggravated murder. Yet, there is a difference between a transphobic incident and a crime involving hostility based on transphobia. The court must accept evidence that the defendant demonstrated hostility towards the victim because of their trans status or that the offence was motivated because of this hostility. Therefore, there will be cases perceived by the victim or witnesses as being transphobic that will not lead the court to treat the offence as one aggravated by hostility based on trans status.

The current process for considering an aggravating factor does not appreciate the nuanced intersectional identities of individuals and only one aggravating factor can be considered at sentencing. As a result, a perpetrator of a hate crime which may be influenced by interconnected prejudices of misogyny, transphobia and racial discrimination will only have one characteristic considered at sentencing. This results in

a simplified perception of identity and does not acknowledge multiple oppressions and the issues associated with multiple, minority identity labels.

1.4 Theoretical Perspectives

In order to address the research questions of this thesis, the work of Perry (2001) is drawn on. She claims that the presence of trans individuals in public domains threatens the cis-normativity of modern society, which can arguably be described as a core value in modern society (Bibbings, 2004). In exploring the victimisation of trans individuals Perry's (2001) theory of 'doing difference' emerges as key. She argues:

> 'Hate crime … involves acts of violence and intimidation, usually directed towards already stigmatised and marginalised groups. As such, it is a mechanism of power and oppression, intended to reaffirm the precarious hierarchies that characterise a given social order. It attempts to re-create simultaneously the threatened (real or imagined) hegemony of the perpetrator's group and the 'appropriate' subordinate identity of the victim's group. It is a means of marking both the Self and the Other in such a way as to re-establish their 'proper' relative positions, as given and reproduced by broader ideologies and patterns of social and political inequality'. (2001:10)

The 'difference' she speaks of relates to a number of different social hierarchies pertaining to gender, sexuality, race and disability among other identity markers. She claims that hate crime is better understood as an extreme form of discrimination against those ostracised by society as 'different' which is stimulated by a culture of othering and segregation. Through the construction of these social hierarchies, a range of 'in-groups' and 'out-groups' are constructed. Perry (2001:47) argues that 'difference' is a social construct, which is constructed in negative relational terms. Cisgender has been

established as the dominant norm, in which 'all others are (unfavourably) judged'. When constructing individual identity, this should be done within the constraints of the given gender binary which in turn reinforces the structural order. Allport (1954) argues that within social hierarchies, one group will always perceive itself as dominant and this results in other groups being constructed as subordinate and 'different'.

The 'difference' presented by the 'out-group' may lead to feelings of fear and insecurity within the 'in-group' about their dominant place in society. The dominant group must ensure that the subordinate groups remain subordinate in order to maintain the relational power dynamics which Perry (2001:2) argues 'leave minority members vulnerable to systemic violence'. This power dynamic is maintained through social policing of various minority groups which may manifest itself in animosity, discrimination and violence. Trans individuals experience violence as a result of complex social structures and hierarchies and Jauk (2013:808) argues that 'violence against trans people is often triggered by gender non-conformity and violence is a form of gender policing'. When a hate crime is committed, a message reaffirming the trans community's subordination to the cis-gender community is conveyed, continuing the oppression that trans communities experience (Burgess *et al.,* 2013). It can therefore be argued that trans individuals experience hate crime as an instrument of 'intimidation and control exercised' by those who need to reaffirm their place in a complex hierarchy (Perry, 2001:2). This claim is supported by academics who suggest that trans individuals who fail to present themselves according to society's accepted beliefs about male and female presentation will be more at risk of experiencing 'regular and extreme levels of physical and verbal abuse' (Johnson *et al.,* 2007:18; Spalek, 2008). Ultimately, Perry (2001) argues that hate violence is a means of subjugating trans individuals for 'doing difference'.

Gender binary structures reflect the genderism, the levels of discomfort associated with perceiving gender on a continuum, which is prevalent across Western society (Hill, 2003). As a result, gender binary options are continually reinforced through popular media, legislation and politics (Knights and Kerfoot, 2004). By crossing the gender binary, individuals who identify as trans blur the boundaries of deeply engrained ideas of gender. As a result, hierarchies are formed, in order to maintain social order and reinforce power structures. Hall (2005:78) argues that 'hierarchal structure of power in society is based upon notions of 'difference' with the 'mythical norm' at the top and those who are 'different' assigned subordinate positions'. Structural hierarchies feed into the establishment of transphobia, the emotional disgust towards those who do not conform to gender binary constraints and creates insecurities within those at the top of the hierarchy that their power and privilege are threatened. As a reaction to this fear, dominance must be exerted over the subordinate group that takes the form of 'gender-bashing', the manifestation of fear in the form of violence. This thesis argues that trans individuals threaten the structural order by constructing their gender identity in ways that challenge the predetermined gender arrangements. Additionally, as claimed by Perry (2009) it is argued that structure, hierarchy and dominance are key elements to understanding the nature of hate crimes. These three elements are key throughout this research and it is argued that the formation of trans identities as subordinate within socially structured hierarchies allows for systemic violence and oppression.

Moreover, this research embraces a Queer theoretical perspective to challenge dominant binaries that relate to sexuality and gender. As argued by Nicholson and Seidman:

> 'The hetero/homo binary is imagined, parallel to the masculine/feminine trope, as a symbolic code structured into the texts of daily life, from popular culture (e.g., television sitcoms or popular songs) to disciplinary knowledges, law,

therapeutic practices, criminal justice, and state policies. It frames the way we

know and organize personal and social experience, with the effect of

reproducing heteronormativity. Queer theory aims to expose the operation of the

hetero/homo code in the center of society and to contribute to destabilizing its

operation. Queer theory aspires to imagine the sexual and social regime beyond

the hetero/homo code and beyond heteronormativity – a regime organized

around the tolerance, indeed the celebration, of social differences' (1995:18).

Despite Nicholson and Seidman referring explicitly to binary categorical divisions

relating to sexuality, it can be argued that the binary divisions and heteronormativity

that permeates the social world has expanded and we now experience a dominant

cisnormativity and transnormativity. Cisnormativity has been described by Bauer *et al.*

(2009) as a social expectation that all members of that society are cisgender, and that

individuals will live their entire lives as the sex they were assigned at birth. On the other

hand, transnormativity can be described as the normalisation of trans bodies through a

cisnormative lens, in which trans bodies that undergo gender reassignment surgery and

conform to societal expectations of gender are validated (Vipond, 2015). In this sense,

new binaries are created that impact the lives of trans people, including a categorical

division between those who 'pass[2]' and those who don't. Alternatively, divisions can be

created between those who elect to undergo gender reassignment surgery and those who

do not. These binary divisions further reinforce societal standards of gender ideals. In

order for this research project to be inclusive and to recognise and highlight a range of

different and similar experiences between a heterogenous, diverse trans population it is

important to address these binary divides and the hierarchical structures that are

produced that validate and assign power and acceptance to particular trans people.

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[2] Pass refers to an individual's ability to present as their preferred gender successfully.

Therefore, embracing a Queer theoretical approach to this research allows for the recognition and appreciation of all forms of gender identity that fall outside, between or beyond fixed categories of man and woman.

Furthermore, Queer theoretical perspectives have been established as both an identity marker and a conceptual tool of critique (Ball, 2014). As is claimed by Buist and Lenning (2016) Queer criminology is both identity driven and deconstructionist in nature. This thesis argues that there is an overwhelming 'Whiteness' within literature exploring trans lives and embracing a Queer theoretical perspective aligns with the intersectional nature of this research. As Rahman (2010) claims that 'intersectionality as productively queer, and queer as necessarily intersectional'. As such, it is argued that there is a necessity for research into trans lives to be Queer, and consequently intersectional in nature to deconstruct and challenge a range of normativity's that dominate research. This research adopts an inherently Queer theoretical approach to challenge pervasive conceptualisations and representations of trans people.

1.5 Thesis Outline

Chapter Two draws upon existing literature and frames some of the key debates within hate crime scholarship. It becomes clear that defining the term 'hate crime' is a complex task and that definitions vary across cultures and within cultures. Additionally, literature is discussed that explores the prevalence of hate crime. In doing so, different forms of victimisation are explored, and it is shown that low-level, everyday incidents of hate crime are pervasive. Attention is also paid to what is known about marginalised groups experiences in an online context and it is argued that the experiences of trans people in an online context is a significantly under researched area. Moreover, this chapter draws

upon existing literature that explores the policing and reporting of hate crime and identifies significant barriers to reporting.

The literature regarding low-level, 'everyday' and 'mundane' incidents of hate crime is also explored. It is argued that this area is significantly overlooked and that existing research tends to focus on physical and sexual violence or exploring 'micro-aggressions'. Here, the term 'micro-aggressions' is critiqued and it is claimed that the inclusion of verbal abuse, harassment and threats of violence under the umbrella of 'micro-aggressions' perpetuates the perception of these incidents as non-criminal, therefore contributing to significant levels of under-reporting. Instead, the term 'micro-crime' is introduced in order to represent the criminal nature of many of these incidents.

Finally, the theoretical perspectives that have been used to explore hate crime victimisation are further explored. In doing so, key theorists such as Merton (1968) and Perry (2001) are drawn upon to contextualise hate crime victimisation within theoretical frameworks. These theoretical perspectives are critiqued, drawing upon the work of Walter's (2011) and Chakraborti and Garland (2012) and reconceptualises hate crime victimisation through the lens of 'vulnerability'.

Chapter Three provides an overview of the methodological approach adopted in this thesis. The overall research design is described, and a reflection is provided of the considerations made when deciding to adopt a critical realist approach to this research. The methods of data collection are also discussed, highlighting the specific research questions developed that relate to each method of data collection. This chapter also reflects upon the ethical considerations made throughout this research and particular attention is paid to the complexities of conducting research online.

Additionally, this chapter provides a critical reflection on my role within the research. My professional role for METRO Charity[3], a leading 'Equality and Diversity' organisation, has afforded me a unique and interesting position from which to conduct this research. As such, I had an inherent 'insider' knowledge of many issues facing trans people. This chapter reflects on my position as a member of the lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans (LGBT) community and the juxtaposition of my role as an 'outsider' of the trans community. Also, this chapter reflects on the role of 'power' within research and the researcher-participant relationship and how this is relevant to this research.

Chapters Four to Seven report the findings of this research and are structured according to key themes identified within this study. **Chapter Four** explores the notion of 'normalcy' and the 'everyday' in relation to trans people's experiences of hate crime. By drawing upon data from the online surveys and semi-structured interviews, this chapter frames trans people's experiences of hate crime within the notion of 'routine'. In this sense, it is argued that trans people experience victimisation as a result of engaging in their daily routines. It is also shown that transphobic micro-crimes become an inherent and pervasive part of trans people's daily routine. In this sense, the 'everyday' is conceptualised in two ways. Firstly, victimisation occurs as a result of engaging in 'everyday' routines, and secondly, victimisation as an inherent characteristic of the 'everyday'. Online victimisation is also conceptualised as an inherent part of trans people's daily routine. In doing so, the dualistic nature of the internet is highlighted, and the online world is conceptualised as both a space of support and abuse for trans people. The impact of experiencing 'everyday' victimisation is also

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[3] METRO Charity is a leading equality and diversity organisation that provides health, community and youth services across London and the South East.

examined and it is argued that trans people experience a process of normalisation in order to maintain daily functioning.

Chapter Five explores the hierarchical nature of hate crime victimisation. In this chapter, it is argued that a range of dominant hierarchies influence trans people's perceptions of their own victimisation. In doing so, it can be seen that dominant constructions of hate crime as being physically and sexually violent, perpetrated by strangers in public impact trans people's perception of micro-crimes as non-criminal. It is also argued that a hierarchy of protected characteristics exists in which trans people perceive their victimisation to be less 'legitimate' than the 'victim status' assigned to those based on their race, religion or sexuality. Moreover, it is argued that participants' conceptualisation of their experiences as non-criminal significantly impacts their reporting behaviours. Furthermore, it is also claimed that when trans people do report these experiences, the police response often reaffirms the perception that low-level incidents are not worthy of police attention.

Chapter Six draws together findings from both the online surveys and semi-structured interviews to explore the theme of 'space, place and belonging'. In this chapter, space and place are explored in relation to the literal, physical surroundings of participants, identifying key spaces of risk and harm. In doing so, toilets are identified as significant spaces of gender policing. Space and place are also conceptualised more abstractly and are conceptualised in terms of relationships and romantic spaces which also pose significant risk to trans people. In this sense, masculinity is also considered in terms of its fragility, and how victimisation perpetrated by men occurs within the specific context of emotional, physical and sexual relationships.

A sense of 'belonging' was also developed from the data collected and this chapter draws upon participants' experiences of exclusion and 'othering' from a range of spaces. In doing so, this chapter draws upon an intersectional analysis of the online surveys to explore how trans people who also belong to other minority groups experience multiple marginalisation. In this discussion, there is a focus on LGBT spaces and trans people's sense of exclusion from these spaces based on their race, religion, gender, sexuality and disability status.

Chapter Seven provides a discrete analysis of the results of a discourse analysis of *YouTube* comments posted on videos that relate to the topic of 'gender-neutral' toilets. In this chapter, it is shown that 'gender-neutral' toilets are constructed as sites of sexual danger to women and children. Notions of masculinity permeate these constructions in that it is constructed as uncontrollable and is used as a legitimate justification to maintain the status-quo of sex-segregated toilets. Within this theme, LGBT people are also constructed as offenders. This is achieved through conflating sexual trauma and deviance with these communities.

Notions of victimhood are also explored, and it is argued that the dominant majority, cisgender people, claim victimhood and this constructs trans people as legitimate targets for victimisation. In doing so, cisgender people are positioned as the victims of political forces that mask the 'real' issues that are claimed to oppress cisgender people. The final theme discussed in this chapter relates to techniques and rhetoric that are used to de-legitimise trans people. Within this theme, instances of resistance are also discussed. It is argued that the motifs invoked to de-legitimise trans people echo the motif's that have historically been used in the offline denigration of other minority communities.

Chapter Eight provides a conclusion to this thesis, highlighting the contributions of this thesis to both academic and policy discourses. In this chapter, the results of all three studies are synthesised to address the overarching research questions that have been proposed. This chapter reflects on the key findings from this research and highlights the original contributions of this research to wider literature. In doing so, it argues that trans people face a range of discriminatory behaviours ranging from micro-aggressions to physical violence as part of their daily routine. Also, this chapter reflects on the theoretical and conceptual contributions of this thesis that relate to the conceptualisation of low-level, everyday incidents of transphobic abuse as micro-crimes. It is argued that this is an appropriate way to conceptualise these experiences, acknowledging the criminality of these incidents whilst recognising that they are less socially recognisable forms of victimisation. Also, it is argued that the overarching theme that bridges existing theoretical perspectives of hate crime victimisation is 'visibility'. It is therefore argued that notions of 'difference' and 'vulnerability' all relate to 'visibility' and how this can assign privilege to those who are able to maintain the 'invisibility' of their 'difference' or 'vulnerability'.

The implications for policy and practice are also discussed and it is claimed that the legislative policies that influence the policing of hate crime incidents must be reviewed and made accessible to marginalised communities. Furthermore, it is argued that in order to encourage reporting, a greater police awareness of gender identity is needed. Finally, it is argued that the development and refinement of official police online reporting services should be a priority, in order to address a significant barrier to trans people reporting. This chapter ends by providing some concluding comments, summarising the key findings and points to take away from this research.

<u>**Chapter Two: Literature Review**</u>

This chapter reflects upon the available literature addressing transphobic hate crime. In doing so, literature is drawn from a range of disciplines and sources due to a lack of criminological literature specifically addressing transphobic hate crime. The key tensions that currently exist in relation to defining hate crime are also outlined. In drawing upon existing literature this chapter explores the current framing of hate crime victimisation in relation to the prevalence, types of victimisation experienced and the policing and reporting of transphobic hate crime. Additionally, this chapter addresses the notion of 'micro-aggressions', summarising current research exploring micro-aggressions targeting the LGBTQ community more broadly before offering a critique of the conceptualisation and definition of micro-aggressions. The term 'micro-crime' is offered as a more suitable descriptor for the experiences and incidents this research project aims to address.

Finally, this chapter provides an overview and critique of dominant theoretical frameworks that have been used to conceptualise hate crime. The work of Perry (2001) in relation to 'doing difference' is described before considering the critique of this theoretical perspective provided by Chakraborti and Garland (2011). In doing so, notions of 'vulnerability' are drawn upon to challenge hate crime paradigms and offer a more holistic conceptualisation of hate crime victimisation.

2.1 Defining Hate Crime

There is contention within academia regarding the terminology associated with 'hate crime' and Gerstenfeld (2004) suggests that hate violence need not be motivated by hate. The word 'hate' is often associated with strong connotations of extreme emotion (Hall, 2005) which Gerstenfeld argues is not necessarily a factor in hate crime. This is

particularly pertinent for this thesis, as the strong emotional connotations associated with the term 'hate' may be obstructive to understanding the often 'everyday' and 'mundane' nature of transphobic hate crime. Sullivan (1999:9) suggests that in order to appreciate the complexity of hate crime the focus must be on significantly less emotionally charged concepts such as prejudice, bias, hostility or 'simply a mere aversion to others'. Exploring these concepts broadens the scope within academia of what can be considered a hate crime and a more nuanced understanding of the lived experiences of victims can be achieved.

Furthermore, legal definitions of hate crime focus solely upon the isolated incident reported and do not appreciate the wider social and cultural influences that culminate in the incidence of hate crimes (Perry, 2001). However, academics have explored the concept of 'hate crime' further (Chakraborti and Garland, 2009; Iganski, 2008a; Perry, 2001). A significant issue in conceptualising hate crime has been identified by Jacobs and Potter (1998) who argue that hate crime is a socially constructed phenomenon with no self-evident definition and measuring all aspects of hate crime will be dependent upon how this is defined. Hall (2012) suggests that hate crime arises from a multifaceted network of events, hierarchies, and processes that will be interpreted differently according to those involved. As a result, a sufficient definition should appreciate the different facets influencing the construction of a hate crime. Bowling (1993) highlights the complexity that a definition needs to cover. Whilst discussing racial harassment and violence, Bowling (1993:231) argues that if particular 'forms of crime are to be described and explained adequately and controlled effectively, they should be conceptualized as processes set in geographical, social, historical, and political context'. In this sense, to fully understand and explain transphobic hate crime, conceptual definitions need to explore and appreciate the social relationship between

those involved, the historical context of oppression and violence, the dynamic relationship which can capture repeated or systematic victimisation and the social and cultural context which informs appropriate and inappropriate behaviours. Considering this, it is important to appreciate the historical oppression, systematic victimisation and social relationship between those involved in transphobic hate crime. This illustrates how an incident of hate crime does not exist in isolation and social and cultural appreciation is needed to fully understand these incidents. Despite the difficulties in conceptualising and defining 'hate crime' the need to attempt to clarify this term is not negated.

2.2 - Framing Hate Crime

2.2.1 - Prevalence of Hate Crime

Although details of transphobic hate crime can be extrapolated from Home Office figures (2018) it is important to explore reports provided by other sources to create a more complete picture of hate crime experiences. Williams and Tregidga (2013) found similar rates of prevalence of transphobic hate crime in Wales, arguing that transphobic hate crime makes up only 1% of hate crime experienced. Chakraborti *et al.* (2014) also produced similar findings; however, they allowed for more flexibility in participants' characteristics that could be targeted, including gender, trans status, and dress and appearance, all of which could be associated with an individual's trans status. Stonewall (2018) reports that 41% of trans participants in their study and 31% of non-binary participants reported having experienced a hate crime. Of all of the transphobic hate crimes recorded in the UK annually, Antjoule (2013) claims that 20% occur within a London borough. This is a significant finding as it highlights the impact geographical location can have on the experiences of hate crime.

Further investigation into the nature of hate crime, with a particular focus on transphobic hate crime, also reinforces the findings of wider hate crime reports. METRO (2014) found that 74% of participants experienced name calling and 45% of participants experienced harassment, threats and intimidation on a weekly basis. This coincides with wider findings of Turner *et al's.* (2009) European study into transphobic hate crime, indicating 79% of participants had experienced a hate crime ranging from verbal abuse to sexual assault. Low level verbal abuse, harassment and threats appear to be a common experience for many trans individuals with high levels of these incidents being reported (METRO, 2014; Turner *et al.,* 2009). Chakraborti *et al.* (2014) found that 87% of respondents experienced verbal abuse and harassment and often experienced this repeatedly. Similar findings are produced by Antjoule (2013) who reports high levels of verbal abuse and harassment, whilst crimes involving physical or sexual actions tend to be reported less frequently. These high levels of verbal abuse and threats discovered in community surveys are strikingly significant, as they are often incidents that are not reported to the police and this may explain why official reports of transphobic hate crimes constitute such a minimal proportion of overall hate crime (Williams and Tregidga, 2013).

There is a significant difference in the volume of abuse reported by official statistics (Home Office, 2017) and non-profit and charity organisations (METRO, 2014; Stonewall, 2018). It is important to acknowledge the clear difference in reports and to address potential influencing factors. It can be argued that official statistics are likely to present a significantly lower prevalence of hate crime as these statistics rely on individuals reporting incidents of hate crime to the relevant authority, and, as discussed earlier, require efficient recording of an incident as a hate crime by criminal justice agencies. However, it is also important to be cautious of the validity of reports

presented by charity and non-profit organisations. Third sector organisations often report scarce details on the methodology and sampling methods used in their data collection. As a result, these findings should not be taken at face value as there is often ambiguity around the validity and generalisability of these results due to a lack of transparent methodological rigour. This has been addressed by McCormack (2012) who challenges the disparity in prevalence of homophobia presented by official statistics and some activist groups such as Stonewall[4]. In doing so, he claims that they 'are simply not comparing like with like' (McCormack, 2012: 138). Moreover, third sector organisations often rely on continued funding from a number of government bodies and local authorities and resultingly it can be argued that evidencing a social concern is beneficial for third sector organisations to maintain financial stability. Therefore, this thesis argues that the experiences of hate crime are likely to be significantly higher than official reports indicate but may be lower than third sector organisations indicate.

2.2.2 - Victim-Perpetrator Relationship

Hate crimes have largely been conceptualised as 'message crimes' (Perry, 2001; Walters, 2011). This perception suggests that it is not the individual identity of the victim that is important in victimisation; rather, it is the 'out-group' that they represent (Iganski, 2008a) and the political challenges the group presents. Zey (1998:1) argues that 'individuals should not be interfered with by the collective, except when individual behaviour undermines collective interests'. Although hate crimes can be committed by individuals, given the 'message' nature of these crimes, they can be conceptualised as being committed by the collective in sentiment. Not only do they send a message to the community the victim identifies with, they also send a collective message from the 'in-

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[4] Stonewall campaigns for the equality of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people across Britain.

group', not simply from an individual. In this sense, Chakraborti and Garland (2012:502) emphasise that 'the victims themselves are interchangeable and almost invariably strangers with whom the perpetrator has had little or no contact' within popular hate crime discourse. This is similar to wider discourse around the image of the stranger in relation to hate crime and Perry (2001) claims that hate crimes are usually perpetrated by strangers who are unknown to the victim. This perception has been embraced by other academics (Gerstenfeld, 2004; Lawrence, 1999; Medoff, 1999). Although many hate crimes are indeed committed by a stranger, this thesis argues that this dominant conceptualisation of perpetrators significantly influences what can be considered a legitimate hate crime. Other academics have suggested that victims are likely to know the perpetrator (Mason, 2005; Mason-Bish, 2010; Meyer, 2014). These conflicting accounts of the perpetrators of hate crime may be accounted for as a result of an ambiguous definition of 'stranger'. In this sense, there is conflicting definitions over the term 'stranger' that primarily relate to perpetrators who are recognisable to the victim, but not necessarily known (Mason, 2005).

Walters (2011:319) suggests that 'cultures of prejudice are nurtured within families, friendship circles and by neighbours' and therefore it would be surprising to find that all perpetrators of hate crimes only victimise strangers. Stotzer (2009) discovered that a large portion of victims of transphobic hate crimes experience these within the home, perpetrated by family members and friends. Furthermore, investigating hate crime more broadly, Herek and Berrill (1992) highlight significant incidences of hate crime being experienced within the home and within educational establishments. An analysis of hate crime by the Metropolitan Police Service (2002) exploring racial and homophobic hate crimes found that only 14.9% of perpetrators of homophobic hate crimes were classed as 'strangers' to the victim. These findings have been mirrored across various large-

scale studies indicating that there is often a pre-existing relationship between the victim and perpetrator of hate crimes (Antjoule, 2013; Williams and Tregidga, 2013). These findings evidently challenge the popular notion of 'stranger danger' that is so prevalent throughout hate crime discourse. Perpetrators of transphobic hate crime can quite often be romantic partners, immediate and extended family members, friends, acquaintances and work colleagues among others (Xavier et al., 2007). Moran and Skeggs (2004:85) explore the particularly difficult position of the 'home' in relation to hate crime and conclude that the 'home offers multiple and contradictory experiences of safety and danger'. However, it can be argued that the risk associated with the 'home' is often neglected as a result of continual emphasis placed on 'stranger danger' concepts. This thesis claims that a focus on 'stranger danger' creates a mirage, masking the risks faced by many trans individuals from family, friends and authorities.

2.2.3 Online Experiences

A growing body of literature exploring the similarities and differences between prejudicial speech targeting minority groups online and offline is emerging (Banks, 2010; Brown, 2017; Chetty and Alathur, 2018). This is an important area of exploration as the internet has developed as an unregulated site for the expression of discriminatory and prejudicial views and the worldwide scope of the internet permits the spread of dominant, social ideologies (Weaver, 2013). The rise in internet-facilitated hate speech may be a result of mainstream published media providing more opportunities for individuals and communities to complain and contest discriminatory media under more stringent regulatory frameworks. For example, the framework set out by The Independent Press Standards Organisation (2016) places a duty on UK newspapers not to publish prejudicial or pejorative references to an individual's race, religion, sexuality and gender identity.

However, as with research exploring offline victimisation, the interest in the online victimisation of trans people has trailed significantly behind the research interests in more socially recognised victim groups relating to race, sexuality and religion (Awan, 2014; Cmeciu, 2016; Weaver, 2013). As a result of this, very little is known about the victimisation of trans people in an online context. Therefore, it is important to draw upon wider literature regarding the victimisation of minority groups in an online context, although it is important to note that this may not be reflective of trans people's experiences.

Chakraborti *et al.* (2014) report that 27% of the 1,106 participants in their study had experienced some form of cyberbullying. These findings are similar to those reported by METRO (2014) who found that 25% of participants in their study had experienced some form of victimisation online. Williams and Tregidga (2013) reported that transphobic hate crime can manifest in various forms, but a significant amount of victimisation occurs online. This is evident in contemporary news stories, The Guardian (2018) reported that popular discussion forum 'Mumsnet[5]' had been forced to introduce tougher rules regarding discussions of gender identity after trans activists continually challenged the allowance of transphobic content being posted. Given the widespread use of internet technologies, it is surprising that the internet victimisation of trans people has not been explored further. Research has already established clear differences between online and offline hate speech, primarily concerning the given anonymity, immediacy and lack of established regulations to monitor online hate speech (Brown, 2017; Cohen-Almagor, 2011). Other literature has addressed the trends in contemporary media representations

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[5] *Mumsnet* is a website for parents in the UK. It hosts discussion forums where users share advice and information on parenting and many other topics.

of trans people online and offline, with a focus on trans young people (McInroy and Craig, 2015).

Nevertheless, it should be noted that the internet has also proven to improve the lives of trans people and there is significantly more research exploring the benefits of internet use on trans people's lives. The internet has been claimed to increase feelings of belonging (Scannell, 2014), produce visual records of transition (Stein, 2016) and facilitate the organisation of activists (Shapiro, 2004). Furthermore, the internet has allowed for the development of a number of initiatives to encourage the reporting of hate crime. Jamel (2018) discusses two key applications for reporting incidents of hate crime via technology: True Vision and The Self-Evident App. The purpose of these websites and apps is to provide information to people who experience hate crimes and also provide alternative methods of reporting incidents of hate crime rather than contacting the police directly. Some of the functions and services available include information and advice, signposting to relevant organisations, collection and storage of relevant evidence and various methods of reporting hate crimes. It should be noted that these initiatives are not without criticism. Williams and Tregidga (2013) argue that third-party reporting is primarily facilitated online, and this may exclude individuals who do not have the means to access the internet. Furthermore, they discuss technical errors that can impact on the effectiveness of online reporting and feelings of exclusion felt by older participants in their study. In doing so, only particular groups of people benefit from third-party reporting processes and age is often neglected as an intersectional characteristic. Furthermore, of those who can access third-party reporting, there is a significant unawareness of these channels for reporting and Chakraborti (2018:394) claims that 'very few of the research participants in any of the studies were familiar with the idea of third party reporting'.

2.2.4 Impact of Hate Crimes

The impact experienced by victims of hate crimes is well documented (Chakraborti *et al.,* 2014; McDevitt *et al.* 2001; Sullaway, 2004). Iganski and Lagou (2015) further argue that hate crimes impact victims more than non-hate motivated offences. High levels of psychological trauma including increased levels of anxiety, depression, nervousness, loss of confidence and an increased fear of further victimisation have all been reported (Ehrlich, 1992; McDevitt *et al.* 2001; Meyer, 2010; Sullaway, 2004). Furthermore, Williams and Tregidga (2013) found that around half of victims of transphobic hate crimes disclosed feelings of suicidal thoughts. However, these often arise from studies in which participants are asked to discuss the most violent incident they have experienced and therefore the impact of everyday abuse is often overlooked. Chakraborti *et al.* (2014) provide more detailed accounts of the impact of verbal abuse, harassment and cyberbullying which included anger, anxiety and fear. They report that 95% of trans respondents referred to feeling upset. There were also practical consequences for participants including self-moderation, relationship breakdowns and the consumption of drugs and alcohol.

There has been some progress made in exploring victims' responses to experiencing hate crime (Burgess *et al.* 2013:498) and some coping mechanisms have been identified. Burgess *et al.* (2013) report that victims will often try 'to be less visible' and may relocate to reduce the possibility of repeat victimisation. However, this is not always possible when abuse derives from family, friends, colleagues and acquaintances on a repetitive, low-level basis and does not appreciate the social and economic restraints that some victims experience. Browne *et al.* (2011) argue that victims of transphobia normalise the abuse by not defining their experiences as 'abuse' in order to facilitate normal functioning on a daily basis. They claim that oppression can be a

continuation of low-level harassment that causes severe psychological distress unless the individual rationalises their victimisation in order to enable the perception that these incidents are just part of the 'everyday experience'.

2.2.5 Intersectionality

Roen (2001) argues that the diversity of trans people and their experiences continues to be neglected by a lack of acknowledgement of intersectional identities and the dominant 'Whiteness' of research into trans people's lives. The term 'intersectionality' was introduced by Crenshaw (1989) who argued that race and gender were predominantly treated as 'mutually exclusive categories of experience and analysis' and how this is perpetuated by single-axis frameworks. Crenshaw believed that the sole focus on either race, or gender, and never both at the same time, led to the erasure of black women's experiences of discrimination. In essence, intersectionality refers to the overlapping of an individual's membership and assigned place in various social hierarchies that interact to create a unique experience of oppression, discrimination and prejudice.

Despite Crenshaw writing in 1989, issues of lack of representation still permeate research today, with Hines (2010:12) arguing that 'much work on trans has lacked such an intersectional analysis with the effect that 'trans people' are often represented as only that – as only trans'. More recently this has been considered and Meyer (2012) conducted an intersectional analysis of the impact of anti-queer violence. Meyer found that participants' class, race and gender all interacted in unique ways and impacted upon victims' evaluation of their experiences. Given the wider acknowledgement of the importance of recognising intersectionality within wider hate crime studies (Burnap and Williams, 2016; Meyer, 2010; Perry, 2009), this thesis argues that the persistent neglect of the racial, financial, religious and gendered experiences of trans people has a

homogenising effect on our understanding of the lived experiences of trans people, which are arguably shaped by their assignment to different levels of privilege across a range of social hierarchies.

It is also important to consider the intersectional nature of oppression and the resulting impact. Despite the multiple oppression that some trans individuals experience based on class, gender and race among other things, Meyer (2010) discovered that white, middle-class individuals were more likely than low-income, black and minority ethnic respondents to recognise their experience as severe. Yet Herek and Berrill (1992) summarised existing research and concluded that black and minority ethnic individuals who identified as LGBT experienced more incidents of hate crime than non-minority ethnic individuals. Given the different experiences of the trans community based on social positioning, it is important to recognise the non-homogenous nature of the community and respond accordingly, exploring the experiences through an intersectional lens. It can be argued that experiences of oppression, subordination and hate violence are likely to be interpreted differently depending upon the individuals' social positioning. As a result, responses to these experiences are also likely to differ depending upon the victims' social positioning and resources available for them to access.

Victim's multiple, minority characteristics may prevent them from being able to 'be less visible' and their economic and social positioning may prevent them from being able to relocate. These are two key coping mechanisms identified by Burgess *et al.* (2013). This argument coincides with Meyer's (2010) findings and provides some illumination for the potential reasoning of his claims that victims from low-income black and minority ethnic backgrounds perceive their victimisation to be less severe. He claims that this is due to them experiencing more oppression due to their multiple minority identity

characteristics as a result normalise their experiences as the only viable option to them. On the other hand, middle class, gay white men may not have experienced oppression to the same extent given their other dominant identity characteristics.

This highlights the need for hate crime victimisation to be conceptualised through an intersectional lens in order to develop a more nuanced understanding of the diverse experiences of trans communities. Moran and Sharpe (2004: 400) argue that there is often an oversight within academia of 'the differences, the heterogeneity, within what are assumed to be homogenous identity categories and groups'. The tendency to group together and assume similar experiences and characteristics of a diverse group of individuals can contribute to the blurring of the lived reality of hate crime experiences for individuals. Thus, failing to embrace an intersectional approach ultimately privileges those who are already less marginalised than others.

2.2.6 The Policing and Reporting of Transphobic Hate Crime

The reporting and policing of hate crime incidents has received increased attention within academia and activism, yet an understanding of the policing and reporting of transphobic hate crime remains largely underrepresented within the literature. Research shows that hate crimes are grossly underreported (METRO, 2014; Williams and Tregidga, 2013) with METRO suggesting that 88% of young LGBTQ people do not report incidents to the police. Dick (2008) found that up to 75% of victims of homophobic, biphobic and transphobic hate crimes chose not to report these incidents to the police and Kelley (2009) discovered that victims of homophobia would prefer to report incidents of hate crime to agencies other than the police. Chakraborti et al. (2014) found that 56% of participants had not reported the most recent experience of hate crime, 24% of participants had reported the most recent experience of hate crime to the

police and a range of other people and services had also been informed including teachers, local council and charity organisations. It was also noted that participants who experienced verbal abuse, harassment and cyberbullying were the least likely to report incidents to the police compared to participants who had experienced property offences, violent crime and sexual crime. However, the Home Office (2017) report that of all hate crimes reported based on a victims trans identity, 43% are public order offences whilst 43% involve physical violence, suggesting that incidents of verbal abuse, harassment and other non-physically violent offences are as equally likely to be reported by victims.

When comparing participants' satisfaction levels with the reporting process, Williams and Tregidga (2013) found that participants who reported hate crimes were less satisfied with how the police handled the report than the general population who participated in the British Crime Survey. Only 45% of participants felt that the police took the matter as seriously as they should have compared to 65% of participants from the British Crime Survey. Chakraborti et al. (2014) concluded that participants' satisfaction with police interaction was also connected to their perception of the impact the incident had on them. Participants in this study who felt that they had been very significantly impacted by their experience were more likely to be dissatisfied with the police response. This also has an impact upon the wider community as 20% of participants would not encourage others to report to the police.

A number of barriers have been identified that are claimed to contribute to the significant under-reporting of hate crimes (Chakraborti et al., 2014; Jamel, 2018; Jauk, 2013; METRO, 2014). Commonly cited reasons for non-reporting include feelings that the police would not take the report seriously (Chakraborti et al., 2014), non-visible injury or loss of property (Kelley, 2009), mistrust of the police (Jamel, 2018), not wanting to disclose trans status (Jauk, 2013) and a normalisation of hate crimes leading

to a failure to recognise them as such (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2014). Existing literature has identified significant barriers that victim's face in deciding whether to report hate crimes or not, although not specifically victims of transphobic hate crime. Consequently, it is important to question the accuracy of official statistics on the prevalence of transphobic hate crime, as these accounts are likely to be significantly underreported.

2.3 Low-Level, 'Everyday' and Mundane Incidents

Incidents of low-level and mundane hate crimes have largely been overlooked in academia and the media. It has been argued that previous studies exploring hate crime have created a hierarchical system in which incidents of hate crime can be ranked, with physical and sexual violence being considered more severe than other forms of hate crime (Herek *et al.* 1999; McDevitt *et al.* 2001). This is evident in several studies where participants have been asked to indicate the 'most serious' incident they have experienced (Rose and Mechanic, 2002: 16) or to explain when they have felt most at risk of 'physical danger' (Herek *et al.* 1999:201). The result of this is that participants are only able to discuss one particular incident, although they may have experienced many, and they are asked to privilege one particular incident, often prompted by questions using language such as 'violence' and 'physical danger'. Meyer (2010) suggests that these methods of research contribute to the hierarchical ranking of incidents in which verbal abuse is often towards the bottom. As a result, the everyday, mundane experiences of hate crime are often neglected, privileging particular incidents and victims over others.

Furthermore, sensationalised headlines such as PinkNews (2018) headline 'Five sentenced for brutal murder of transgender woman which shocked the world' perpetuate

notions of hate crime involving extreme physical violence. This is unsurprising, as Jewkes (2015) discusses elements of crime stories that are required for them to reach the 'newsworthy' threshold. Elements of newsworthiness often include physical violence, sex and risk. As a result of this, incidents of hate crime which are not physically or sexually violent become less socially recognisable in the public domain and impact on individuals' perceptions of what is considered a 'legitimate' hate crime.

It is argued in this research that hate crime is better considered on a continuum of events and that a greater consideration must be given to low level offences of verbal abuse, property offences and harassment in order to appreciate the lived reality of hate crime victimisation. Hollomotz (2012:54) suggests that considering hate incidents through a continuum highlights the blurring of boundaries between 'mundane intrusions, derogatory treatment and violence' which can make it difficult for victims to differentiate incidents which are viewed as an 'acceptable' part of everyday life from incidents which are to be viewed as hate crimes. Significant literature has highlighted the severe emotional and psychological impact of experiencing violent hate crime (Ehrlich, 1992; McDevitt *et al.* 2001) yet it is claimed that the impact of experiencing systematic, low level abuse can also cause significant harms to victims.

The incidence of transphobic hate crime, like many forms of hate crime, is difficult to gauge as it is 'grossly under-reported' (Lombardi *et al.,* 2001:91) with many trans individuals often experiencing the 'pervasive and everyday presence of violence' (Moran and Sharpe, 2004: 396). More recently, an array of research exploring 'micro-aggressions' has emerged (Conover *et al.,* 2017; Farr *et al.,* 2016; Ong and Burrow, 2017; Williams *et al.,* 2016) but primarily attends to the experiences of religious and racial minorities. To a lesser extent, research has emerged exploring the experiences of LGBT communities facing micro-aggressions (Mccabe *et al.,* 2012; Roffee and Waling,

2016; Swann *et al.,* 2016) and a significantly smaller amount of research focusing solely on micro-aggressions targeting trans and non-binary individuals (Nadal *et al.,* 2014; Pulice-Farrow *et al.,* 2017).

Micro-aggressions have been defined by Sue *et al.* (2007) as the everyday, verbal and non-verbal insults, snubs and slights that can be both intentional and unintentional and that communicate a negative or detrimental message to individuals or communities based upon their membership of a particular minority group. It is widely acknowledged that the pervasive nature of micro-aggressions can lead to severe consequences for those who are targeted (Brondolo *et al.,* 2008; Szymanski *et al.* 2008). Individuals may resultantly experience mental health issues and an inability to access healthcare, education and other social services which are often sites of significant victimisation. However, research investigating micro-aggressions tends to focus on non-criminal acts or incidents in which criminality is ambiguous, including anti-social behaviour, name-calling and harassment (Keels *et al.,* 2017; Roffee and Waling, 2016) and draw upon the definition of micro-aggressions provided by Sue *et al.* (2007). However, this thesis argues that there is a potential flaw in the definitional scope provided by Sue *et al.* (2007), in that the scope of behaviours defined as 'micro-aggressions' is inherently problematic. Furthermore, it is suggested that there is a significant gap in knowledge around the experiences of trans people who experience what is termed in this research as 'micro-crime'.

Sue *et al.* (2007) outline three major categories of micro-aggressions that individuals may experience: micro-assault, micro-insult and micro-invalidation. It is claimed that micro-insults and micro-invalidations are likely to occur outside the consciousness of the perpetrator and can potentially be the most damaging to victims. Micro-insults are defined as explicit denigrations characterised by verbal and non-verbal abuse including

name-calling and exclusion. Micro-invalidations are defined as behaviours and comments that exclude, invalidate or negate the subjective realities of minority groups. Seemingly, the two forms of micro-aggressions outlined fit within the definitional scope of micro-aggressions which generally tend to be non-criminal incidents. They further define micro-assault as consciously biased beliefs or attitudes that manifest in the form of verbal abuse and discriminatory practices. However, Sue (2010:3) further defines 'extreme forms of micro-assaults' which may include 'teasing and bullying in schools, isolation, physical violence, hate speech, and anti-LGBT legislation'. This thesis argues that there is a contradiction between the term 'micro-aggression' and the heterogeneity of actions included under this definition. Arguably, there appears to be a contradiction in terms of the phrase 'micro-aggression' and the inclusion of physical violence as a potential indicative behaviour of experiencing a micro-aggression. The prefix 'micro' suggests any action included under this definitional concept should be less extreme than other actions of a comparable nature. This research argues that the lack of definitional clarity and the ambiguity associated with which forms of 'physical violence' constitute an 'extreme micro-aggression' may prove problematic when researching micro-aggressions targeting marginalized communities.

Despite the lack of clarity surrounding the definitional scope of the term micro-aggression, as discussed previously, most research exploring micro-aggressions tends to exclude physical violence as an indicator of experiencing a form of micro-aggression and tend to focus on non-criminal acts or acts in which the criminality of the act is ambiguous. Therefore, this thesis argues that previous research that has focused on micro-aggressions or alternatively extreme forms of violence has left a significant gap in knowledge relating to the experiences of trans and non-binary individuals' experiences of what this thesis terms as 'micro- crimes'. A hate motivated micro-hate

crime describes any offence that is motivated by discrimination or prejudice and is less socially recognisable than traditionally media reported crimes that involve physical and sexual violence. In considering the term 'micro-crime' the definition extends to offences covered by the Public Order Act (1986) including causing harassment, fear or alarm to the victim. Guidance from the Crown Prosecution Service (2011) also suggests that actions including threats of violence, verbal abuse, insults or harassment, taunting, abusive gestures and unfounded malicious complaints may constitute a hate crime. Furthermore, it may also extend to offences which are less commonly reported in official statistics including criminal damage. I argue that embracing the concept of 'micro-crime' will help to better understand the experiences of trans individuals who experience low-level, mundane incidents of hate crime.

2.4 Transgender and Non-Binary Exclusion

It becomes clear through reviewing the literature that a significant amount of research has been conducted into hate crimes targeting an individual's race, religion and sexuality. However, research into the lives of trans and non-binary individuals appears to be a relatively recent development within Anglo-American literature. There are a number of factors that may have influenced this historic exclusion of trans and non-binary identities from mainstream academia. As discussed earlier, the historic exclusion of trans people from legislation that polices hate crime may have resulted in the exclusion of trans and non-binary individuals' experiences from research. However, it is not only within legislation that trans people have faced exclusion; this is a recurrent theme that runs through academia, activism and society.

Academic attention to the social influences of individuals who identify as trans is a relatively recent development within the social sciences. Stryker, (2006:2) argues how

pivotal the 1990s were in increasing the social conscious of trans equality and describes 'how 'transgender' moved from the clinics to the streets over the course of that decade, and from representation to reality'. Biological and psychological studies have a longer history of engaging in trans issues and were heavily influenced by essentialist ideas that conformed to a medical deficit model. Cauldwell (2006:41) originally writing in 1949 described the 'disease' that infects individuals who do not mature properly that leads to their psychological deficiency and concluded 'simply, that one is mentally unhealthy and because of this the person desires to live as a member of the opposite sex.' A significant amount of research exploring the trans community has been a result of Western, primarily American or British based interest. As a result, there is a certain White, ethnocentric lens through which the community is viewed. This has led to an under-appreciation of cultural diversity and a homogenising stance has been established. Stryker (2006:15) was 'struck by the overwhelming (and generally unmarked) whiteness of practitioners in the academic field of transgender studies.'

Academic studies of trans communities are often interdisciplinary, drawing upon feminist studies, lesbian and gay studies and more recently Queer theory. However, trans identities and inclusion has not always easily assimilated into these disciplines. Resultantly, trans identities have often been 'othered' within academia. There is a clear division within feminism in regard to the status of individuals who identify as trans and their legitimacy as their acquired gender identification. Raymond (1979:104) presented one end of the spectrum arguing that 'all transsexuals rape women's bodies by reducing the real female form to an artefact, appropriating this body for themselves […] Transsexuals merely cut off the most obvious means of invading women, so that they seem non-invasive'. It is clear that male acts of sexual aggression are being used as a metaphor to describe the infiltration of 'woman-only' spaces by trans women. Raymond

epitomises the extreme views of one end of the spectrum, but these views are present throughout many feminist texts, albeit in less aggressive ways. Riddell (2006:146) claims that 'medical procedures are used for patriarchy as a means of social control of gender stereotypes, which act in the interests of men' and later considers how these medical procedures deny trans communities the right to challenge the patriarchal gender system. This thesis argues that these views expressed by some feminist writers reinforce the binary gender system that particular strands of feminism claim to challenge.

The refusal to accept trans females into women-only spaces reinforces binary gender structures, as Bornstein (2006:242) argues 'because they don't see us as women, we're perceived as the other side of the binary: men'. However, these views are located within a particular historical context, in the early formations of feminism and sex-role theories and Whittle (2006b:196) suggests that as a result of Raymond's writing, women were 'justified in thinking transsexual people were not innocent victims of oppression arising out of patriarchy's controlled gender and sex roles' but were instead complicit in the attempt by men to control and mould women in a way that suited their interests. What has developed is an almost competitive attitude in consideration of who experiences more oppression that Raymond (2006:139) argues that:

'women who are born with female chromosomes and anatomy, and that whether or not we were socialised to be so-called normal women, patriarchy has treated and will treat us like women. Transsexuals have not had this same history. No man can have the history of being born and located in this culture as a woman. He can have the history of *wishing* to be a woman and of *acting* like a woman, but this gender experience is that of a transsexual, not a woman'.

This illustrates the very divided and incohesive approach to gender identity that is explicitly evident between some strands of feminism and trans identities. It is not the intention of this thesis to substantially engage in these debates, but rather to highlight their existence to better contextualise the implications for trans communities and for the social representation, interpretation and evaluation of trans people.

It is not only feminism in which the trans community has experienced an unstable relationship. There have been certain concerns within lesbian and gay studies that have often resulted in the exclusion and 'othering' of the trans community. Devor and Matte (2006:387) suggest that the trans community has been 'othered' from lesbian and gay studies because of the lesbian, gay and bisexual community's commitment to enforcing binary gender identities as they suggest 'it becomes considerably harder to delineate who is gay and who is lesbian when it's not clear who is male or man, and who is female or a woman'. Therefore, it can be suggested the long-standing tension between the trans community and the LGB community is a result of the destabilising effect trans individuals have on the binary gender structure. It can be argued that in order for the LGB community to progress politically and legally it was thought to be essential to 'other' the trans community as they do not fit within existing gender boundaries (Devor and Matte, 2006). This 'othering' extends beyond academia. Leading LGB equality activists Stonewall have campaigned for LGB equality for decades and Stonewall (2015) apologised to the trans community for the harm they had caused by failing to be inclusive of the trans community. It is important to acknowledge the 'othering' of the trans community within relevant academic disciplines as a way of illustrating the intricate problems trans individuals pose to academia including whether there are limits to subjectivity and relativism.

However, the emergence of Queer theory appears to allow for a significantly more cohesive and supportive relationship with regard to trans studies. Prosser (2006:258) argues that 'Queer studies can be seen to have been crucially dependent on the figure of transgender' as Queer theory presented itself as transgressing methodologies and identities blurring the binaries of gender, sex and sexuality, something embodied by the image of 'trans'. However, Roen (2006) has questioned whether people of ethnic minorities sit within Queer and trans theorising or whether Queer theorising further marginalised minority groups. This thesis suggests that perspectives of 'Whiteness' still resonate throughout these approaches, resulting in further marginalisation and 'othering' of trans individuals from ethnic minorities, with the notable exception of Jamel (2018) who provides a more inclusive exploration in relation to the experiences of indigenous trans people. Hines (2010) acknowledges the lack of intersectional acknowledgement within Queer and trans studies results in trans people being presented as just that – trans – with no appreciation of the different forces influencing their individual, unique lived experience such as race, economic stability and safe social spaces. In this sense, a person's trans identity is assumed to be a 'master status' and is used in a homogenising way. This reinforces the need for an intersectional critique of the lived experiences of the trans community.

It is not only within Queer theoretical perspectives that trans and non-binary identities have gained interest; this has been a recurrent theme across disciplines. A number of studies across the social sciences have subsumed trans and non-binary individuals under a wider LGBT umbrella (METRO, 2014; Meyer, 2010). However, upon closer inspection, these studies usually have a relatively small sample of trans participants in comparison to their LGB participants. It is also evident that academic interest into hate crime targeting trans individuals has been slower to come to fruition than the interest

shown in anti-LGB hate crime as 2018 saw the first publication solely dedicated to transphobic hate crime (Jamel, 2018).

Despite significant changes in legislation and an increasing profile of trans specific work within academic and activism that seek to be more inclusive of trans people, it has not been reflected in wider societal attitudes. METRO (2014) discovered that trans young people face greater levels of disadvantage and discrimination and report the lowest levels of life satisfaction compared to their cis-gender counterparts. Furthermore, inclusivity initiatives are often only inclusive to those who fit within the gender binary. Case and Ramachandran (2012:626) argue that 'between the two extreme ends of human sexuality – male and female – lie a poorly understood and poorly studied spectrum of ambiguously defined sexual identities that are very much a part of the human condition but defy rigid classification'. The previous considerations of feminist approaches, legal changes and societal acceptance do not reach as far as the most radical sections of the trans community. It is clear that legal changes, activism and to an extent academia have focused on the disruption trans identities cause to the male-female binary when an individual chooses to live outside of this binary. This leads to the 'othering' of the already marginalised sections of the trans community. Monro (2003) acknowledges that this could be a result of people who do not fit into existing binary systems creating significant challenges for society's understanding of gender.

2.5 Theoretical Explanations of Hate Crime

Despite the complexities found in defining and conceptualising hate crime, two dominant theories of causation have emerged. Merton's (1968) theory of strain has been linked to various forms of hate crime (Kelly, 1993; Ray and Smith, 2002) whilst Perry's (2001) structural action of 'doing difference' has also become influential. However,

Walters (2011) argues that a third theoretical perspective needs to be considered to successfully explain hate crime victimisation at both the macro and micro levels and incorporates Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) 'general theory of crime'. More recently Chakraborti and Garland (2012) have drawn upon notions of 'vulnerability' and difference to reconceptualise theoretical ideas of hate crime victimisation.

Merton (1968), speaking of crime more generally, claimed that criminal activity can be explained by the disequilibrium created by the gap between socially prescribed goals and legitimate methods of achieving these goals. It is claimed that inequalities in education, income and other factors influencing an individual's socio-economic status, some individuals will be unable to achieve goals set by a capitalist society. Therefore, an individual may resort to illegitimate means to obtain the material possessions that are deemed an essential marker of individual success. Agnew (1992) expanded on Merton's original ideas and specified three types of strain that an individual may experience. These strains are directly caused by another individual and include preventing an individual from achieving a positively valued goal, causing the loss of valued stimuli and presenting the individual with a negatively valued stimulus.

Academics have explored strain theory and linked it to the cause of racially aggravated hate crime (Gadd *et al.* 2005; Ray and Smith, 2002). Ethnic minorities are often popularised in the media, society and politics as being a strain on Britain's financial economy and also at an individual level in terms of housing availability and job opportunities. However, this thesis argues that although this theory may illuminate potential causations, not all incidents of hate crime can be explained through this theory. Only tenuous links can be made between victims of transphobic hate crimes and potential economic threats they pose to dominant social groups. For example, claims made by Hinton (2017) that the National Health Service (NHS) spends nine million

pounds on 'sex swap operations' could be argued to pose a potential socio-economic threat. Furthermore, Perry (2001) questions how the link between socio-economic deprivation and hate crime can be used to explain hate crime carried out by the most socially and economically advantaged people.

This research suggests that wider societal goals, besides socio-economic success must be considered in order to extend the applicability of strain theories to forms of hate crime victimisation that fall outside of racially aggravated hate crime. Bhattacharyya (2002) claims that heterosexuality and a two-parent nuclear family are highly sought-after goals in Western society. Despite a significant diversification of family types in Western societies, it can be argued that heteronormative societies still privilege a two-parent nuclear family as a normative goal. The quest for this goal, coupled with the negative stimuli, as described by Agnew (1992) such as fear, anxiety or disgust may result in the LGBTQ community posing a threat to societal stability. The heteronormative goals prescribed by Western society stimulate the creation of an 'in-group' who are individuals who achieve or seek to achieve these goals. (Walters, 2011) Those who seek non-heterosexual, non-cisgender goals and pursue 'deviant' lifestyles by not conforming to the gender roles of their biological sex effectively become the Other.

It can be argued that through the emotion of fear, strain theory and Perry's (2001) theory of 'doing difference' can be seen as complementary rather than divergent in explanatory models of hate crime. Walters (2011) critiques these models of hate crime theories as illuminating macro level explanations of hate crime but as failing to address the individual agency of perpetrators. He suggests that adding another dimension and considering self-control theory proposed by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) would illuminate the missing facet of hate crime theorisation. Self-control theory states that

most people have control over their behaviour which inhibits their participation in crime. Goode (2008) suggests that the ability to exert self-control over oneself is a characteristic learnt throughout childhood and that failure to learn self-control results in impulsive and insensitive behaviour. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) suggest that lack of self-control is the sole influencing characteristic that causes criminality. Walters (2011) argues that synthesising aspects of strain theory along with 'doing difference' and considering the influence of self-control theory provide a more powerful explanation at both the macro and micro level of hate crime offending. In relation to transphobic hate crime this would suggest that individuals experience fear which causes strain as a result of the threat trans individuals pose to cis-normative societal norms. Individuals who have low levels of self-control may react to this fear with impulsive, aggressive and violent behaviour which may result in the incident of a transphobic hate crime. The hate crime then perpetuates 'the violence of male privilege and all its social extensions' (Bornstein, 2006:237). Those who have higher levels of self-control may be able to rationalise their feelings of fear in less confrontational, aggressive ways.

More recently, Chakraborti and Garland (2012) have provided a thoughtful critique of the ways in which Perry's theory of 'doing difference' perpetuate notions of 'stranger danger' and has been embraced by academics in ways that may exclude a range of experiences of other marginalized groups. In reconceptualizing conventional frameworks, they draw on the work of McGhee (2007) to highlight the spontaneity of many incidents of hate which are not the result of any inherent prejudice but result from a specific, individualized situation. Chakraborti and Garland argue that not all perpetrators of hate crimes are prejudiced all of the time but may act in a prejudicial or hateful way as the result of a particular 'trigger' event. It is therefore argued that the vast array of incidents may only be partly motivated by prejudice thus challenging the

assumption that the sole purpose of hate crimes is to act as a mechanism of oppression of the 'other'. They sought to draw attention to groups of victims who are often marginalized in conventional frameworks, including, but not exclusively, homeless people (Wachholz, 2009) and sex workers (Carter, 2010). The notion of vulnerability is used as a means of including groups who experience marginalization but do not appear in official discourse. Resultantly, they do not benefit from the legal and social protections that established hate crime victim groups experience.

There are concerns over the use of the word 'vulnerable' in relation to exploring victimisation, particularly its connotations of weakness and need for protection (Roulstone *et al.,* 2011). However, Chakraborti and Garland (2011) address these concerns and suggest that a conceptual focus on 'vulnerability' encapsulates offenders' perceptions of victims, rather than suggesting victims encounter hate crime as an inevitability. It is therefore argued that hate crime victimisation cannot be explained by an explicit focus on 'difference'. Rather, it is the victims perceived vulnerability alongside their 'difference' that makes someone a target for hate crime victimisation. Embracing notions of vulnerability to reconceptualise hate crime frameworks also allows for a broader recognition of intersectional characteristics that may increase the potential perceived vulnerability of a victim. As previously discussed, hate crime discourse currently frames hate crimes as isolated incidents and legislation does not reflect the complexity of individuals' identity characteristics. Chakraborti and Garland (2011) argue that exploring hate crime victimisation through the lens of vulnerability allows for a more nuanced understanding of the interplay between recognised minority characteristics and wider social, class and political marginalization. They further claim that focusing on empty notions of 'community' to describe a diverse and heterogeneous population fails to acknowledge the unique experience of individuals within these

'communities'. This is important to acknowledge as existing literature suggests that the likelihood of victimisation is dependent upon a number of factors including an individual's ability to 'pass' (Jamel, 2018) and the gender they present as (Kidd and Witten, 2008). This thesis argues that neither approach sufficiently explains the causation of hate crime at a macro-level whilst simultaneously explaining hate crime on a micro-level and explores possible adjustments to create a more holistic theoretical approach.

2.6 - Conclusion

This chapter has outlined significant divisions within the available literature regarding terminology and concepts relating to the definition of a hate crime. What becomes evident are clear issues regarding the terminology associated with definitions of hate crime that imply extreme emotions that may not capture less extreme incidents of abuse, discrimination and prejudice that trans individuals often face. This chapter also concludes that despite a growing body of literature into hate crime experiences, physically violent and sexual offences are often privileged within research, overshadowing the often pervasive and everyday nature of less socially recognisable crime. It is therefore argued that this is inherently problematic in that it privileges particular incidents as 'true' incidents of hate crime and, as such, abuse perpetrated by family, friends and associates is often not perceived as hate crime. This thesis has argued that there are significant contradictions in the framing and definition of 'micro-aggressions' which primarily aims to encapsulate non-criminal acts of discrimination and prejudice, but definitionally refers to physical violence. Therefore, it has been suggested in this research that the term 'micro-crime' is more reflective of the current research, which focuses on low-level hate crime, particularly less socially recognisable

forms of criminal victimisation including harassment, verbal abuse and property offences.

This chapter has also explored dominant theoretical perspectives that have been drawn upon to conceptualise hate crime offending and victimisation. Perry's (2001) theory of 'doing difference' has been widely embraced but this has not been without critique and Chakraborti and Garland (2011) suggest that this theoretical perspective perpetuates notions of 'stranger danger' and that theoretical perspectives should be reconceptualised through the lens of 'vulnerability'. It has been suggested in this chapter that embracing the notion of vulnerability will be beneficial for this research project as it can provide a more nuanced understanding of a range of characteristics that interconnect and interplay within trans people's experiences of and responses to hate crime victimisation. Noting the concerns of Chakraborti and Garland (2011) this thesis acknowledges vulnerability as an often-imposed characteristic by perpetrators of hate crime, rather than an inherent characteristic of the victim. Therefore, notions of vulnerability are considered in this research, but with caution in the way this notion is applied.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The existence, nature and impact of hate crime targeting trans and non-binary identities raises theoretical and methodological issues critical to the advancement of hate crime scholarship as well as policy and practice responses. This thesis adopts a critically pluralistic approach to data collection. Using only one research method would restrict this study from collecting the necessary data needed to explore the research questions. As 'everyday' and 'mundane' transphobic hate crime is a relatively unexplored area of research, it is important to allow for a wide range of enquiry. This chapter outlines the methodological considerations that were made in the design of this research. In designing the tools for data collection, the overarching research questions were kept in mind.

1. What are the experiences of transgender people in relation to low-level, 'everyday' incidents of transphobic abuse?

2. How do transgender people's conceptualisation of their experiences impact the likelihood of reporting low-level, everyday incidents of hate crime to the police?

3. What intersectional characteristics influence transgender people's experiences of hate crime victimisation, and what is the nature of those relationships?

4. What is the impact of low-level, everyday incidents of hate crime on transgender people?

5. How are transgender people and identities constructed online within relevant contemporary debates?

3.2 Research Design

The research questions can be seen as implying different epistemological positions ranging from realism to social constructionism. In the interests of coherence, an over-arching critical realist position has been adopted to frame and inform this research, albeit with varying emphases on the realist and critical/social constructionist aspects of this position as the research questions are explored in different parts of this thesis. Critical realism is a relatively contemporary philosophy that incorporates tenets from both positivist and interpretivist research traditions (Bergin, Wells, and Owen, 2008). However, a critical realist approach reconceptualises ontological assumptions made by both positivist and interpretivist research paradigms in order to avoid the shortcomings that are often associated with these. Positivist researchers adopt a 'realist' ontological position which asserts there is a singular, knowable reality that is discoverable through the fragmentation of social issues into measurable concepts that can be statistically analysed (Denscombe, 2010). As such, it is claimed that reality exists independently of human interaction and interpretation (Della Porta and Keating, 2008). In the analysis of these findings, prediction and description are prioritised over explanation (Williams, 2003). A significant critique of this approach is the lack of explanation that is provided about the processes that contribute to the causal links that positivist research finds (Lin, 1998).

On the other hand, interpretivist researchers adopt a relativist ontological position that asserts that multiple, subjective 'realities' exist, with the value of these being assessed not by their reality status but by their social, political and other implications (Denscombe, 2010). Consequently, no single reality can be identified and must be understood as time and location specific (Avramidis and Smith, 1999). Interpretivist research also appreciates how social reality is linguistically constructed and how reality

is a human construction defined both by the participants being studied and the process of research itself (Sayer, 2010). In opposition to positivism, interpretivist research seeks to understand the 'lived reality' which is achieved through uncovering the meaning which participants assign to their experiences. Interpretivist research certainly addresses some of the failing of positivism, namely in that it is perceived as uncovering the narrative and explanations behind causal relationships (Lin, 1998). However, interpretivism is not without critique, and it has been argued that interpretivist understandings are restricted to the discursive, in which it is only capable of highlighting that which can be understood and articulated about reality (Lennox and Jurdi-Hage, 2017).

Lennox and Jurdi-Hage (2017:28) have argued that a critical realist position offers 'potential to investigate social reality beyond the empirical, exposing generative mechanisms and their underlying structures'. Hate crime is a complex social issue and as such requires a more complex form of investigation than is possible through either an exclusively positivist (realist) or interpretivist (critical or social constructionist) approach individually. Adopting a critical realist approach allows for a consideration of both a reality that can be observed and articulated alongside the interplay of agency and structure that are politically, economically and culturally situated. Where that reality lies is understood in varying ways by researchers who have applied critical realist positions (for example, social structures and the networks of power relations associated with them – Parker, 1992). Furthermore, a critical realist approach coincides with the theoretical framework adopted for this research project, in which Perry (2001) argues that hate crime is more complex than a single incident that can be explored in relation to individual motivation. Instead, she argues that hate crime is simply one component of a wider process of social policing.

Critical realism is critical of ontological assumptions associated with both interpretivist and positivist approaches (Danermark *et al.,* 2002), reconceptualises these assumptions and (in its commonly used form) adopts an ontological standpoint in which three strands of reality exist: 'the real', 'the actual' and 'the empirical' (Bergin *et al.,* 2008). The empirical level of reality incorporates observable incidents, which represent only a portion of reality. The actual relates to events that are both unobserved and observed that are triggered by generative mechanisms, wider social structures that allow for the existence of observable events. Finally, the real incorporates all that exists, events that are both observable and unobservable and the causal mechanisms that trigger these events. The assertion of these three individual strands of reality suggests a deeper, distinguished ontological position, separate from those associated with positivism and interpretivism (Williams, 2003).

Critical realism also reconceptualises traditional methods of data collection and identifies 'intensive' and 'extensive' research methods. Intensive research methods collect data that focuses on individual experiences and collects narratives that discursively describe empirical manifestations of generative mechanisms. On the other hand, extensive procedures explore systematic differences and similarities across populations, through quantitative methods (Sayer, 2010). Given that intensive and extensive research methods both explore empirically observable phenomena in different ways, it is argued that it is useful to use these methods together (Danermark *et al.,* 2002). Furthermore, as critical realist research is not restricted to exploring only the empirical domain, it is easier to identify and expose the causal mechanisms that explain hate crime victimisations in that relations of power, control and dominance can be illuminated and challenged. As such, by attending to both the abstract and empirical

realms, by adopting a critical realist approach, this research is able to produce a well-rounded account and explanation of transphobic hate crime victimisation.

3.3 Data Collection Methods

The methods of data collection are now described in detail, outlining the justification for selecting these methods of data collection, the questions that were sought to be answered and the sampling strategies employed. In line with a critical realist approach and recommended by Dannermark *et al.* (2002), this thesis employed 'critical methodological pluralism' in which both intensive and extensive research procedures are utilised to discern both empirically identifiable experiences and also the underlying structures that facilitate these incidents that make up these experiences.

3.3.1 - Online Survey

The first method of data collection involved creating, piloting, reviewing and distributing a survey online (Appendix 1). The online survey aimed to collect relevant data to explore the prevalence of transphobic hate crime, the nature of crimes experienced, perceptions of policing and experiences of online abuse, among other issues. These issues were selected as they are key in contextualising 'everyday' and 'mundane' hate crime targeting individuals' gender identity. This approach to data collection fits within what critical realism defines as an 'extensive' method of data collection, in which systematic differences and similarities are explored across a quantitative data set, exploring experiences on an empirical level.

The online survey (Appendix One) collected primarily quantitative data which allowed for statistics to be produced about the target population; the trans and non-binary community. Muijs (2004) highlights the benefit of research projects being carried out exploring opinions and perceptions in a way suitable for statistical analysis. Statistical

analysis is important to this study to ensure that the rich, subjective, qualitative data collected in face to face interviews is complimented by scientifically strong data. Many other scholars have utilised survey research when exploring hate crime (Rose & Mechanic, 2002; Wickes *et al.*, 2016; Williams & Tregidga, 2013). Surveys were selected to provide a context to the experiences that are described from the semi-structured interviews.

Furthermore, it is easier to collect larger amounts of data within a quicker timescale from surveys than from semi-structured interviews. There were time constraints to data collection and these were considered in the design of the research. Conducting a survey addressed the issue of time constraints and provided an opportunity to collect data that could be statistically analysed to allow me to contextualise my research. There was also no financial cost associated with conducting an online survey which may be associated with other methods of data collection.

It was important to ensure that the research did not simply address a gap in existing academic literature but could also be used by the trans and non-binary community. In a climate of economic uncertainty resulting in large, influential LGBTQ support services being decommissioned[6], I wanted to ensure that my research can be utilised to support applications for funding bids to support new and existing services. Hesse-Biber (2014) discusses the usefulness of quantitative research in illustrating issues and presenting the need for services. She argues that statistical research is often perceived as the most valid form of research by those in positions of power and therefore to ensure that my research

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[6] Broken rainbow was the only LGBT specific Domestic Abuse helpline in the UK. This lost funding in 2016. Pace Health was a health promotion charity for the LGBT community providing key mental health services, this also lost funding in 2016.

is useful to the trans and non-binary community it felt essential to provide some quantitative results.

Due to the sensitive nature of hate crime victimisation and researching a hard to reach population the survey was conducted online. Miller and Sonderlund (2010) argue that using the internet as a tool for conducting research provides unprecedented opportunities to reach previously inaccessible populations. Distributing the survey online meant that my participants could access the survey at a location of their choice and provided ultimate autonomy without feelings of pressure that may have resulted from a researcher's presence. Participants could take a break from answering questions at their discretion, answer honestly without experiencing feelings of judgement and it provided participants with a heightened sense of anonymity (Potter and Chatwin, 2011), which is particularly pertinent for this research study. All of these benefits of distributing a survey online were considered and led to this decision.

Existing literature and professional experiences informed the question construction of the survey. To ensure the survey was accessible and coherent I firstly tested the survey myself, by completing all questions to ensure the flow of the survey was correct. Following this, I used convenience sampling to recruit 10 participants to pilot the online survey. The purpose of the pilot was to ensure there were no technical errors and the survey was accessible on a range of devices. I was also seeking feedback on the ordering, relevance and suitability of the questions that were included in the survey. The piloting process and participant's feedback was extremely helpful and led to some key changes in the online survey. Some participants noted there would be no way of identifying their results if they had changed their mind and wanted to withdraw from the study. Participants also noted that the 'Informed Consent' section that participants were required to read and agree too was very long. Furthermore, when questions asked participants to answer about

experiences of hate crime, participants were unsure what incident of hate crime they should discuss. Other feedback was received (for a full table of feedback received and changes made please see 'Appendix Two').

After changes were made because of feedback from the pilot the survey was then distributed. In order to determine the optimum sample size a power calculation was conducted. Several different calculations were made to obtain a range of sample sizes. Different calculations were made based on changing expected sample proportions and a range of pairwise comparisons were made. To detect a 10% difference using a confidence level of 95% and 80% probability of detecting significant difference the optimum sample size is 389.

The online survey needed responses from individuals who were aged 16 and over and who self-identified as trans or non-binary. The age was set at 16 to avoid issues around parental consent needed to participate. Additionally, bullying within the school setting occurs in an institutionalised context and should be understood 'in terms of the situational dynamics of tension and fear within interactions' (Schott, 2014) and therefore the experiences are likely to differ from incidents outside of school. This is not to say that bullying within a school cannot also be considered a hate crime. On the contrary, many actions in school fit within a hate crime framework. However, within school settings it is likely that incidents will be dealt with within the school, using restorative justice.

Furthermore, participants did not need to have experienced a hate crime to participate as the survey aims to collect data relating to participants knowledge of support services, perceptions of policing and internet use which can be answered without having experienced abuse. The survey also aimed to explore the frequency, types of crime

experienced and perceptions of policing through an intersectional lens and therefore it was beneficial to recruit participants who had experienced abuse and those who hadn't. Having both sets of participants allowed for an analysis of these experiences and predictive models to be created.

Purposive sampling was used to target individuals who self-identify as trans or non-binary. This method of sampling was used by Browne (2005) who highlighted the benefit of personal connections when accessing hard to reach populations as obtaining a random, probability sample is often impractical (Abbot and McKinney, 2013). Mindful of this, I intended to recruit participants by capitalizing on existing relationships with gatekeepers at organisations with access to large populations of trans and non-binary individuals, which I hoped would ensure I obtained a diverse sample. I also contacted each UK based Gender Identity Clinic (GIC) and contacted every UK university through e-mail, Facebook and Twitter. Only two GIC's responded to my e-mail and agreed to publicise the survey in their waiting rooms. Only 9 universities in the UK responded to any communication. As a result of non-engagement from gatekeepers, social media became the main platform of recruitment. Through identifying key figures within the trans and non-binary community, I was able to engage with them on social media and through their encouragement, sharing and re-tweeting I was able to reach much larger populations. Although I intended to obtain a diverse sample, it is acknowledged that even participants obtained from the most diverse sectors of the trans and non-binary community are still likely to represent more active members of the community and therefore may still present the project with sampling bias. This thesis acknowledges the limitations of representation non-probability sampling present (Adler and Clark, 2007), however, given the lack of insight into the community it is the most suitable method for this study.

There were further issues with sampling, in relation to the advertisement of the research. As acknowledged earlier, the landscape of gender identity expands continuously, and language is introduced and rendered obsolete rapidly. It was therefore unsurprising to encounter issues with language used on advertisement materials. I received feedback from one student union requesting that the advertising material was changed so that 'Trans*' was changed to 'Trans'. The use of the asterisk was discussed with members of the trans community who felt that the asterisk signalled the highest level of inclusion with regards to 'trans' being an umbrella term. However, the student union felt that the use of the asterisk was exclusionary and would not publicise the research without an edit. As a result, various versions of the poster were created to ensure that the advertising was appealing and inclusive to the widest range of people. A total of 396 online surveys were completed (Appendix 1). In order to utilise a critical pluralistic methodology, it was important to engage in both 'extensive' and 'intensive' methods of data collection and as such, semi-structured interviews were also conducted.

3.3.2 - Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were also conducted to obtain qualitative data (Appendix 3). The interviews explored participants' experiences of 'everyday' and 'mundane' transphobic hate crime. Given that the research aims to highlight the 'lived experiences' of those who experience hate crime targeting their gender identity, collecting qualitative data was necessary to fulfil the aims. As such, this method of data collection fits within a critical realist approach to 'intensive' data collection, in that the data collected focused upon individual experiences and narratives that discursively describe empirical manifestations of causal mechanisms of hate crime. Miller and Glassner (2004) argue that interviews are the means through which the researcher can access and explore the meanings people attribute to their experiences. This fits within the wider

epistemological approach of this research, acknowledging the individual experiences and the lack of one, objective truth. Interviews have been utilised by scholars researching hate crime experiences (Awan & Zempi, 2017; Gavrielides, 2012; Meyer, 2010) as Patton (2002:9) describes the 'simple yet elegant and insightful' nature of qualitative research. Qualitative research can allow for a more nuanced understanding of the issues being explored.

Consideration was given to the structure of the interviews and the level of structure that should be used. It was decided that semi-structured interviews would be the most appropriate. Fylan (2005) highlights the flexible nature of semi-structured interviews which allowed the interviews to be directed by the research but provided flexibility for participants to discuss issues which were most important to them. This was important, as I did not want to inadvertently exclude potentially important topics by having a focused, inflexible interview schedule. Hesse-Biber (2012:20) notes how 'the interview has been used frequently by feminist research as a way for researchers and participants to work together to illuminate experience'. This is particularly important for this study, as the interview questions were informed by the results of the online survey. Therefore, the experiences of those who participated in the survey were able to inform and influence the topics discussed throughout the interviews.

Interviews were offered to participants online via a video messaging service of their choice or face-to-face if this could logistically be achieved. Six of the interviews were conducted face-to-face, the remaining interviews were conducted online, primarily using Skype to facilitate the interviews. Interviews were offered online to remain in keeping with the online focus of this research and early exploration of survey data suggested that participants agreed that the internet was a vital way for them to connect with others. James and Busher (2009: 5) argue that 'the Internet has consolidated itself

as a powerful platform that has changed the way individuals communicate'. Considering this, I embraced online communication to facilitate the data collection process of this research project. The face-to-face interviews were conducted in venues pre-arranged by me with the consent of the participants. They were usually private rooms in community centres which I was able to access.

Purposive sampling was used to recruit trans and non-binary individuals who self-declared to having experienced a hate crime targeting their gender identity. Similarly, to the method used for recruitment for the online survey, existing relationships with organisations who support and work with trans and non-binary individuals were used to access participants. As with the recruitment process for the online survey, this method of sampling proved difficult and utilising social media was used again. Participants who engaged in semi-structured interviews then shared and recommended the research project, so a snowball effect occurred. Participants were then recruited through recommendations from previous participants. I initially intended to aim to conduct 40 semi-structured interviews, in the hope that this would provide me with a diverse sample and enough data for saturation to occur. Forty was a guide number, and I conducted 32 semi-structured interviews. I finished data collection after 32 interviews as I was guided by the process of saturation rather than meeting strict sampling size aims.

Criteria were set for participants to be able to participate in this research study. Firstly, participants had to self-identify as trans, non-binary or outside of the dominant gender binary. Secondly, participants had to be aged 16 or over to participate, as discussed earlier this was to minimise issues around informed consent and parental permission to participate. Thirdly, participants had to live in the UK, this was to ensure that all participants were living in the same social, economic and political climate when

discussing their experiences. I may have been able to interview participants from other countries given the online facilitation of interviews, but this may have skewed potential themes if participants' experiences were contextualised within different legal, political and social frameworks. Finally, it was decided that participants had to self-declare as having experienced a hate crime. This was a result of the aims of the interviews to contextualise the 'lived reality' of experiencing hate crimes and therefore those who hadn't experienced a hate crime would not be beneficial to the aims. However, as discussed earlier in the thesis, the term 'hate crime' has specific connotations because of media, political and academic framing of these incidents. As I was particularly interested in exploring what may be considered 'low-level' incidents such as verbal abuse, harassment and property offences, the criteria were then changed to participants self-declaring as having experienced abuse, discrimination or prejudice which may be more closely associated with the particular types of incidents I was interested in.

The data from the semi-structured interviews was explored to identify key and recurring or contradictory themes that informed the construction of the interview schedule. Careful consideration was given to the overarching structure of the interview schedule (Appendix Three). A question was also added to the interview schedule at a later stage regarding public toilets as a result of the discourse analysis that had been conducted on comments posted on *YouTube* videos regarding 'gender-neutral' toilets. Personal experiences of victimisation that were likely to be sensitive issues were discussed in the middle section of the interview schedule. This was intentionally done to ensure that participants had time to relax and establish a good researcher-participant relationship which Marvasti (2004) argues is a necessary factor of research with humans. The interview ended on exploring participants experiences of policing and knowledge of local and national support services.

The first interview conducted was treated as a pilot interview. Following this interview, the schedule was amended, as it was too restrictive and focused and felt more like a structured interview. Having such a structure was not helpful in appreciating the lived reality of participants' experiences and could potentially lead to important issues not being discussed thoroughly. It also allowed me as the researcher to familiarise myself with the interview schedule in action which resulted in me changing the structure of the questions that were asked. This interview allowed me to build confidence in my interviewing technique, particularly around appreciating silences within the interview and allowing participants time to reflect before answering.

I always began the interviews with general questions about how participants were feeling and how their day had been to ensure participants could relax into the researcher-participant relationship. I then reminded participants of the nature of the research and confirming that they understood their rights as a participant in relation to withdrawing from the study, confidentiality and anonymity. The details outlined on the 'Informed Consent' document (Appendix Twelve) were recapped and participants were asked if they had any questions before the interview began. I also confirmed participants consented to the interviews being audio recorded to enable me to transcribe the interviews at a later date. All participants agreed, except two, who requested that the audio recording not be kept after the interview had been transcribed.

3.3.3 - Discourse Analysis

The final method of data collection involved sampling comments from *YouTube* videos and conducting discourse analysis on these comments. Discourse analysis is primarily concerned with how specific phenomena or identities are constructed and understood and what is achieved through this construction. Discourse analysis has a social

constructionist underpinning (Starks and Trinidad, 2007) but some discourse analysts have chosen to locate their work within a critical realist framework. These writers regard dominant, hegemonic discourses as privileging versions of social reality that accord with and reinforce existing social structures and the networks of power relations associated with them (for example, see Parker, 1992). Discourse analysts operating within a critical realist stance study the availability of discursive resources within a culture and the implications that this carriers for those living within that culture (Coyle, 2016). In this thesis, the discourse analysis aspect follows that trend while acknowledging that, in practice, there is a high degree of overlap between a social constructionist position and the outworking of critical realism here. The discourse analytic study embodies a critical realist 'intensive' approach to data collection, in that it explores the empirically observable discursive construction of trans people and gender-neutral toilets.

Networking websites have become a significant part of everyday life (Koskinski *et al.* 2015). Given the focus of this research project on the 'everyday' experiences of hate crime it is essential to explore online spaces, as Baltar and Brunet (2012:57) argue that 'everyday an amount of activities take place in this "online" reality where individuals express thoughts, intentions and opinions about events that happen in their "real" world'. The internet has enabled abuse to move to a virtual realm and Waddington (2010) acknowledges the detrimental effect threatening and abusive comments can have on individuals who are targeted. Comments are often allowed to be posted in response to the video's content. The inherently 'everyday' nature of *YouTube* videos provided a useful insight into transphobia within the virtual realm. Given the lack of current research into transphobia online this research project aimed to establish how the internet is being used to target trans and non-binary identities and what discursive tools are used.

Coupled with data collected from the semi-structured interviews, this allows this research project to develop a wider picture of the experiences of the trans and non-binary community online.

It was important to explore a topic that would have contemporary social and political implications. A number of different potential topics were explored that could be used as a *search term* to sample videos. These included coming out stories, hate crime and using key trans and non-binary Vloggers as case studies. However, these did not quite fit with the aims of this study. I wanted to ensure I was maintaining a focus on the 'everyday' experiences of trans and non-binary individuals. After various discussions with my supervisory team and presenting ideas at conferences I decided to focus on public toilets. This ties in with the wider context of my research, as public toilets can be considered an integral part of 'everyday' life. Toilets represent one of the major sex segregated spaces in the UK that reinforce the gender binary and undoubtedly impact the choices trans and non-binary individuals in an everyday context. Furthermore, as Alex Faktor (2011) argues, they represent a major site of abuse for trans and non-binary people based on the 'difference' they present.

To obtain the data that would be subjected to discourse analysis, 10 videos were randomly sample from *YouTube*. To sample the data, the term 'Gender-Neutral Toilets' was used to search *YouTube*. Filters were applied to only display videos uploaded within the last 12 months. The sampling was all done within one day, so as to not include new videos if sampling was spread across a time period. Videos were sampled on Monday 1st May 2017. A total of 431 videos were compiled into a database and assigned a number from 1 to 431. Out of 431 videos identified through an initial search, 100 met the inclusion criteria concerning relevance to the topic of gender-neutral toilets, having elicited at least five comments from viewers, and not being duplicates of other

videos. An online 'random number generator' was then used to select a manageable sample of ten videos. This method is similar to the method employed by Snee (2013) who used a keyword to sample blogs for analysis.

Unlike the other sampling criteria for the online survey and semi-structured interviews, the online element of this research did not require the publishers of selected videos to be UK based. It can be argued that the development of the Internet and the rise of social media has led to the development of a virtual global community (Ohler, 2010) where access can be gained from anywhere in the world. Therefore, it is feasible that even if a video is posted from Australia and only has Australian residents commenting on the video, trans and non-binary residents from the UK can view and interact with this content.

Conducting research with data obtained online provided immediate, qualitative data that was uninfluenced by the researcher. The online interaction was initiated and determined by the participant themselves (McDermott, 2011; McDermott & Roen, 2012). However, there is also bias that exists by exploring abuse generated online, both victims and perpetrators of online abuse are likely to represent the most active members of the community, and therefore the more difficult to reach populations may be overlooked. Furthermore, as previously discussed, there is a lack of research into the construction of trans and non-binary identities online and given the rise of social media use, it is essential to explore this medium of communication.

Once the final ten videos had been sampled, all the comments posted on these videos were compiled in a word document, ensuring that there was a clear distinction between comments posted in direct response to the video itself, and comments that were posted in response to other comments. The comments were left exactly as they had been

posted, no grammatical or spelling errors were corrected, and the use of capital letters, italics and emoticons all remained included in the data. It was important to do this so as not to skew any interpretation of the data. I read through each comment and removed any comments that were not relevant. For example, commenters who simply commented 'First' to signal that they were the first user to comment on the video were removed, as they did not contribute to understanding and answering the research questions proposed.

Despite this being an innovative method in the field of hate studies exploring abuse targeting trans and non-binary identities there were difficulties and limitations that were encountered throughout the process. As the data was naturally occurring, there was a lack of context for some comments. This may be because of a user deleting their own comments, or *YouTube* removing comments for violating guidelines. Consequently, it may be that some of the most abusive comments were not sampled as a result of them already having been removed. It therefore appeared that some threads of conversation were nonsensical as commenters appeared to be replying only to themselves. Furthermore, commenters are required to actively click on another user's comment to reply directly to that user, however, some users simply just post a new comment and therefore it was not always clear if there was a direct relationship between one user's comment and a response.

3.4 Data Analysis

In analysing the data, it was important to ensure that the results from each method of data collection were complementary and did not exist as three independent studies. As such, careful consideration was given to the data collected in this research and how the data could best be analysed to provide a well-rounded account of trans people's

experiences of transphobic hate crime. There were significant overlaps in the data

collected from all three methods of data collection, and consequently, the 'intensive'

data collected from the semi-structured interviews was useful in identifying

explanations for some of the statistical relationships established in the online surveys.

3.4.1 - Online Surveys

A total of 396 online surveys were completed (See Appendix Four for a full breakdown

of participants demographic information). The data collected from the online surveys

was collated using Statistics Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). This programme

was also used to conduct a range of statistical tests to analyse the data. Basic descriptive

analysis was conducted to illustrate basic demographic information of the sample

including participants gender identity, sexuality, race, religion and disability status to

create a picture of those involved within the research project, to highlight the diversity

of participants. To begin the analysis, a range of descriptive analytical tests were

conducted that mainly consist of frequency analysis. This allowed for an exploration of

participants' overall experiences of hate crime targeting their gender identity, but also

any other characteristic they deem to be important. This initial analysis also allowed for

an exploration of participants' opinions and perceptions of hate crime, the policing of

hate crime, impact of hate crime, online experiences and knowledge and access of

support services. This simple analysis is vital in highlighting participants' experiences

but also drew attention to emerging trends that require further analysis.

Further analysis was also conducted, through an intersectional lens, to explore

participants' experiences of hate crime targeting their gender identity, online

interactions, the impact of these incidents and perceptions of policing across

participants gender identity, sexuality, race, religion and disability status. Before any

detailed statistical analysis was conducted, basic Chi-Squared tests were conducted to test the probability of independence of the data collected. These tests allowed for an exploration of how likely it was that basic demographic characteristics, gender, sexuality, race, religion and disability status were completely independent of participants experiences of hate crime. Whilst these tests do not clarify the nature of the relationship between two variables, it does highlight those that warrant further investigation. To establish this, several null hypotheses were created in order to be tested. Once a relationship was established, binary logistic regression was then conducted to establish the odds of experiencing a hate crime based on one of the previously mentioned characteristics. These tests also allowed for an exploration of the predicted odds of participants expressing a particular perception of hate crime, or the policing of hate crime, based on their personal demographic information. Particular attention was paid to questions relating to participants' confidence levels both pre and post experiences of hate crime and this was pivotal in highlighting the extent of the consequences experienced after experiencing a hate which complements the qualitative data collected from the semi-structured interviews.

In analysing the data, I sought to answer the following research questions:

1. What actions are perceived as hate crime? Where, and by whom is this abuse perceived to be most likely to be perpetrated?

2. Which forms of abuse are experienced most commonly by transgender and non-binary individuals?

3. What barriers to reporting incidents of hate crime are identified by transgender and non-binary people?

4. How do transgender and non-binary participants respond to incidents of low-level, 'everyday' abuse?

5. How do transgender and non-binary participants intersectional characteristics influence their experiences of hate crime victimisation?

3.4.2 - Semi-Structured Interviews

A total of 32 semi-structured interviews were completed. Table 1 below shows a breakdown of participants' demographic information. It can be seen from the demographic information provided below that the sample was diverse in terms of age, gender, race, sexuality, religion and disability status. Participants were also located at areas across the UK.

Table 1 - Interviewee Demographic Information

Name	Age	Gender	Sexuality	Race	Religion	Disability	Area
Brian	20	Male	Pansexual	Black British	Christian	N	Manchester
Jae	21	NB	Pansexual	White British	N/A	Y	Cambridge
Deena	34	Female	Heterosexual	Black British	Muslim	N	London
Laura	57	Female	Heterosexual	White British	Christian	Y	North Yorkshire
Callum	19	Demi-male	Pansexual	White British	N/A	N	Wales
Corrina	21	Female	Heterosexual	White Irish/Traveller	Catholic	N	Liverpool
Ryan	17	Male	Gay	White British	N/A	N	London
Piper	42	Female	Bisexual	White British	N/A	Y	Greenwich
Dilip	45	Male	Gay	British Asian	Sikh	N	Nottingham
Melody	17	Non-Binary	Pansexual	White British	N/A	Y	Greenwich
Bushra	29	Female	Heterosexual	Asian Bangladesh	Muslim	Y	Croydon
Joe	28	Gender Queer	Pansexual	Black British	Christian	Y	Kingston
Elaine	48	Female	Lesbian	Mixed: White British &	Christian	Y	Wembley

				Black Caribbean			
Lia	17	Female	Bisexual	Mixed: White British & South American	N/A	N	Essex
Rachel	18	Female	Heterosexual	White British	N/A	N	Romford
Emmet	30	Male	Bisexual	White Irish/Traveller	Catholic	Y	Enfield
Ashley	34	Male	Asexual	White British	N/A	N	Scarborough
Star	44	Non-Binary	Asexual	White British	N/A	N	Glasgow
Monica	20	Female	Heterosexual	White British	N/A	Y	Glasgow
Sam	31	Male	Gay	Asian Pakistan	Muslim	Y	Leeds
Nastasia	26	Female	Bisexual	White European	N/A	N	Sheffield
Cody	29	Male	Heterosexual	American	N/A	N	Manchester
Joby	17	Gender Fluid	Pansexual	White British	N/A	N	London
Isa	58	Female	Heterosexual	White British	Christian	N	Stoke-On-Trent
Peter	41	Male	Gay	White British	N/A	N	Southwark
Simon	47	Male	Bisexual	White British	Christian	Y	Lewisham
Ty	21	Non-Binary	Pansexual	Mixed: Black African & White British	N/A	N	Kent
Madee	24	Female	Heterosexual	Thai	N/A	N	Kent
Ruby	52	Female	Heterosexual	White British	N/A	N	Hereford
Tom	19	Male	Bisexual	White British	N/A	Y	Swansea
Rose	67	Female	Bisexual	White British	N/A	Y	Dorset

The data obtained from the semi-structured interviews were transcribed verbatim into documents using Microsoft Word. Interviews were fully transcribed, only excluding sentences participants requested to have excluded. The data obtained from the semi-structured interviews were analysed thematically guided by the six steps outlined by

Clarke and Braun (2006). This type of analysis provided a fluidity that allowed the data to contextualise participants' experiences within a qualitative framework to ensure the lived reality of participants is appreciated. An inductive approach was taken to analyse the data, as the lack of current research into the 'everyday' and 'mundane' experiences of hate crime creates difficulty in trying to locate pre-existing themes. Using an inductive analytical approach avoids many of the pitfalls associated with deductive analysis including obscuring, reframing or excluding key themes initiated by predetermined frameworks (Thomas, 2008). NVivo 11 was used to code and theme transcripts collected from the semi-structured interviews.

Thematic analysis was chosen as an appropriate method of analysis for the data collected as it was intended that the data be analysed in such a way to identify, analyse and report patterns within the data collected (Appendix Five for example of coded interview transcript). Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that thematic analysis is not attached to any pre-existing theoretical framework. As the research questions for this element of the research sought to uncover the lived experiences of participants, rather than prove or disprove an existing theoretical perspective, this method of data analysis was deemed most appropriate. The approach taken to thematic analysis is an essentially critically realist approach, in that the analysis seeks to report the experiences, meanings and realities of participants, rather than a constructionist approach which Braun and Clarke (2006:9) argue 'examines the ways in which events, realities, meanings, experiences and so on are the effects of a range of discourses operating within society'. However, it is acknowledged that there is no one singular, objective truth that exists, but rather a range of interrelated and subjective understandings which are equally valid (Ussher, 1999). This thesis acknowledges that participants experience and construct their own subjective realities, nonetheless 'qualitative data need not be restricted to an

assessment of micro-level interactions' (Crinson, 2001). By adopting a critical realist approach, our understanding of the interdependence of social structures can be broadened.

Data analysis began with a familiarisation of the data which commenced during transcription and also involved reading through all completed transcripts and recording initial thoughts. Following this, codes and sub-codes were assigned to the data to capture key analytical ideas. The codes were primarily descriptive, capturing the essence of what was present, and absent, within the data. Once the data was initially coded, they were reviewed, to ensure consistency and to reflect on the relevance of the codes. This was followed by a process of developing key themes that were present within the data, by collating data that all related to similar, or contradictory experiences and perceptions.

The interpretation of these themes was conducted by re-reading the interview transcripts, re-reading the data assigned to each code and also reading relevant literature. The themes developed were also checked against the audio recordings of the interviews, in order to clarify different tones participants used to ensure that the data was understood as best intended. The themes developed were compared and reviewed and were further separated in order to highlight different nuances in meaning. Alternatively, some themes were combined as they significantly overlapped (Allen *et al.,* 2009). In doing so, the data was ordered and organised into themes and sub-themes. A theme was distinguished from a sub-theme based on its inclusivity of sub-themes and possessing a greater potential for analytic and explanatory scope than a sub-theme (Gleibs, Sonnenberg and Haslam, 2014). From this, three interpretive themes were defined of which all consisted of three or more sub-codes. The three themes that were developed are: 'Normalcy and the Everyday', 'Space, Place and Belonging', 'The

Hierarchical Nature of Hate Crime Victimisation'. Each of these themes consisted of several sub-themes (Table 2)

Table 2: Interview Data Themes and Subthemes

Theme	Sub-Themes
Normalcy and the Everyday	- Victimisation as a Result of Daily Routine - Micro-Crimes and Victimisation as an Inherent and Pervasive part of Daily Life - Online Victimisation and Participants' Relationship with the Internet as Part of the 'Everyday' - The Impact of 'Everyday' Experiences
The Hierarchical Nature of Hate Crime Victimisation	- Social Hierarchy of Protected Characteristics - Hierarchy of Offence Type - Hierarchical Nature of Victim-Perpetrator Relationship - Impact of Hierarchies on Policing and Reporting Practice's
Space, Place and Belonging	- The Policing of Gender and the Distinction Between Public and Private - Othering: From Within and Out - No Safe Space: The Role of Intersectionality in Hate Crime Victimisation

Once broad themes were developed, these were reviewed, ensuring that the data collated was relevant, supportive and that they had been sufficiently defined, ensuring that they were not too broad and significant attention was paid to the data. Themes were then defined, clarifying and defining what the purpose was, identifying what they contributed to the thesis and how sub-themes relate and interact with each other. In analysing the data, I sought to answer the following questions:

1. How do socially dominant conceptualisations of hate crime, relating to severity, perpetrators and 'legitimate' protected characteristics influence participants' perceptions and understanding of their own experiences?

2. How do transgender and non-binary people respond to their experiences of low-level, 'everyday' abuse?

3. How do socially dominant conceptualisations of hate crime, relating to severity, perpetrators and 'legitimate' victim status influence participants' decision to report, or not report incidents of transphobic micro-crimes?

4. What is the immediate impact for transgender and non-binary people experiencing this type of victimisation?

5. What are the long-term practical implications of this abuse?

6. How do intersectional identities influence transgender and non-binary people's experiences of transphobic micro-crimes?

3.4.3 - Discourse Analysis

Ten videos were randomly sampled from *YouTube* using the *search term* 'gender-neutral toilet'. Three videos (two from the UK and one from the USA) involving discussions about and the sharing of opinions on gender-neutral toilets were produced by cisgender people and two (one from the USA and one from the UK) by trans people. One other video produced in the USA involved a trans woman asking members of the public if they would be concerned about sharing a toilet with her. One video was a feature from the *Jimmy Kimmel Live* show (a late-night talk show in the USA) asking the American public what they thought about gender-neutral toilets. Three videos were produced by US news stations and covered a news story relating to President Obama's guidance to schools allowing students to access toilets according to the gender with which they identified. Comments on these ten videos were excluded from the data set if they did not directly address 'gender-neutral toilets' or trans people or if they were illogical or irrelevant to the study. Using these criteria, the 2,328 comments produced in response to the videos were reduced to 1,756 comments that were relevant to the study.

The qualitative data obtained from *YouTube* videos were subjected to a form of discourse analysis referred to as critical discursive psychology (Wetherell, 1998). Critical discursive psychology was selected as the most appropriate method of analysis as Coyle (2016) describes the approach of critical discursive psychology as a form of social action. Given the focus of this research on the 'everyday lived experiences' of trans and non-binary people, critical discursive psychology was deemed particularly suitable as an appropriate research method as Wiggins (2016:4) describes this analytic method as being concerned with 'psychology *as it is lived* by people in everyday life – for example, how people make the minds, identities or emotions of others relevant in interaction – by their practices and social interactions rather than their individual thoughts or experiences'. Critical discursive psychology can therefore be said to be concerned with social practices rather than motivations of individuals. This ties in with the wider research aims of this thesis of exploring the everyday social practices that influence trans and non-binary peoples' experiences of mundane, low-level incidents of abuse.

Discourse analysis has been selected as an analytic tool to explore the way in which language is used by perpetrators to subordinate those that their abuse targets (Given, 2008). As existing literature suggests that transphobic hate crime is a means of subordinating those who identify outside of the traditional gender binary it is appropriate to conduct discourse analysis to identify and explore how language is also used within the virtual world to 'other' and de-legitimise trans individuals.

Wiggins (2016) further outlines the core principles and assumptions of critical discursive psychology:

1. Discourse is both constructed and constructive

2. Discourse is situated within a social context

3. Discourse is action-orientated

Firstly, she argues that discourse can be simultaneously constructed and constructive. In this sense, it can be argued that discourse is socially constructed, and the construction is dependent on a range of culturally available resources including words, phrases and expressions. Furthermore, discourse is also constructive and Wiggins (2016:10) argues that discourse 'brings particular versions of reality, particular 'truths', into being'. Given the research questions focus on the construction of trans people and contemporary debates around 'gender-neutral' toilets, this key assumption synergises with the aim of this research.

Secondly, Wiggins (2016) suggests that discourse is situated within a particular social context. This can be interactionally, rhetorically or in relation to a turn-taking sequence. Interactionally, the discourse analysed was within the context of an anonymous online setting in which no official 'roles' have been assigned and there appears to be an equal opportunity for all involved to contribute. However, she also argues that discourse is situated rhetorically and suggests that discourse constructs one particular version of reality and undermines alternative constructions. This is intrinsically related to the situational context previously discussed. Despite on appearance the situational context provides an equal opportunity for all those involved to contribute, when the rhetorical context is considered, it becomes clear that the opportunity for equal contribution and the production of alternative discourse is stifled.

Finally, she suggests that discourse is action-oriented. More specifically, Wiggins (2016:14) suggests that 'if discourse constructs particular versions of reality, and these constructions are situated in particular social contexts, then there will be particular

functions or actions that are accomplished by the discourse'. This assumption is particularly relevant to this research study as it is assumed that the particular discursive construction of trans people and gender-neutral toilets will result in real-life implications. Arguably, the motifs invoked in these constructions all orient towards the legitimisation or de-legitimisation of trans people. Considering the three core assumptions of critical discursive psychology this method of data analysis was considered the most appropriate in achieving the set aims of this research study.

Two key research questions were developed in relation to the collection of this data:

1. How are transgender and non-binary people constructed online?

2. How are 'gender-neutral toilets' constructed online?

In answering these questions, a number of key themes were developed (Table 3).

Table 3: Overview of Themes – Discourse Analysis

Theme	Subtheme
1. Gender-neutral toilets as sites of sexual danger	1.1 Male Sexuality as Uncontrollable: Risk of Sexual Violence 1.2 Male Sexuality as Uncontrollable: Child Victimisation 1.3 Male Sexuality as Uncontrollable: Public and Private Spaces 1.4 Transgender People as Offenders 1.5 Safety in Segregation
2. Claiming victimhood: Gender-neutral toilets as undermining the rights of cisgender people	2.1 Victim of a Political Agenda 2.2 Loss of Rights, Privacy and Safety 2.3 The End of the World
3. The de-legitimisation and 'othering' of transgender people	3.1 Mental Health Claims as a Method of Pathologizing Transgender People 3.2 Transgender people as challenging the given order: Invocations of nature and biology 3.3 Mobilization of Religious and Moral Values and Norms 3.4 Media Responsibility for a 'modern trend' of Transgender 3.5 Reinforcing Gendered Binaries: Invoking Physicality

3.5 Ethical Considerations

The design of the research project was created to be compliant with The British Society of Criminology's 'Statement of Ethics[7]'. Furthermore, a favourable opinion was obtained from Kingston University's Ethical Committee (Appendix Six). The onus on the researcher to protect and safeguard participants from harm was key in the design of the methodology. It was anticipated that a range of ethical concerns could arise throughout the entirety of the research and measures were taken to minimise the risks. Israel and Hay (2006:2) argued that ensuring ethical issues have been considered prevent 'long-term, systematic harm to those individuals' participating in the study. This section discusses the ethical considerations and decisions that were made in this study to ensure that the participants in the research study were protected from harm. These considerations are organised into four areas of discussion: voluntary participation; informed consent; potential risk of harm, and privacy, confidentiality and anonymity.

3.5.1 - Voluntary Participation

Rubin and Babbie (2010: 257) argue that 'a major tenet of research ethics is that participation must be voluntary' and there should be no coercion, deception or manipulation to obtain participation. To ensure this was achieved, all advertisement materials for the research were e-mailed, posted and displayed on social media accounts. All participants in both the online survey and semi-structured interviews were able to read 'Participant Information Sheets' (Appendices Seven and Eight) prior to participating which outlined the aims and nature of the research project and highlighted participation was voluntary and they had the right to withdraw at any time without fear

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[7] http://www.britsoccrim.org/documents/BSCEthics2015.pdf Retrieved October 29th 2015.

of negative consequences. Furthermore, the debrief document (Appendices Nine and Ten) also highlighted participants right to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

3.5.2 - Informed Consent

Not only should participation be voluntary, it should be voluntary based on the assumption that participants are fully informed of the nature of the research and what will be expected of them before they participate. Babbie's (2008) recommendations for obtaining informed consent were considered, ensuring that all participants in the online survey or interviews received a 'Research Information' document which explicitly outlined the nature of the research. This document also provided contact details so participants were able to contact me to ask any questions before participating. Many scholars argue that this is a crucial form of respecting the participant's autonomy to make decisions regarding participation as well as being a key part of the process to protect their safety and rights (Fisher, 2012; Miller and Salkind, 2002). It was important that participants had access to this information and had time to thoroughly consider their voluntary participation. This meant they needed to be aware of the purpose of the study including the aims, the foreseeable time commitment required to participant, what topics would be covered within the research and also the potential benefits and risks to participants if they chose to participate. Participants who engaged in semi-structured interviews were sent the relevant documents prior to participating and all of the details above were discussed verbally just before the interview commenced when they were reminded of their right to withdraw, their right to pause or stop the interview at any time and they were reminded of the purpose of the research.

In order to ensure I could evidence participants consent 'Informed Consent' documents were required to be filled in by all research participants (Appendices Six and Seven).

The documents required them to confirm that they had been given all relevant information, understood the information provided and voluntarily consented to participate. All of the documents and information participants were provided with had previously received a favourable opinion from Kingston University's Ethical Committee.

Conducting discourse analysis of comments posted in response to videos uploaded to *YouTube* presented a range of different ethical concerns. Initially, I had intended to use comments posted in response to personal blogs, so had intended to obtain informed consent from the publisher of the blog. However, throughout the research process it became clear that data would be easier to obtain from *YouTube*. This meant that the data obtained came from a range of different video formats. Some videos were social experiments, some personal vlogs and some news stories. Therefore, it became impractical to obtain informed consent from the publisher of each video.

3.5.3 - Potential Risk of Harm

As this research explored sensitive and personal issues there was the potential that participants would experience harmful psychological and/or emotional consequences as a result of their participation in this research project. The 'Participant Information' document outlined any potential adverse consequences for participants. Baxter (2005) argued that this allows participants the time and capacity to prepare psychologically for any outcomes of participation. Furthermore, careful consideration was given to structure of the online survey and semi-structured interviews. Questions collecting demographic information and general questions regarding hate crime and abuse made up the first section of both the online surveys and semi-structured interviews. This allowed participants time to relax into the questions being asked and in the case of the

interviews, allowed time for a rapport to be established between myself and the participant. Care was also taken not to use the word 'victim' excessively, although some argue that the word 'victim' is positive as it has connotations of blamelessness and innocence (Burton, 1998), I was cautious not to impose victim status onto participants who do not consider themselves victims.

For all participants, any adverse consequences observed or reported to the researcher would have been reported back to the supervisory team and also Kingston University's Ethics Committee. Participants were also provided with a 'Debrief Form' which gave details of local and national support services which are free of charge for participants to access should they feel the need for further emotional support post-participation. This was to ensure that the risk of long term psychological or emotional distress was minimised. During one interview, a participant began to become distressed when discussing abuse they had experienced perpetrated by family members. In this instance, I was able to interrupt the interview to ensure they would like to continue and was also able to recommend a free crisis support service which they were keen to access.

Gilbert (2004) argues that protectionism can often cause the researcher to neglect the often-empowering potential of being involved in research that addresses issues concerning the participant. It is important to acknowledge that discussing and reflecting on potentially distressing events and experiences does not always lead to psychological and/or emotional harm. Dickson-Swift *et al.* (2006) argue that many research participants find involvement in research valuable and therapeutic and can provide a sense of catharsis. This can often result in comfort, feelings of validation and lead to empowerment. Participants are able to discuss their experiences with someone who is interested and invested in their experience. This is true of this study, many participants

communicated feelings of relief and comfort post-participation in the study, particularly the semi-structured interviews.

3.5.4 - Privacy, Confidentiality and Anonymity

The researchers guarantee, and boundaries of privacy, confidentiality and anonymity were all available for participants to read in the information provided to them. All data collected from participants were guaranteed to remain confidential within the limits of the law and in accordance with the Data Protection Act (1998). Assuring confidentiality and anonymity were guaranteed to safeguard participants from unwanted exposure. Furthermore, confidentiality and anonymity were guaranteed to ensure participants felt comfortable in disclosing information in the knowledge that their opinions and experiences were confidential. Participants were made aware that direct quotes and some experiences would be used within the final written thesis and that results may be used for further publications post the completion of this PhD project. Direct quotes within the paper are associated with a pseudonym and any parts of an interview that participants requested were not published were respected. As recommended by King & Horrocks (2010) all electronic information was stored in password protected folders only accessible by me, with electronic data being transported between locations being encrypted. All hard copies of information were locked securely in a filing cabinet.

Collecting data from videos posted on *YouTube* presented an ethical dilemma in relation to invading participants' privacy. Despite a wealth of resources available addressing issues of ethical considerations in traditional, offline contexts (British Society of Criminology, 2015; Cowburn *et al.,* 2016; Israel, 2014) there are fewer comprehensive guidelines available to researchers collecting data from online sources. Before collecting data from internet sources, a number of different resources were consulted

before making final decisions regarding the ethical concerns of the online element of this research. The British Society of Criminology's (2015) ethical guidelines do address internet-mediated research but do not provide any coherent guidelines or frameworks for researchers to follow but do suggests that researchers should be aware of ethical dilemmas that may arise and to exercise particular caution when engaging with vulnerable populations.

Two main tensions arose in the ethical considerations of collecting online data for this research project. Firstly, the distinction between public and private domains in an online context and what reasonable expectations people have regarding the use of their data. Secondly, it was important to address issues relating to participants right to anonymity in contrast to their right to be credited for their data. To consider these tensions, guidance was sought from the British Psychological Society (2017) and the Association of Internet Researchers (2012).

There is currently no coherent guidance on what can be perceived as 'private' or 'public' in online spaces. Adding to the complexity of this issue, is communication which has previously been considered private but has become public due to a change in user privacy settings. Pittenger (2003:51) argued that 'virtual communities requiring an application procedure that assigns screen names to participants, requiring a confidential password for entry into the discussion, or using e-mail as the medium for intragroup communication creates prima facie evidence for the presumption of expected privacy'. This idea was considered when debating the potential ethical concerns of online research. As a user of *YouTube* an application procedure is required if an individual wishes to comment on a video or wants to watch content deemed inappropriate for minors. However, there are no application procedures required to watch content posted on *YouTube* and all comments made on videos are publicly available to see without

registering as a user on *YouTube*. With this consideration, it was deemed that the data collected was available in the public domain with no reasonable expectation of privacy.

The second tension that arose is between participants right to anonymity and the participants right to authorship. Kozinets (2015:135) argues that 'the internet is actually textlike and spacelike [and] these qualities exist both separately and simultaneously'. If the internet is considered textlike, it can be argued that the primary ethical issue that arises does not concern informed consent, confidentiality or anonymity, but rather the writers right to authorship. The Association of Internet Researchers (2012) has provided practical guidance relating to authorship based on a dialogic approach in which researchers collaborate with participants to seek their consent. However, when working with large scale data, this becomes impractical. Furthermore, the British Psychological Society (2007:3) offer some guidance on the researcher's responsibility and 'the extent to which their own collection and reporting of data obtained from the internet would pose additional threats to privacy over and above those that already exist'. This was particularly relevant to this research, as the data presented in this thesis and future publications contains potentially offensive, prejudicial and discriminatory content. In terms of risk to the participants, it is acknowledged that publication of this data could result in some detrimental effect on participants, however, these risks are not more significant than those that already exist. Therefore, the decision was taken to adequately credit each individual *YouTube* user through acknowledging their username alongside any direct quotes used in this research.

3.6 Limitations of Research

Despite this research identifying that notions of stranger danger permeate trans people's perception and fear of victimisation, it did not establish in the same statistical manner

the actual perpetrators of micro-crimes. Whilst the qualitative data evidently challenges notions of stranger danger and highlights significantly high levels of victimisation perpetrated by family, friends and acquaintances, this study was not designed to produce generalisable findings in itself.

Furthermore, given the sampling procedure used in this research, involving identifying prominent trans figures in an online context, there may be particular groups of people who were excluded from this research. Given that many of the trans people who publicised the research for me are associated with activism, it can be argued that they will have a similar following. Furthermore, as was discovered in this research, trans people who live a 'stealth[8]' lifestyle may often censor their online profiles, not connecting with anything trans-related, to maintain a stealth lifestyle. Therefore, it may be argued that this research only accessed the most visible trans people, and therefore the experiences of trans people living a stealth lifestyle may have been unintentionally excluded from this research.

3.7 Critical Reflective Awareness

It was important for me to remain reflexive throughout the research process. I found that my own personal identity and professional role interacted with this research process in four different ways. Firstly, my identity as a member of the LGBT community who has experienced abuse and discrimination. Secondly, my role as a practitioner within LGBT support services. Thirdly, my identity making me an outsider from the trans and non-binary community. Finally, my identity as a white, non-religious, non-disabled researcher and the power dynamics associated with my own identity. The different intersections of my own identity led to decisions being made regarding my interaction

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[8] 'Stealth' refers to a trans person who lives daily life without disclosing their trans history.

and access to participants in this study. Furthermore, throughout the research process, it was also vital to reflect upon my own well-being as a result of engaging in conversations and analysis of data addressing particularly sensitive issues.

It was essential in this research project to be open to interpreting data in a way that may have been contrary to my own assumptions, beliefs and motivations of this research project (Becker, 1998; Hammersley, 2000) which occurred regularly throughout the analysis of data. It has been argued that researchers may look to interpret data in a way that confirms a pre-assumed explanation to the issue they are researching and that the entire research process may be shaped in a particular way consequently (Hammersley, 2000). Furthermore, my own experiences as a member of the LGBT community, as a support worker and as a person who has experienced prejudice-based violence kept me sceptical of many of the given assumptions frequently made about hate crimes and the given impacts.

Additionally, my position within the LGBT community also left me at risk of being vulnerable to experiencing distress throughout this research. Despite not identifying as trans, my identification within a wider marginalised group means that there were stories shared with me that I could identify with in relation to my own personal experiences. Many experiences that participants shared with me in relation to their experiences of verbal abuse, harassment and damage to property mirrored many of my own experiences in life. I was able to access emotional support through my role as 'Lead LGBTQ Youth Worker' for METRO Charity where I access regular clinical supervision. Within this time, I was able to reflect upon my own experiences and the impact they have had on me.

Despite my identity as a member of the LGBT community more broadly, in this research I was very much an outsider in relation to my gender identity. I was very aware throughout the research process of Twitter and forum debates among trans and non-binary individuals regarding cisgender researchers conducting research into a community they were not a member of. It appeared to be a debate of two very clear sides; those for and those against. Despite interacting on forums and Twitter in conversations with trans and non-binary communities about issues they felt were important, I was very aware that I was an outsider, a guest in these conversations. I believe this feeling of intrusion that some people clearly felt contributed towards the difficulties I encountered in recruiting participants for the study.

However, despite difficulties, and feeling a sense of 'not belonging', I embraced Livia's (1996) sentiment that 'we must take on the whole word; we cannot afford "no go areas" of the imagination; we cannot afford to refuse an opinion on any subject'. Despite my outsider position, I acknowledged the privileged position I was in, as a white, cisgender man and how my access to education, resources and a position in which to discuss these issues may be very different to the access afforded to trans and non-binary individuals (Divan *et al.* 2016). My work with young trans and non-binary individuals, whom I have learnt so much from, but have also supported in times of need, left me with an overwhelming sense to use my position to shed light onto the 'lived reality' of experiencing abuse and discrimination in an everyday context.

Despite my decision to maintain a focus on trans and non-binary identities, I was conscious not to represent myself as a voice, or a representative of the community. As others have argued, 'no one should ever 'speak for' or assume another's voice… it becomes a form of colonisation' (Sinister Wisdom Collective, 1990). In order to achieve this, I wanted the data and the interpretation to be a collective result. Therefore,

I approached some participants after I had begun analysing and theming data and asked them to look through. By doing this, I wanted to encourage a collaborative approach to the results and themes that were developed from the data. I wanted to avoid transforming people's experiences into experiences that fitted with my research, or to retell their experiences in my own way.

Not only did my own personal identity lead me to be an outsider, it also represented potential power imbalances. My interest in intersectionality and overlapping oppressive hierarchical structures led me to seek a diverse sample. However, my position at the top of most of the oppressive structures I was so interested in, could have led to a power imbalance between myself and participants. I did not want my research project to exploit vulnerable people for an academic or research agenda (Arber, 2006) which could have been a risk. To minimise this risk, I tried to empower participants through allowing them to make decisions about where and when they wanted to participate in interviews and surveys. I also designed the interviews to be semi-structured, so as to not oppose my own beliefs and assumptions onto the research project. My role as Lead LGBTQ Youth Worker for METRO Charity enabled me to have access to a pool of participants, which I did not want to coerce into participating, but also did not want to exclude them from participating. To overcome these issues, I put posters up in group spaces advertising the research which had my Kingston University e-mail address on, which is not personalised, and did not draw attention to the posters. Therefore, if anyone from my workplace participated, this was a result from them observing the poster and voluntarily participating.

The balance of power was not always favourable to me. This became clear at the sometimes-lengthy waiting times for participants to confirm whether they would or would not participate. Besides distributing publicity and information, I was powerless in

recruiting participants. The focus on autonomy for participants, in their decisions to participate or not certainly led to feelings of powerlessness in myself. Even when participants confirmed they would take part, I would often wait weeks before they would respond again and confirm a date and time.

My experience and current role with METRO Charity has led me to provide practical and emotional support to young LGBT people in crisis. Sensitive research issues may result in emotion crisis for participants. Sensitive issues have been defined by Melville (2011) as those that centre around emotionally traumatic topics, require reflection into private or personal experiences and involve vulnerable or marginalised group. I would argue that all three conditions are applicable to this research project. When participants began discussing issues of abuse and hate crime they have experienced, often from a loved one it became clear that their emotions were high. One participant began to cry during our interview whilst discussing abuse they had received from family members that resulted in them becoming homeless. This presented me with a moral dilemma in which as a researcher I wanted to maintain the integrity of the project, but as a practitioner I felt urged to offer emotional support. The literature regarding this issue is contradictory in itself with some academics warning against emotional support (Lipson, 1991) whilst some academics promote the well-being of respondents over everything else (Jack, 2008). I therefore came to a compromise, in which I used skills I have developed as a practitioner to offer participants time to take a break, to help organise their feelings and raise awareness of support services, without becoming too involved in the emotional support.

Chapter Four: Normalcy and the 'Everyday'

This chapter draws upon data collected from the online surveys and semi-structured interviews. A common thread that runs through the accounts given by participants was the seemingly routine, normal and mundane nature of the range of micro-crimes they experienced. Furthermore, the routineness and mundanity of transphobic micro-crimes is explored in a more detailed way in this thesis, discussing the different ways in which 'routine' is conceptualised. The mundanity of these experiences is often framed in two ways: as an inherent and pervasive feature of daily life, or as a result of engaging in a daily routine. These two contextual frameworks are described first in this chapter, drawing on the experiences of participants to illustrate the routineness of experiencing transphobic micro-crimes. Whilst describing these experiences this research argues that victims experience a process of normalisation, in which micro-crimes are rationalised and normalised as a part of daily life. In this sub-theme, the internet is presented as a part of the 'everyday', an integral part of trans individuals' lives that facilitates personal and professional networking, a sense of community and an escape from isolation. Additionally, the impact of these experiences has significant implications for the way in which trans people engage in the 'everyday'. Alongside the everyday nature of the internet, victimisation online is also conceptualised as an inherent part of engagement online. Within this conceptualisation, participants also discuss the reciprocal relationship between the online and offline world, which mutually impacts participants' experiences in both an online and offline setting.

4.1 Victimisation as a Result of Daily Routine

Victimisation is an inherent and frequent feature of many participants' lives. In the online survey, participants were asked if they had ever experienced a hate crime.

Figure 1 - Have participants ever experienced a hate crime

Legend:
- Yes - Just Once
- Yes - More than once
- No
- Unsure
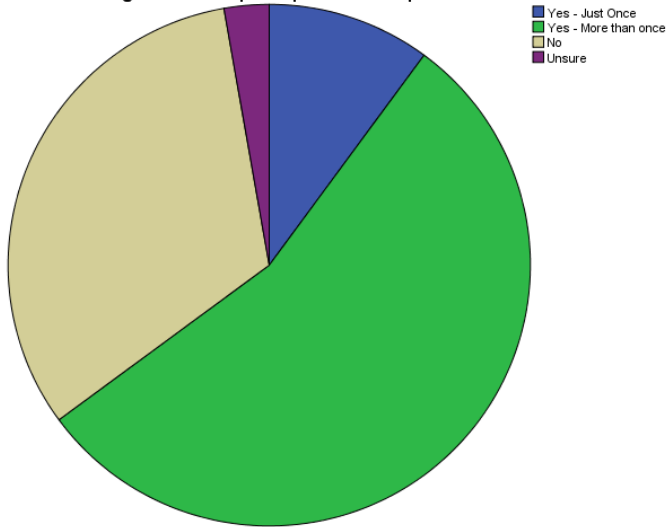
Figure 2 - Have participants ever experienced a hate crime targeting gender identity

Legend:
- Yes
- No
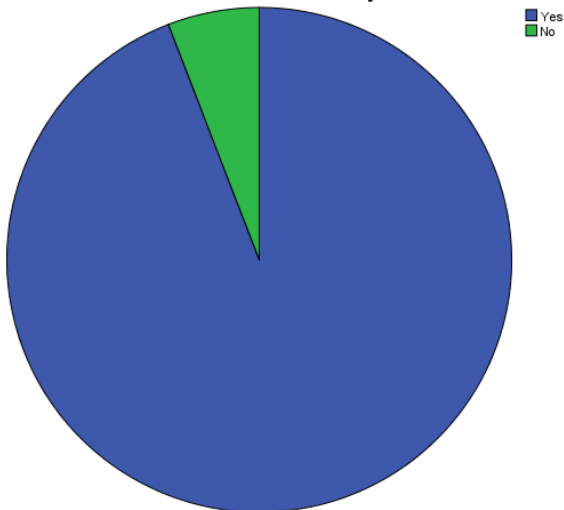
Figure 1 presents the results from this question. A total of 64.9% of participants

reported that they had experienced a hate crime, with 54.8% of participants indicating

they had experienced a hate crime more than once. 32.3% of participants answered that

they had never experienced a hate crime and 2.8% of participants were unsure. Of the

participants who had indicated they had experienced a hate crime, 94.1% of these

participants indicated that this experience had been targeting their gender identity

(Figure 2).

A common notion expressed by participants was encountering abuse whilst engaging in a daily routine. Participants described encountering abuse whilst at work, whilst travelling to and from appointments and whilst engaging in social opportunities. Their victimisation is contextualised within their daily routine and occurs as a result of being in a particular place at a particular time, as noted by the following participants:

> 'I was just out and about in town with a friend and it was a group of teenagers that saw me and they just followed us and followed us and they were just shouting horrible things at me. After a couple of minutes one of them threw like an empty bottle at me.'
> (Ashley, 34, Male)

> 'I was on a bus on my way home, I had this guy come up to me on the bus and he was just harassing me and like a bloke was like 'Do you have a cock? If I hadn't been going home at that time, it never would have happened.'
> (Ryan, 17, Male)

> 'I experience verbal abuse all the time. I get called names and harassed and things thrown at me. Most of the places that I go to, if I am walking down the street or if I am going in to the shops to do shopping, or when I go to the doctors, or when, or when I get on the bus.'
> (Bushra, 29, Female)

> 'I was walking to work, and I was followed by a man who was shouting 'why are you dressed like that, constantly shouting and following me, luckily when I got in to work and I worked for BT so we had security guards, so he couldn't get in.'
> (Piper, 42, Female)

Ryan describes this experience in the context of being in the 'wrong place at the wrong time' and that if he had adjusted his routine in terms of time or location, he would not have experienced this micro-crime. There was also a reliance on the physicality of Ryan's body, particularly on his genitals as a key indicator of his gender. A reliance on genitals as a key indicator of an individual's gender is also key to understanding how sex-segregated spaces are policed. This reflects the everyday nature of attempted delegitimization trans people experience. On the other hand, Bushra describes these experiences as inescapable, regardless of which routine she is engaging in. She describes a range of different routines she engages in, including shopping, travelling

and attending appointments and contextualises abuse as an inevitable consequence of engaging in these routines. However, Piper describes the victimisation she experiences as a result of engaging in a daily routine of travelling to work, identifying work as a safe space for her to escape the abuse she experiences.

Bushra later describes how victimisation as a consequence of engaging in a daily routine can be transformed and the victimisation becomes a part of a daily routine.

> 'Once I was coming home from visiting my GP and I walked into the flats where I live, I walked up the stairs because I do not like the lifts...I hear someone shouting from behind me. They are shouting at me 'Oi, oi, oi, tranny! Turn around! Look it's a tranny!'. Then I feel something hit the back of my head. I grab the back of my head and it is wet, then something hits my back and it hurts. It is a hard hit and it feels like a rock. I began to see them waiting for me every time I went out. They would chase me shouting at me and throwing things at me.'
> (Bushra, 29, Female)

In this excerpt, Bushra describes experiencing victimisation when returning home from a GP appointment, a feature of her weekly routine. However, this incident of victimisation then became a regular feature of her routine. Once she had been identified and targeted as a victim, her victimisation became a pro-longed and repetitive feature of her routine. In this context, the notion of 'routine' is transformative in Bushra's conceptualisation of her victimisation; acting as both a facilitator of abuse and transforming it into an essential feature of victimisation.

Participants' experiences of abuse are also discussed in the context of engaging in a daily work routine and victimisation occurring within the workplace.

> 'I was kind of settling in, then I turned up one day for work and went to my locker and opened it and there was all of these pornographic pictures of like trans people.'
> (Ashley, 34, Male)

> 'I was at work, and it was a fairly quiet day, so me and my work mates were sitting around drawing. Anyhow, a group of about four or five boys walked in to

the shop, they were only young, late teens would be my guess. Anyway, I went over and was talking to them about designs and then one of them asked me if I was wearing men's clothes. I just thought it was strange, like it was jeans and a shirt, I didn't realise that they were specifically for men. I was a bit taken aback and my mate and colleague came over and basically told them it was none of their business. They all started laughing and getting a bit rowdy and then one of them just flipped out and was like 'I'm not having a fucking tranny touching me, I don't wanna catch nothing, this shit ain't normal' and all the usual bollocks and then threw my drawings across the room. The girl I work with pulled me to the back of the shop and the two men I work with like grabbed them and threw them out the shop.'
(Star, 44, Non-Binary)

The accounts above present the routineness of work and victimisation in subtly different ways. Ashley describes experiencing abuse within the workplace from other work colleagues. In Star's experience, work colleagues actually provided a sense of protection and their victimisation was as a result of engaging with strangers within a work setting. Therefore, the routineness of engaging in employment acts as a facilitator in participants' victimisation yet work colleagues can also act as a barrier and defence to prevent the escalation of abuse. It is important to note that the language targeting Star seeks to conceptualise and construct their trans identity as virus-like, a common narrative that has historically been applied to homosexuality and as will be explored later in this thesis, is a recurrent motif used in the online construction of trans people. Star's experience also features undertones of a 'predatory' narrative, which has previously been used to delegitimise homosexual men. In this sense, Star experienced abuse that seeks to delegitimise their gender identity and closely reflects the online construction of transgender people. Furthermore, individuals who trans people encounter as part of their routine also posed a significant risk to them. Participants who considered themselves to have a disability had 2.096 times the predicted odds of feeling at risk of experiencing a hate crime from a healthcare professional (Table 4).

Table 4 – Participants' Feeling of Risk from Healthcare Professionals

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1[a]	Ethnicity	.274	.254	1.163	1	.281	1.316
	Religion	.155	.266	.340	1	.560	1.167
	Gender	.357	.287	1.554	1	.213	1.429
	Sexuality	-.957	.289	10.931	1	.001	.384
	Disability	.740	.258	8.256	1	.004	2.096
	Constant	-.478	.349	1.868	1	.172	.620

The final nature of routineness that is explored relates to participants' engagement in romantic relationships.

> 'I was dating this girl and she knew I was trans and she was fine with it and I met her family and they were all lovely and we had loads of conversations about whether she should tell her family and I thought she should, otherwise you just feel like you are constantly watching your back. I went round for dinner one night and it was just me and her and her mum and dad. We were eating and basically she told them. Her dad stopped eating, stood up, grabbed me by my shirt and threw me out the house whilst calling me a queer and freak. He wouldn't even let his daughter come out to talk to me and took her phone away, so I didn't get to speak to her for about a week and then she messaged me to say it wasn't going to work.'
> (Cody, 29, Male)

In Cody's experience, engaging in a routine activity, in this case pursuing a regular social aspect of a romantic relationship resulted in his victimisation. In this sense, Cody's experience of victimisation as a result of engaging in a routine activity differs from those already discussed. In the data excerpt above, Cody is describing a routine that can be considered private in nature, in contrast to the very public nature of routines discussed by other participants. Cody's victimisation is less public in nature, in relation to the location of victimisation and relationship with the perpetrator. Despite the difference in the private nature of this victimisation, a similar notion can be seen in the nature of victimisation, including verbal abuse, name-calling and physical intimidation, which is discussed in the next sub-theme.

4.2 Micro-Crimes and Victimisation as an Inherent and Pervasive part of Daily Life

Participants' accounts often describe their experiences as a pervasive characteristic of daily living and this is captured concisely in the quotation below:

> 'It is sad that I rate the successfulness of my day by whether I get abused or not.'
> (Rose, 67, trans woman)

In Rose's interview, she describes the routineness and pervasiveness of experiencing micro-crimes such as verbal abuse and harassment daily and how she has come to consider her day successful if she manages to engage in her daily routine without encountering this abuse. She further goes on to elaborate that if she does not experience name-calling, she can consider herself to have had a good day:

> 'I mean some days I go out and nobody calls me a name, and sadly that makes me feel like I have had a good day.'

What becomes clear throughout Rose's interview is that she rarely considers herself to have had a good day and that experiencing transphobic micro-crimes has become an inherent part of her daily routine. This is a common thread throughout the reports of participants, and the data below illustrate the often common-place nature of abuse in their daily lives.

> 'It happens on a kind of every day kind of basis. Like, the level of it varies, some days I will go out and just like, I don't know, be called a name, some days I will go out and be followed while they call me names, some days people will throw stuff at me, sometimes people will barge in to me.'
> (Isa, 58, Female)

> 'Like, I guarantee every day that someone will say something to me or harass me and follow me round calling me names.'
> (Ty, 21, Non-Binary)

'It was just like part of my daily routine, get up, have breakfast, go out, be abused, come home and then start all over again.'
(Sam, 31, Male)

What can be seen in the excerpts above is participants conceptualising their experiences of transphobic micro-aggressions such as name calling and micro-crimes such as harassment as a feature of daily life. This is explicitly expressed by Sam who expresses their own understanding of victimisation as part of a repetitive routine. Isa and Ty describe the frequency of these incidents as occurring on an 'every day' basis which was a common experience throughout the interviews. Other participants go on to describe the nature of the micro-crimes they experience.

'Like I get told to kill myself and I get called names all the time, like people call me stuff like 'tranny' and 'chick with a dick' and 'he-she' all the time.'
(Monica, 20, Female)

'Whenever I went out I was spat at, I was harassed, I was shouted at, I was shoved and pushed and humiliated.'
(Sam, 31, Male)

'When I very first began to transition, especially in college, like name calling, threats, being followed around was just part of like my daily college routine.'
(Tom, 19, Male)

The excerpts above demonstrate the varied nature of experiences including name-calling, harassment, threats and physical intimidation. The nature and frequency of these experiences are evident in existing literature (Antjoule, 2013; METRO, 2014) but are often descriptive in nature. Less attention has been paid to participants' framing of these as a pervasive feature of daily life. However, participants' feeling of risk of experiencing a hate crime is dependent upon their intersectional characteristics. Binary logistic regression was conducted on the survey data that related to participants feelings of risk of experiencing a hate crime and three characteristics relevant to this study produced statistically significant results. Participants who did not identify as 'White

British' had 1.839 times the predicted odds of feeling at risk of experiencing a hate crime (Table 5). Participants who identified outside of the gender binary had 2.198 times the predicted odds of feeling at risk of experiencing a hate crime. Finally, those who considered themselves to have a disability had 2.087 times the predicted odds of feeling at risk of experiencing a hate crime. Therefore, although victimisation is clearly an inherent part of everyday life, the risk of victimisation is significantly heightened for trans people who also identify with other minority groups.

Table 5 – Participants' Feeling of Risk of Experiencing a Hate Crime

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1[a]	Ethnicity	.609	.284	4.597	1	.032	1.839
	Religion	.098	.279	.122	1	.727	1.102
	Gender	.787	.340	5.368	1	.021	2.198
	Sexuality	-.240	.285	.713	1	.399	.786
	Disability	.736	.304	5.864	1	.015	2.087
	Constant	-2.779	.454	37.489	1	.000	.062

What also becomes apparent through participants' experiences of high levels of abuse is a process of normalisation in which participants anticipate, rationalise and normalise their experiences of micro-crimes. This is often framed within the context of minimising the impact of these incidents.

> 'You have to accept that it won't stop, so the only way to get through life is to accept it will happen and deal with it when it does you know?'
> (Tom, 19, Male)

> 'It is just part of life I guess and if I want to be true to myself then I have to learn to live with it. I think there comes a point in life when you just have to learn to accept that if this is who you truly are, you have to deal with other people's abuse.'
> (Star, 44, Non-Binary)

> 'Like, they are horrible and they are upsetting, but you have to learn to live with them, because it happens so often you would fall to pieces.'
> (Cody, 29, Male)

In the accounts above, all participants express a rationalisation of micro-crimes, framing these experiences as an inescapable, anticipated feature of daily life. Cody explicitly

frames this rationalisation as necessary to minimise the anticipated impact of experiencing micro-crimes. In this sense, the normalisation of micro-crimes serves as a coping mechanism in order to allow participants to maintain daily functioning. These sentiments are echoed by other participants' accounts of the rationalisation process they engage in.

> 'It is just part of being trans, or even just being gay, like people are much more likely to say something horrible to you because they don't think they will get in trouble for that.'
> (Monica, 20, Female)

> 'I think you just have to accept that there are some things that are just things you have to accept and deal with.'
> (Lia, 17, Female)

In these excerpts, there appears to be an acceptance of normalisation. In this sense, a passiveness is present within the accounts, a lack of agency is pervasive through the accounts above and acceptance of their experiences are presented as the only option available. Monica also extends this normalisation process to sexual minorities, acknowledging the pervasive nature of micro-crimes targeting others. In this sense, Monica suggests that all gender and sexual minorities experience a process of rationalisation and normalisation, as a result of micro-crimes being an inherent experience for these communities. Throughout participants' accounts of their experiences, notions of power and agency are invoked in various ways. In the account given by Bushra, she explicitly discusses her powerlessness to influence change in her experiences. However, when Cody discusses the need to learn to live with it, there is an expression of self-agency, albeit somewhat restricted. Although Cody may be powerless to change or avoid victimisation, he is aware that he has agency over the choice to normalise these incidents or 'fall to pieces'. In this sense, power and agency is

contextualised relatively and an individual may be powerless and powerful in relation to their response to their experiences.

A process of normalisation is also evident in the data collected from the online surveys. In order to ensure that participants daily experiences were captured, all participants were asked to select how often they experienced a range of incidents. Participants were asked this question regardless of whether they had indicated they had experienced a hate crime. Interestingly, there appeared to be a disconnect in participants perceptions of what a hate crime is and their perceptions of their own experiences. Given that 97.5% of participants considered harassment to be a hate crime and 76% of participants had experienced harassment, it is surprising that only 64.9% of participants considered themselves to have experienced a hate crime. There were relatively high numbers of experiences reported across the list of incidents available to select from with name calling (87.8%) being the most common experience. Incidents of theft (10.3%), blackmail (17%) and stalking (19.1%) were the least commonly reported incidents experienced. A total of 45.3% of participants reported having experienced a physical assault. The only two options that more than 10% of participants selected occurred regularly were name-calling/verbal abuse (32.1%) and online trolling (21.5%). Incidents of sexual abuse, physical assault, damage to property, theft, blackmail and stalking were all selected by 1% or less of participants as occurring regularly. These statistics highlight the pervasive and 'everyday' nature of low-level incidents of abuse.

The inherently everyday nature of victimisation also impacted upon participants decision on whether to report these incidents to the police or not. Participants who indicated that they had experienced a hate crime but had not reported it indicated that this was because of 'embarrassment' and these incidents 'happen too often' of which 74.3% of participants indicated was the reason they did not tell anybody else. A further

common factor included a fear of 'being blamed' for their own victimisation and 60% of participants who answered this question indicated.

4.3 Online Victimisation and Participants' Relationship with the Internet as Part of the 'Everyday'

The accounts expressed in participants' descriptions of their experiences in an offline context are mirrored within their descriptions of victimisation online. Participants' often discussed internet usage as part of their daily routine and their victimisation as a consequence of engaging in this routine.

> 'Yeah I use the internet every day…I feel a bit lost if I'm not somehow connected to the internet. Like I am always checking social media, most of the time I'm not even interested in what people put, I just feel like I should be looking.'
> (Sam, 31, Male)

> 'Almost constantly. My friend, we went to a party recently and my phone died and she started ringing around because she thought I might be dead, as I hadn't messaged her for twenty four hours.'
> (Jae, 21, Non-Binary)

> 'Oh, that is shocking, I mean, how often? A lot of the time, especially at the moment. Daily, I mean what is the most common bracket?'
> (Ryan, 17, Male)

> 'Yeah I use the internet every day, it's like my phone, I am glued to it, like I feel lost without it. I don't feel connected to anything if I don't have my phone and I don't have the internet.'
> (Monica, 20, Female)

In the above excerpt's participants describe their use of the internet and what can be seen is a relationship between participants and the internet as an inherent part of the 'everyday'. The accounts given by Sam, Jae and Monica demonstrate their reliance on technology to remain connected to others; in this sense, technology and the internet becomes an extension of the self. Sam and Ryan describe the frequency of their internet use, highlighting the clearly established role of the internet in their daily lives.

Participants accounts demonstrate a social reliance on technology for a number of different reasons including researching issues specific to transition, social networking with peers and accessing dating apps.

> 'It was great to speak to people who had already had surgery and see what it was like, and people were happy to show me. I used the internet a lot before I had any surgery because I did a lot of research on different options.'
> (Ashley, 34, Male)

> 'I use the internet for doing research, I am really interested in considering surgical options, so I do a lot of research online.'
> (Corrina, 21, Female)

> 'I used to use it a lot to do research into like surgical options and I follow some like pretty well known Youtubers who are trans, so I can follow their transition.'
> (Elaine, 48, Female)

The data shown above illustrate participants' conceptualisation of the internet as a beneficial tool that aids in the progression of participants' transition journey. In this sense, the internet provides a means for participants to increase their knowledge and awareness in relation to medical and surgical options. In this way, the internet provides an opportunity for trans people to access relevant information that may be unavailable through mainstream outlets such as educational establishments (METRO, 2014).

However, despite the unique opportunities the internet has provided for trans communities to access relevant information, participants also discuss their engagement with mainstream social media, and this is framed within a context of personal networking and accessing peer support.

> 'I do use it to network with similar people, possibly in similar situations. I mean there are a lot of groups on Facebook that I like and through that I have made a few online friends that I talk to who are also part of the trans community, erm, and, I suppose that has helped me in a way because you don't feel so alone.'
> (Deena, 34, Female)

> 'I use the internet a lot, I never used to use the internet as much, but then because I start to go out less, I use the internet a lot now to try and make some

friends online.'
(Bushra, 29, Female)

'I have however made lots of online friends, there are some groups that are specifically for LGBT people of colour and LGBT people who are Sikh. The internet has been a great place for me to find support and actually not feel so isolated.'
(Dilip, 45, Male)

'Because I am not such a huge fan of being outside and leaving my flat, I have kind of used the internet as a way of socialising'
(Rose, 67, Female)

Participants describe the social opportunities afforded by the internet to connect and network with peers. The key motif across participants' interviews was identifying similarity and being able to access support and networking opportunities with those who they identified as being similar to them. In accessing social opportunities online participants are able to find a sense of 'belonging' within an online community. In particular, Dilip expresses the ease of being able to network with those across a range of intersectional characteristics, accessing those who identify as both sexual or gender minorities, alongside religious or racial minorities. However, in Bushra's interview, she describes using the internet as a way to make friends, but these are not specifically similar to her. In this sense, the internet acts as a tool for social opportunities that are unavailable to Bushra in the offline world as a result of her experiences of micro-crimes. This is echoed in Rose's account, in which she describes the social opportunities provided to her in an online setting that she feels unable to access in the offline world.

This was also evident in the online survey, logistical regression was conducted using the variables 'Do you use the internet to build a network of other trans and non-binary people?' and a comparison was made across disability status, sexuality, gender, religion and race. Disability status and sexuality produced statistically significant results (Table 20). Those who considered themselves to have a disability had 2.520 the predicted odds

of using the internet to build a network of trans and non-binary people than those who

considered themselves to not have a disability. Also, those who considered themselves

'non-heterosexual' had .453 the predicted odds of using the internet to build a network

of other trans and non-binary people.

Table 6 – Participants' Experiences of Abuse Online

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1[a]	Ethnicity	-1.009	.287	12.382	1	.000	.364
	Religion	.060	.271	.050	1	.824	1.062
	Gender	-.379	.313	1.468	1	.226	.684
	Sexuality	.068	.276	.060	1	.806	1.070
	Disability	-1.283	.322	15.891	1	.000	.277
	Constant	2.945	.454	42.086	1	.000	19.015

However, what becomes clear throughout participants' reports is the dual nature of the

internet, and in particular, social media and social networking sites as areas of both

support but also pervasive abuse.

> 'I had gay men on dating apps telling me to kill myself, telling me to stop
> mutilating my body.'
> (Dilip, 45, Male)

> 'It is really horrible to read ten messages telling you that you don't deserve to
> breathe the same air as everyone else and that you should kill yourself.'
> (Isa, 58, Female)

> 'I have been told I don't know how many times to hang myself or take an
> overdose or slit my wrists. When it flares up it is non-stop.'
> (Sam, 31, Male)

> 'So like, you post something on Twitter and it only takes one wrong person to
> retweet it and before you know it all of the wrong people have seen it. Then the
> comments and the messages start. They tell you to kill yourself, they tell you to
> cut yourself.'
> (Ty, 21, Non-Binary)

Participants above are describing incidents of abuse targeting them on different social

media and social networking platforms. In these experiences, the internet can clearly be

established as a site of victimisation for participants. This is also highlighted in the

online surveys (Figure 3) in which 54.8% of participants indicated that the online sphere was a site of significant risk. Furthermore, as illustrated in Figure 4, 76.7% of participants indicated that they had experienced an incident of abuse online.

Figure 3 - Do participants feel at risk of experiencing a hate crime online
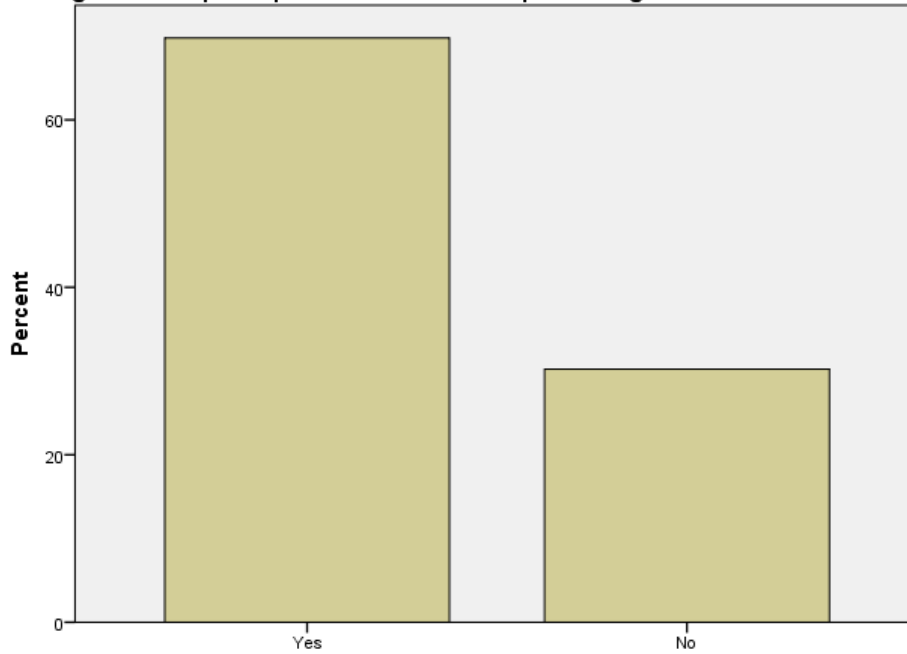
Do participants feel at risk of experiencing a hate crime online

Figure 4 - Was Hate Crime Online Abuse
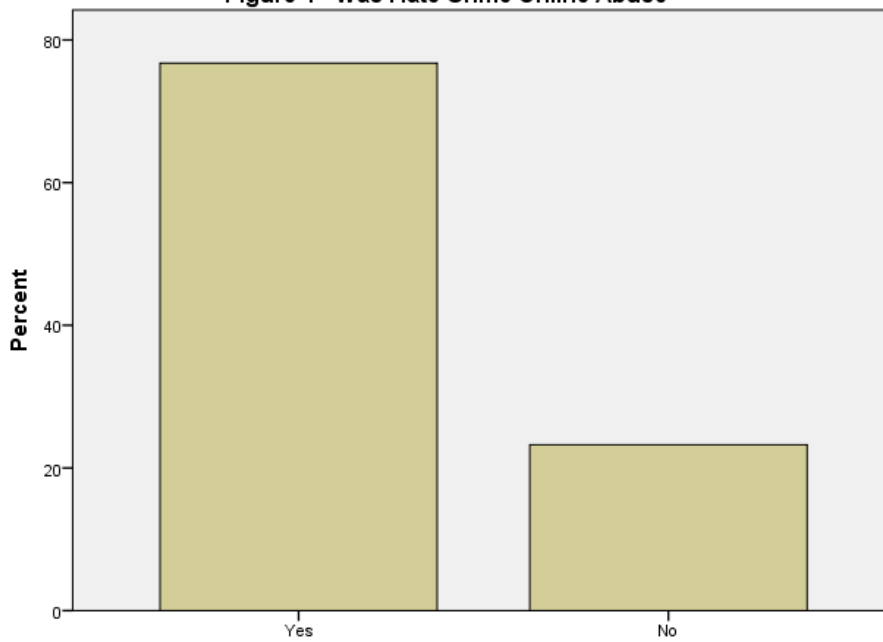
Was hate crime online abuse

Despite these high levels of incidents, only 23.8% of participants reported these incidents. Participants who had reported incidents of online abuse were also asked to report the outcome of the report of which 'no action taken' was a recurrent theme that emerged followed by perpetrators receiving a temporary ban from the social media platform that the incident had occurred on. For those who did not report incidents of online abuse, participants were asked to report the motivating factors that influenced their decisions not to report incidents of online abuse. Similarly, to the motivating factors influencing decisions whether to report offline incidents of hate crime, 71.2% of participants were influenced not to report incidents of online abuse because they happen too often. The second most reported answer highlights a significant gap in knowledge as 61.4% of participants did not report these experiences because they did not know who to report it too.

Figure 5 - Have you ever experienced online trolling?
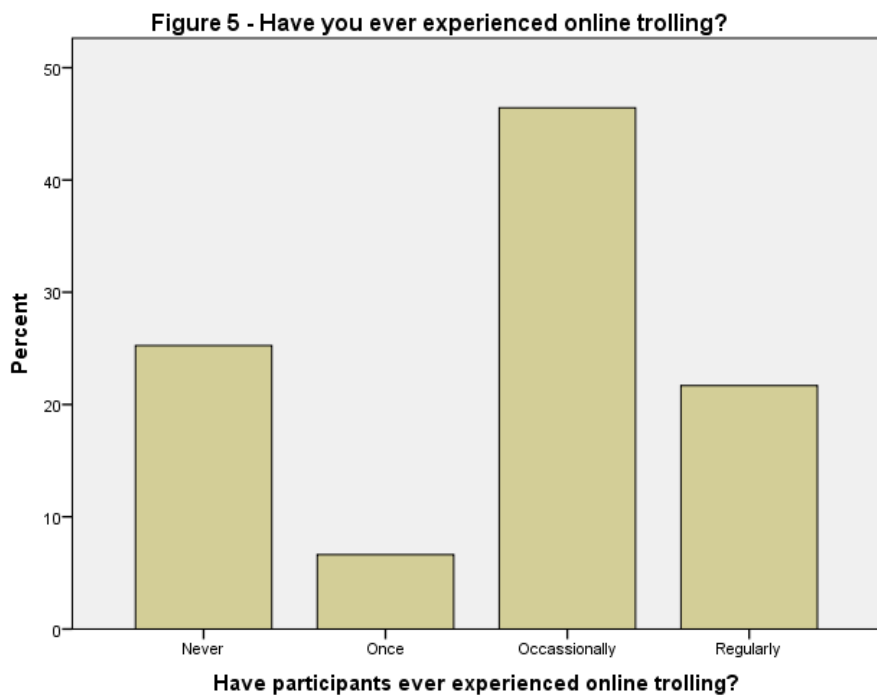
A common thread that ran through participants' experiences of abuse was the incitement to self-violence, in which participants are encouraged to self-harm or engage in suicidal

behaviour. In this sense, participants experience online differ from their experiences offline, in that inciting self-violence is not a pervasive feature of offline victimisation. However, alongside this, participants also describe other experiences of victimisation online mirroring the nature of victimisation in an offline setting.

> 'Sometimes they attack me on the thread and that is normally where it is name calling and trying to invalidate my gender by saying I'm not a real woman and calling me all sorts of names basically trying to imply that I am mentally ill or I am deranged and delusional.'
> (Ruby, 52, Female)

> 'There is a lot of name-calling and so on and it is the usual kind of 'tranny', 'shemale' comments.'
> (Isa, 58, Female)

> 'I had got involved in some kind of conversation on Twitter about trans people, there were loads of people on there talking about trans children and how trans people are corrupting children. Anyway, I made one comment about being a trans person and how I wasn't corrupting anyone. Literally within minutes there were so many replies to me. People were using abusive names, they were calling me a tranny, a chick with a dick, a he-she. People were saying that I was sinning, I was going to hell.'
> (Tom, 19, Male)

Participants describe the pervasive nature of name-calling that is transphobic, targeting them on social media platforms. In these data excerpts, participants describe experiences that are similar to the experiences described by participants in the context of their daily offline routine. Ruby describes how she often experiences a narrative targeting her that seeks to delegitimise her claimed authenticity as a trans person by claiming she is 'mentally ill'. Notions of 'mental illness' appear to be a common feature of participants' experiences of micro-crimes and is mirrored in the online construction of trans identities that will be explored later in this thesis. In this sense, there are evident parallels between participants' experiences of victimisation online and offline. However, participants also describe the difference in the frequency and level of the abuse they experience online and provide a number of reasons they believe there is a

difference in rates of victimisation.

> 'Yeah definitely, there is much more abuse online than in real life. There are just more opportunities, because the internet is so big and so vast and people from all over the world can see the same thing at the same time and everyone can all respond at once. Like in real life, it would take me months and months to meet every individual that has posted something negative on one of my videos, but online, I meet them all at once in a second.
> (Ashley, 34, Male)

> 'I think this is the hardest because it normally comes in such huge volumes, like you get involved in a conversation and within twenty-four hours you have received maybe one hundred, two hundred, three hundred inbox messages and comments on your comment'
> (Isa, 58, Female)

> 'The amount of abuse I received, literally within minutes after I said that, she retweeted what I said to her thousands of TERF followers and I was just torn apart by all of them. I counted them, to make a point on Twitter, and I had around one hundred and twenty messages telling me to kill myself, to hang myself, to take an overdose or cut myself.'
> (Tom, 19, Male)

Isa describes the volume of abuse she has received and quantifies this, a similar account that is also provided by Tom. These experiences are significantly different to those experiences described by participants in an offline context in relation to the immediacy of such high volumes of abuse. This is discussed by Ashley who provides his own understanding of why the frequency and volume of abuse online is significantly higher than the rates of victimisation offline. In doing so, Ashley draws upon the very public nature of the internet and attributes the significant frequency of abuse he experiences as a result of this.

Finally, participants also described the relationship between the online and offline worlds and how this influences their conceptualisation of the seriousness of abuse they experience online.

> 'Occasionally you get the weirdo that messages you that is 20 or 30 miles away, it's like how did you find me, but that's the thing, it's people that hide their distance and so they could be like in the next room, or in Scotland and you

wouldn't know, that could be the frightening context'
(Jae, 21, Non-Binary)

'If it is someone from America who was saying it or threatening me then probably not coz there is no intention behind it. Like, if someone was messaging me and being transphobic and threatening to kill me and I thought there was a realistic chance that they could find where I lived or whatever then it would be more serious and I would think it was a hate crime.'
(Emmet, 30, Male)

'I think even if someone threatens you online, you still have to look at the physical closeness of them to you, like if someone threatens you online and you work with them, then it would be a bit like there is a chance you will see them at work and it would escalate from something that started online to ending up being something physical in real life you know.'
(Dilip, 45, Male)

It becomes clear that the seriousness of their victimisation is perceived based on the likelihood of their victimisation online manifesting in the offline world. Emmet alludes to perpetrators' claimed intentions and the probabilistic nature of experiencing this victimisation in the offline world. This is echoed in Dilips' account in which the seriousness of online victimisation is contextualised within the likelihood of potentially experiencing physical victimisation at a future date.

Victimisation that trans people experience online is often attributed to having an active, visible online profile. In this sense, their interactions online places them in a position of visibility.

'I really find that I am so often a target because I am vocal online about what I think and feel and I will disagree with someone and essentially throw myself to the wolves if I don't see anyone else doing it. I think it is usually the worst if I get involved in a conversation with TERFs.'
(Isa, 58, Female)

'I kind of feel like when you put stuff on social media, you kind of open yourself up to being trolled. I don't mean that like people deserve to be trolled, but I think it's stupid to put stuff online and not expect to be trolled. Like, it is just part of the internet, it has good and bad sides.'
(Lia, 17, Female)

'I am very much an activist within the community, so I often receive lots of attention, and lots of it is negative, it is just part of being active online. I am

quite well known in the trans community, so I am a constant target for TERFs. I speak out about trans issues and as a result become a very public target.'
(Sam, 31, Male)

'Usually, if I have been talking to men online and then they find out that I am trans, then I get abuse online. Apart from that, I am not openly out online and don't post lots of trans stuff online so I don't usually get lots of random people abusing me.'
(Corrina, 21, Female)

Notions of self-blame permeate participants' account of their experiences of online trolling, as can be seen in the excerpts above, participants conceptualise their experiences of online trolling as a consequence of their own engagement in online discussions, debates and networks. In this sense, visibility is conceptualised as a causal reason for victimisation and is perceived to be a result of participants' actively choosing to engage in online discussions. As such, notions of self-blame underpin participants' accounts of their victimisation online because of choosing to be visible online. As discussed earlier in relation to experiences of micro-crimes, a process of rationalisation and normalisation occurs in which participants anticipate experiencing online trolling. Corrina describes online trolling in the context of seeking a romantic, emotional or physical relationship with men. In this sense, she becomes active and visible in a specific context. However, Corrina also highlights the versatile nature of the internet in which visibility can be negotiated in different contexts and spaces. Remaining invisible in an online context is also recurrent within participants' accounts as to avoiding online trolling.

'No, I have not really [experienced abuse online], I am very careful that I do not put any pictures of myself online and I only talk about being transgender in very private and safe places for other transgender people to read. So, because of this people do not really abuse me online because of being transgender.'
(Bushra, 29, Female)

'I think because online you can have quite good control on privacy settings and who you connect with, you can really pick and choose who gets to see what you post and who can comment and message you. My online profile has always been

really strictly monitored, so I have never really been trolled.'
(Peter, 41, Male)

'I used to get trolled online loads, but since I have been living stealth I created all brand new profiles, I don't have pictures of me before I transitioned on there, so I live very much as a woman online and I pass, so I don't really get any abuse online anymore. Before I was living stealth I used to have photos of me online from pre and post transition so I was very openly trans and people would know that so I would get a lot of abuse.'
(Elaine, 48, Female)

'Even on like Facebook, my privacy settings are quite strict so only friends can see stuff, and it gives you a false sense of security, because even if only your friends can see it, if they share it, then all of their friends can see it, and if two of their friends share it, all of theirs can and before you know it thousands of people can see a photo or a post that you have put on.'
(Lia, 17, Female)

In the excerpts above participants describe the measures they have taken to minimise their online visibility, relating to strict privacy settings, finding safe spaces to discuss issues relating to gender identity and completely erasing their trans history from online profiles. In this sense, maintaining invisibility online becomes a part of trans people's daily routines in order to avoid victimisation. In this sense, self-censorship is employed to minimise risk of experiencing online trolling. However, despite participants' engaging in self-censorship, Lia highlights the complexity of privacy in an online context, referring to the false sense of security that can often be perceived by participants. In this sense, access to a wide range of privacy options can lead to the perception that participants' have minimised their visibility online, however, actual and perceived visibility may differ. As a result, participants may experience online trolling that is not anticipated as a result of perceived invisibility.

Finally, given the everyday nature of internet use, the implementation of an online reporting system which can be utilised to effectively manage and log participants' frequent experiences of transphobic micro-crimes was discussed as an effective way to encourage reporting.

'I think one way is that they could introduce some kind of an online reporting system so that it was more convenient for people, I think maybe that would have a positive influence. Like especially because some of the time it happens so much and so often, people don't have the time to go to the police station three or four times a week you know? So if they could just log it all online and then have an officer read it and phone if they need to follow up with something.'
(Cody, 29, Male)

'If there was an online system where you could make a report, like, you can put your details online, do a statement and someone follows it up without having to come out and see you, that takes away some of the opportunities for being mis-gendered or being called the wrong name. If you don't have these bad experiences' then you don't have as much putting you off reporting.'
(Dilip, 45, Male)

'I also think that an online reporting service where people can log reports online and then maybe like submit a weekly report if they felt it necessary. I think people have an apprehension about reporting because it can be quite intimidating if you have never reported before and I think that can be a barrier, so if there was a simple, straight forward way to report that was also convenient then it would encourage reporting. With a lot of the incidents of verbal abuse and harassment, people don't report because it happens too often, and it would waste too much time to continually go to the police station.'
(Sam, 31, Male)

An online reporting system is conceptualised as an effective means of encouraging reporting. In this sense, participants conceptualise reporting online as a barrier to experiencing negative police interaction. The introduction of an online reporting system is conceptualised as effective in encouraging reporting through decreasing negative experiences with the police as the amount of contact with the police is minimised. Furthermore, notions of the internet as part of the 'everyday' is drawn upon and online reporting is framed within the notion of convenience. This is on the basis of participants' experiencing significantly high levels of transphobic micro-crimes and the inconvenience of having to attend a police station for every incident.

4.4 The 'Everyday' Impact and Normalisation of Transphobic Hate Crime

As participants often normalise their experiences of victimisation and conceptualise this as part of their 'everyday' lives, the impacts of these experiences are often 'invisible'. In

participants' accounts of their experiences of transphobic micro-crimes, the resulting

impact is often described as being 'invisible'.

> Like people talk about physical violence but I don't think they understand how much words can hurt and even though they hurt I don't think that's enough for the police you know, if you can't see a bruise or a scratch then you can't claim you are hurt you know.'
> (Cody, 29, Male)

> 'With verbal abuse, you almost don't realise that you have shut down and become isolated because it takes much longer for the impact to build [in comparison to physical abuse].'
> (Rose, 67, Female)

> 'I think if I had experienced like physical violence, or someone destroyed my stuff then I would report it to the police because there would actually be something they could see, but when people verbally abuse you, call you names, threaten you and so on, you can't show the police that.'
> (Simon, 47, Male)

In the excerpts above, the impact of micro-crimes such as verbal abuse, threats of

violence and transphobic name-calling is described as 'invisible'. All participants

describe the invisibility and associate this with reasons for non-reporting transphobic

micro-crimes to the police. Within this conceptualisation, transphobic micro-crimes are

compared to more socially recognisable forms of victimisation such as physical

violence in which there are clearly visible consequences. In this sense, the invisibility of

the impact of experiencing transphobic micro-crimes is conceptualised as a barrier to

reporting. On the other hand, participants further describe in detail the nature of the

immediate visible impact after experiencing abuse.

> 'Straight after it happened I was just distraught, I was an emotional wreck, I couldn't stop crying. It was like a mixture of emotions, like it was adrenaline, anger, frustration. I just felt like hugely vulnerable. I stayed inside for about a week after, I was too scared to go back out, I just didn't want it to happen again.'
> (Jae, 21, Non-Binary)

> 'I had a complete breakdown after the time that the group of boys surrounded me and threatened to beat me up. My emotions were all over the place, my head was fucked. I couldn't concentrate, I couldn't sleep, I couldn't eat. The pain I felt was just too much, I started self-harming again and I just fell in to this pit of

darkness.'
(Brian, 20, Male)

'Well immediately after I just completed isolated myself. I felt depressed, I felt anxious, I felt suicidal. I just couldn't face the world anymore. I wanted to be alone, I felt safe alone. I started drinking a lot more, it was the only way I could get through the day, it was the only way I could get myself to sleep. After a couple of days, I took an overdose, I just didn't want to be here anymore. Luckily, after that point, I started to get help.'
(Piper, 42, Female)

What can be seen in participants' accounts of the impact of transphobic micro-crimes is an unstable emotional reaction, characterised by despair, turmoil and vulnerability. It is clear that immediately following an incident of transphobic micro-crime participants' experience a heightened sense of emotional vulnerability and often find themselves in a state of emotional distress and turmoil which cannot be controlled. Participants' also describe a number of measures taken to process this emotional distress including self-harm, suicide attempts and alcohol misuse.

To explore the impact on participants who had experienced a hate crime, *the Impact of Events Scale – Revised* utilised by Weiss and Marmar (1996) was used. The scale has twenty-two self-identifiable responses to events which participants were asked to rate themselves on. Scores on this scale were collated and 61.9% of participants who had experienced a hate crime rated with a final score of 37 or more which Weiss and Marmar signifies an experience of post-traumatic stress disorder severe enough to impact the effectiveness of the immune system. This is reflected in participants responses when asked to report a word or phrase that best described how they felt after experiencing a hate crime. Many different responses were recorded but the most commonly reported feelings included anger, isolation, vulnerable, broken, depressed, anxious, lonely and fearful.

However, participants' do make a distinction between the immediate impact of experiencing transphobic micro-crimes and the longer-lasting impact.

> 'Yeah I think so, like it always hurts most when it first happens and then it subsides a little bit, but it never goes away, there is like a bubbling feeling inside you that never goes away, I don't know whether it's because you end up with so much self-doubt that it stays with you, but it does get easier over time, but it never goes completely.'
> (Cody, 29, Male)

> 'Well I think it definitely gets less noticeable over time, like when it initially first happens it is all you can think of and you can't get anything else to override those feelings and come in to your mind, but eventually it moves over, it never disappears and you always have a constant kind of nagging feeling inside because of what has happened to you, but, in some ways, it becomes almost a bearable feeling, in some ways you become numb to it.'
> (Isa, 58, Female)

> 'But I guess slowly it kind of subsides, but I think when you experience stuff like that, even though it gets better over time, I feel like I will always be left with this kind of, almost burning feeling inside me of resentment towards everyone.'
> (Peter, 41, Male)

What can be seen in the excerpts above is a gradual subsidence of the rawness of emotions felt by participants' over time. The initial emotional impact that is characterised by volatility, rawness and turmoil is replaced by a similarly negative emotional response but is characterised by 'dullness'. In this sense, participants' accounts of the change in impact resonate with the normalisation process that was discussed earlier, in which participants rationalise and normalise their experiences and the resulting impact as a coping mechanism to maintain daily functioning. What can be seen in the excerpts above is the permanency of the impact felt by participants. In this sense, incidents of micro-crimes perpetrated against trans people can result in pervasive, long-lasting implications.

This coincides with the findings of the online survey. To establish whether there was a significance between participants confidence scores pre and post experiencing a hate

crime a Paired Sample T-Test was conducted. Table 4 shows that the test was

significant at the 5% significance level and there was a significant difference in 'mean'

between self-rated confidence between pre and post experiencing a hate crime.

Table 7 - Paired Samples Test – Change in Participants' Confidence Level after Experiencing a Hate Crime

		Paired Differences						
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
					Lower	Upper			
Pair 1	How confident were participants before experiencing a hate crime? - How confident were participants after experiencing a hate crime?	2.409	1.742	.107	2.198	2.620	22.474	263	.000

To establish differences in how participant's confidence was affected after experiencing

a hate crime, a linear regression was conducted on participant's confidence scores

before and after experiencing a hate crime. Table 8 below illustrates that out of the five

demographic variables considered, only disability status and religious affiliation were

statistically significant at the 5% significance level.

Table 8 – Regression Analysis on Change in Confidence Level After Experiencing a Hate Crime

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-2.033	.240		-8.472	.000
	Disability	-.770	.222	-.213	-3.468	.001
	Religion	-.690	.229	-.187	-3.020	.003
	Ethnicity	-.061	.223	-.017	-.275	.784
	Gender	.355	.257	.088	1.382	.168
	Sexuality	.125	.241	.033	.520	.604

Table 8 shows that participants who considered themselves to be religious had a greater loss in confidence after experiencing a hate crime than those who considered themselves to be non-religious. Similarly, those who considered themselves to have a disability had a greater loss in confidence after experiencing a hate crime than those who did not consider themselves to have a disability.

Participants also conceptualise the longer-lasting impact of transphobic micro-crimes in relation to the resultant practical implications.

> 'Like the time at work when everything kicked off, I had to take a few days off of work, which is huge for me because I am self-employed, so I ended up losing money, being short on rent, not being able to afford food and gas and stuff, so I ended up being cold in the middle of winter.'
> (Star, 44, Non-Binary)

> 'I dropped out of education for a long time which put me behind, I went to about 6 different schools and this is my second college. I just couldn't face being started at all the time or feeling like people were talking about me.'
> (Melody, 17, Non-Binary)

> 'Well I had to move, like I always wanted to go to uni, but I was going to go to a local one and live at home, but I just couldn't cope staying in the area where I had to see people from school and college, so I had to move away.'
> (Tom, 19, Male)

What can be seen in the excerpts above is the practical implications for participants who

experience transphobic micro-crimes. Practical implications range from missing work and resultant financial implications, disengagement from education and having to relocate. In this sense, the minimisation of seriousness of transphobic micro-crimes that was discussed earlier is not mirrored in minimised implications for victims. In this sense, the impact of experiencing transphobic micro-crimes can be conceptualised as mirroring the impact of more socially recognisable forms of hate crime including physical and sexual violence. Additionally, these experiences also resulted in an impact upon the way participants engaged in their 'everyday' lives. In the online survey participants were also asked about ways in which they changed their way of living after experiencing a hate crime. Common responses included going out less (43.9%), avoiding being out at night (41.7%), avoiding the area the incident occurred in (58.3%), avoiding being out alone (52.8%) and moderating the way they act, dress or speak (41.3%).

4.5 Discussion

This chapter has explored participants' experiences of transphobic hate crime, discrimination and prejudice through an intersectional lens. It can be concluded from these findings that despite significantly high levels of victimisation, intersectional characteristics such as gender, sexuality, disability status, race and religion significantly impact the experiences of participants. The findings from this study highlight the significantly pervasive nature of micro-crimes and hate crimes being perpetrated against trans people. This is contrary to what official statistics suggest (The Home Office, 2017; 2018). Participants' responses can shed light on the significant gap between official statistics and the findings of this research. Participants' reported significant accounts of non-reporting incidents of transphobic hate crime and micro-crimes for a variety of reasons, relating to the perceived ineffectiveness and transphobic nature of the police.

Furthermore, of those reports made, less than half were officially recorded as hate crimes by the police. It can therefore be concluded that there are substantial inconsistencies in the official recording of hate crime incidents.

It becomes clear through this chapter that some trans people encounter a significant amount of micro-crime victimisation as part of the 'everyday'. In this sense, victimisation is inherently linked to trans people routine and victimisation becomes an indistinguishable feature of daily living. The 'everyday' nature of hate crime has been explored and Iganski (2008b:6) highlights the opportunistic nature of many incidents of hate crime 'committed by 'ordinary' people in the context of their 'everyday' lives: not by 'extremists' in the pursuit of ideological goals'. This is certainly the case for many participants' in this study who conceptualised their victimisation as a result of chance encounters with perpetrators as a result of engaging in their daily routine. This is not to say that all incidents of victimisation occur purely because of chance, or situational factors, as other participants described the pre-meditated nature of some incidents of victimisation. However, pre-meditation was usually described as being involved in incidents of more socially recognisable forms of victimisation including physical abuse. Generally, participants describe their encounters of micro-crimes as committed by 'ordinary' people in the context of the 'everyday', not as a result of organised, extreme ideologies. In this sense, their experiences fit within Perry's (2001) theory of 'doing difference' in which their victimisation results from an observable difference they present.

Therefore, it can be argued that whilst there are still worryingly high levels of physical violence targeting trans people, verbal abuse, harassment and other forms of micro-crimes are the most commonly experienced forms of hate-crime targeting trans people. Incidents of verbal abuse and online trolling were the only forms of victimisation that

more than 20% of participants indicated occurred regularly. In this sense, transphobic micro-crimes become part of the 'everyday' lived reality for trans people. It has also highlighted the persistent experiences of micro-aggressions trans people face including name calling and having their transgender identity 'outed'. In this sense, it can be concluded that trans people experience a matrix of victimisation in which micro-aggressions, micro-crimes and more socially recognisable forms of hate crime interconnect and facilitate a culture of othering for trans people.

Participants' conceptualisation of their experiences of micro-crimes significantly relate to the social conscious of victimisation and socially recognisable forms of victimisation. Their accounts of micro-crime victimisation are often described as part of 'everyday' life and therefore are not recognised as legitimate forms of victimisation. The concept of socially recognisable forms of victimisation has been explored by Corteen *et al.* (2016) who describe the institutionalised nature of many forms of discrimination relating to low-level incidents of racial and sexual harassment and the consequence for their recognition as legitimate forms of victimisation. This is evident in participants' accounts of their experiences and it can be argued that trans people conceptualise incidents of transphobic micro-crimes as a 'normal' feature of everyday life, therefore, the criminality and legitimacy of this type of victimisation is rendered inconsequential.

What can also be seen in this research is a process of normalisation as a response to victimisation that occurs for many trans people. Browne *et al.* (2011) note that the normalisation of victimisation is evident across all LGBT communities. In this research, processes of normalisation were probably the most common form of response trans people took to their experiences of micro-crimes. It can therefore be argued that although the normalisation of micro-crimes prohibits the formal recognition, and therefore institutional response to these experiences, it allows for trans people to

maintain daily functioning that is critical for their mental health. Other responses to this victimisation include the self-censorship of the victim, in which they attempt to make their trans identity less visible by conforming to a more gender normative presentation, avoiding particular areas associated with victimisation and avoiding being in public at certain points of the day. This also fits within wider feminist discourse around women's fear and normalisation of crime. Stanko (1985) describes survival strategies employed by women that include monitoring footsteps behind them and sexualised comments in case the situation escalates into victimisation. However, there is a conceptual difference between the experiences Stanko describes and the experiences of trans people. In discussing the normalisation of women's fear of violence and the resultant survival strategies employed by women to avoid victimisation, it is framed within a discourse of resisting gender norms that relate to the subordination of women and male ownership of female bodies. However, in trans people's conceptualisation of their survival strategies, they employ methods that heighten their conformity to gender norms, rather than resist them.

The process of normalising these experiences is also evident in the disjuncture between participants' perceptions of hate crime as an abstract idea and the perception of their own victimisation. Many participants identified micro-crimes as criminal in nature and acknowledged their own experiences of victimisation. However, when considering the criminality in the context of their own victimisation, there appears to be a tendency to perceive one's own victimisation as non-criminal. In this sense, the criminality of some actions may be more easily identifiable when discussing hate crime targeting others. Participants evaluate their experiences of victimisation in relation to severity and conceptualise incidents as either recognisable forms of victimisation, or just part of 'everyday' life.

Arguably, the media portrayal of hate crimes as pre-meditated violent attacks

perpetrated by extreme bigots (Iganski, 2008b) also influences the conceptualisation of

micro-crimes as a 'normal' part of everyday life. In this sense, participants evaluate

their experiences of victimisation in relation to severity and conceptualise incidents as

either recognisable forms of victimisation, or just part of 'everyday' life. This coincides

with the findings of Browne *et al.* (2011) who concluded that many LGBT people

conceptualise their experiences of verbal abuse as part of everyday life, and therefore

not socially recognisable as legitimate forms of victimisation. It can therefore be argued

that there is indeed a hierarchical structure to forms of victimisation and that not all

forms of victimisation are treated equally, based on the perceived severity of the

incident (Cogan, 2002). As will be discussed in more depth in the next chapter, the

normalisation of these crimes and the inability to perceive them as criminal may be

influenced by the hierarchical nature of hate crime victimisation.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, there are significant emotional and psychological

consequences for victims of transphobic micro-crimes and what becomes clear in this

research is the range of 'everyday' practical consequences this has for trans people and

a range of behaviours engaged in to minimise future victimisation. The most commonly

reported feelings participants experienced after an incident of abuse included anger,

vulnerability, depression, anxiety and fear. These feelings are responded to in a number

of different ways the mainly relate to self-censorship. Self-censorship can be seen to

relate to trans peoples' presentation of their gender in which a process of moderation

occurs relating to physical appearance, voice, and actions in order to conform more to

gendered expectations. Participants' also reported moderating their routine and avoiding

particular areas, avoiding being in public and avoiding being out in darkness. It can

therefore be argued that the resulting self-censorship that trans people engage in as a

result of victimisation exacerbate feelings of social isolation and may therefore contribute to high levels of mental health issues reported by trans populations (METRO, 2014; Yarbrough, 2018). Therefore, protective measures taken to avoid and minimise victimisation negatively impact trans people in similar ways to incidents of victimisation.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the pervasiveness of micro-crimes in the daily lives of trans people and that incidents of verbal abuse and harassment are the most commonly experienced forms of abuse that trans people experience. Participants' accounts of their experiences of micro-crimes are heavily contextualised within the notion of 'routine'. In this discussion, participants present a process of normalisation, rationalisation and anticipation as a coping mechanism in order to maintain daily functioning. Furthermore, by utilising a Queer theoretical framework as a means of deconstructing dominant norms, this chapter has been able to highlight significantly overlooked areas of transphobic victimisation. In doing so, the 'everyday' nature of transphobia has been emphasised, whilst simultaneously Queering our understanding of 'everyday' and the role of routine within this.

Participants also discussed their use of technology and the internet as an essential part of their daily routine. In their discussion of internet use, it is often presented as an extension of the self, a pervasive feature of daily living. In this sense participants' experiences of abuse online differ from their experiences of victimisation offline. Participants also discuss the relationship between online and offline victimisation and contextualise the severity of online abuse in relation to the likelihood of experiencing abuse offline.

The impact of experiencing micro-crimes has also been discussed, and it can be argued that the impact of these incidents can be just as severe as the impact on trans people who experience sexual and physical violence. Experiencing frequent micro-crimes can lead to practical implications for trans people who may engage in self-censorship, relocation or a disengagement from work or education. In turn, this may perpetuate negative feelings and contribute to the declining mental health for trans people experiencing micro-crimes.

<u>Chapter Five: The Hierarchical Nature of Hate Crime Victimisation</u>

Another major theme that was developed from the data related to participants' own

levels of consciousness regarding their victimisation. Notions of consciousness and

recognisable victimisation are invoked in relation to a number of issues relating to

transphobic hate crime, including recognisable perpetrators, recognisable types of crime

and privileged protected characteristics. In this sense, a range of hierarchies are

established that assign legitimacy to particular forms of victimisation. Participants' own

experiences are conceptualised within what they perceive to be socially recognisable

forms of victimisation.

5.1 Social Hierarchy of Protected Characteristics

What becomes clear through participants' accounts of their own victimisation and their

own perception of what constitutes a hate crime is a clearly established hierarchy of

protected characteristics. This can be seen in participants' accounts both consciously

and sub-consciously. When explaining what participants believed a hate crime to be,

examples of protected characteristics were often listed. What can be seen throughout

participants' responses is a hierarchy being established in which race, religion and

sexuality are privileged and at the forefront of participants' consciousness.

> 'I believe it means committing a crime against someone because of something
> that they cannot help about themselves, i.e. race, religion, sexuality, gender,
> etc…'
> (Deena, 34, Female)
>
> 'So I think a hate crime is like a criminal act of hate. So like, if someone assaults
> you and it's because you are not white, then that would be a hate crime because
> it is a crime and it's because the person hates people who aren't white. It is the
> same for like people who are attacked because they are Muslim by people who
> think they are terrorists or whatever. It's like a crime because they hate
> someone's religion.'
> (Dilip, 45, Male)
>
> 'A hate crime is any criminal offence which is viewed by the victim or someone
> else to have happened because of a protected characteristic of the victim, so

either like race, sexuality, disability, religion and being transgender.'
(Star, 44, Non-Binary)

'It's like when someone does a crime because they are racist or homophobic or transphobic. So if they go out and beat up Black people or Muslims or something like that then it is a hate crime because they just don't like the person because of who they are'
(Joby, 17, Gender-Fluid)

Despite the focus of the interviews being participants' gender identity, reference to this protected characteristic was commonly made after the acknowledgement of race, religion and sexuality, and in some cases, gender identity was not acknowledged at all. In this sense, participants' understanding of hate crime victimisation can be argued to be heavily influenced by dominant social hierarchies of victimisation. Despite this, it becomes clear that participants are explicitly aware of the existence of social hierarchies relating to protected characteristics.

'Transphobia is very low on the social agenda. Much lower than say, racism, or homophobia.'
(Sam, 31, Male)

'I don't think society see's transphobia as a big deal that needs to be acknowledged.'
(Peter, 41, Male)

'There is so much awareness about racism and about homophobia and it just isn't the same around gender and trans issues.'
(Jae, 21, Non-Binary)

'Racism is much higher on the police's agenda. As soon as you mention racism the police are on it because they don't want to sit back and do nothing and then be accused of racism themselves you know? There isn't such a huge public fuss about transphobia, so I don't think the police feel the same pressure they do to do something about it when it's about gender.'
(Elaine, 48, Female)

In the excerpts above, Sam, Peter and Jae all refer to the lack of social awareness of transphobia. Sam explicitly refers to a social agenda in which transphobia is not a priority. Sam's conceptualisation of transphobia feeds in to the existence of social hierarchies in which different forms of prejudice can be ranked and privileged. A

similar conceptualisation is evident in Jae's excerpt and both participants refer explicitly to race and sexuality as being at the forefront of the social conscious in relation to forms of discrimination. Elaine speaks more directly to issues of police awareness which she links directly to a wider societal awareness of discrimination targeting protected characteristics. In doing so, Elaine claims that the police privilege incidents of racism due to a larger social awareness of racism. In this sense, she conceptualises legitimate victims of hate crime within a political context in relation to the police's accountability for racism. She goes on to contextualise this conceptualisation within her personal experiences:

> 'Yeah definitely, it was much better than when I reported the incident about my gender, it was almost like as soon as I said racist the police jumped on it. I think because of the way things are with the police and the black community, they panic and act straight away so that they can't be accused of being racist. So, they instantly take it more seriously because they have something to prove you know.'
> (Elaine, 48, Female)

In the excerpt above Elaine describes her experience of reporting hate crimes to the police, and the privilege she felt was given to an incident reported that involved racism. Elaine alludes to tensions between the police and BAME communities and suggests this as a reason for a heightened police awareness to respond to incidents of racially motivated hate crimes. In this sense, racism is firmly established at the top of the hierarchy relating to protected characteristics and is conceptualised as the most authentic form of victimisation based on police responses. Notions of legitimacy and authenticity of claimed victimisation are recurrent throughout participants' reports of their evaluation of whether to report incidents of transphobic hate crime or not.

> 'I think people assume, and I certainly do, that the police won't take it seriously unless it is racist or homophobic which are always taken seriously. People think that they don't take trans issues seriously and that they don't understand the

issues we face.
(Ashley, 34, Male)

'I guess if there was some kind of way of knowing, that you know, if it was shown that our community was taken as seriously. You know, if crimes against us were just as serious as say racism or something along those lines, to show it is discriminatory no matter what and that it's an equal crime, then I think I would be encouraged to report hate crimes. I am going to be honest, and I feel like since we are really focusing on gender identity, I feel that, that gets dismissed, it's not taken seriously, so if I report to the police based on that it's a less valid reason than say racism.'
(Callum, 19, Demi-male)

'I think verbal abuse that was racist would be more likely to be considered as a hate crime by the police than transphobic verbal abuse. I think I would definitely be more likely to report racism or Islamophobia to the police than transphobia because I feel like I would actually be treated like a serious victim.'
(Sam, 31, Male)

In the excerpts above Ashley, Callum and Sam all make reference to the likelihood of being taken seriously by the police when reporting incidents of transphobic hate crime. This has evident implications in participants' decision-making process when deciding whether to report incidents of transphobic hate crime or not. In this sense, it can be argued that a cycle of perpetuation is established in which a dominant societal framing of authentic and legitimate victimisation creates barriers for trans people to reporting incidents of hate crime. The lack of social awareness of transphobic hate crime is also perpetuated by a hesitancy to report, therefore gender identity remains at the bottom of the social conscious.

In relation to the social awareness of gender identity and sexuality participants regularly discuss the conflation of gender identity and sexuality in the context of their victimisation. It becomes clear that a greater societal awareness of sexuality influences the nature of verbal abuse participants' experience. Participants' regularly reported experiencing verbal abuse that was significantly more homophobic in nature than transphobic.

'I used to very much stand out as different, not necessarily as trans, but different, and people saw me as a lesbian. People would assume I was a lesbian and people would always call me a dyke.'
(Peter, 41, Male)

'When I first came out as trans I was living on a site with my family and basically everyone thought I was a lesbian. They didn't understand what trans was… I would be on site, just minding my own business and people would start calling me a dyke, a queer. They would tell me that I wanted to be a woman and once I had had a taste of their cocks I would want it every day. They would say if I just found the right man I would love it.'
(Emmet, 30, Male)

'He asked me if I had a spare fag, and I didn't want any reason to stay there longer than I needed to so I gave him one. A couple of the guys he was with started laughing and saying he was taking a fag from a batty man.'
(Ty, 21, Non-Binary)

What can be seen in participants' accounts of their victimisation is a conflation between gender identity and sexuality. In this sense, victims' presentations of masculinity or femininity are intrinsically linked to perpetrators' perception of sexuality. Emmet describes the inherent misperception of his gender identity by those around him, essentially homophobic in nature, but further describes the homophobia he experienced when perpetrators were aware of his trans identity. Emmet's experience demonstrates the intrinsic relationship between sexuality and gender in the sense that perpetrators were aware of his trans identity, but the nature of victimisation was inherently homophobic, with the presence of misogynistic motif's that are readily used in the victimisation of lesbians. What can be taken from the data above is a wider societal awareness of sexuality and derogatory terms associated with this protected characteristic. As such, motifs of abuse targeting a victim's perceived sexuality are more readily accessible to perpetrators. In doing so, there is a continued invalidation of a victims claimed gender. However, it is not only protected characteristics in which there is a perceived hierarchy and participants also conceptualise their experiences as criminal or not based upon the type of offence they experience.

5.2 Hierarchy of Offence Types

A recurrent theme within participants' accounts of their victimisation and their conceptualisation of hate crimes is the unconscious hierarchy of different types of crime. It becomes clear that types of victimisation that are positioned lower in the hierarchy, such as verbal abuse and harassment, are not legitimised as authentic forms of victimisation.

> 'Yeah, so like if someone is attacked, like assault and ABH and GBH, then that would be a hate crime if it is motivated by prejudice.'
> (Emmet, 30, Male)

> 'So things like assault, ABH, GBH or things like murder. Probably things like graffiti and smashing people's windows and stuff like that as well.'
> (Joe, 28, Gender Queer)

> 'Yeah sure, so if someone is attacking you and they are like shouting transphobic abuse at you while they are hitting you, but if it is just name-calling and verbal abuse then it probably isn't serious enough to be a hate crime.'
> (Lia, 17, Female)

> 'Physical attacks, sexual assaults, hate mail, criminal damage and graffiti… I think verbal abuse is still really kind of like a separate thing from actual hate crime.'
> (Sam, 31, Male)

The excerpts above illustrate participants' responses when they were asked what kind of crimes they may consider to be hate crimes if they were explicitly motivated by transphobia. It is evident that participants draw upon socially recognisable types of crime when they give examples. As discussed earlier in this thesis, the media focus on hate crimes as isolated, extreme incidents is pervasive within participants' conceptualisation of legitimate forms of hate crime victimisation. This was reflected in the data collected from the online surveys. Given the media framing of physical abuse as the most legitimate form of hate crime, it is unsurprising that 97% of participants perceived this as a hate crime. The least selected options can be seen in Figure 6 and Figure 7 and these were 'mis-gendering' and 'outing' which only 59.3% and 67.9% of

participants selected respectively. Verbal abuse was not one of the most commonly

selected answers and fell slightly lower than participants' perception of physical abuse

as a hate crime with 92.7% of participants' considering this to be a hate crime.

Figure 6 - Perception of Mis-gendering

Figure 7 - Participants' Perception of 'Outing' as a Hate Crime
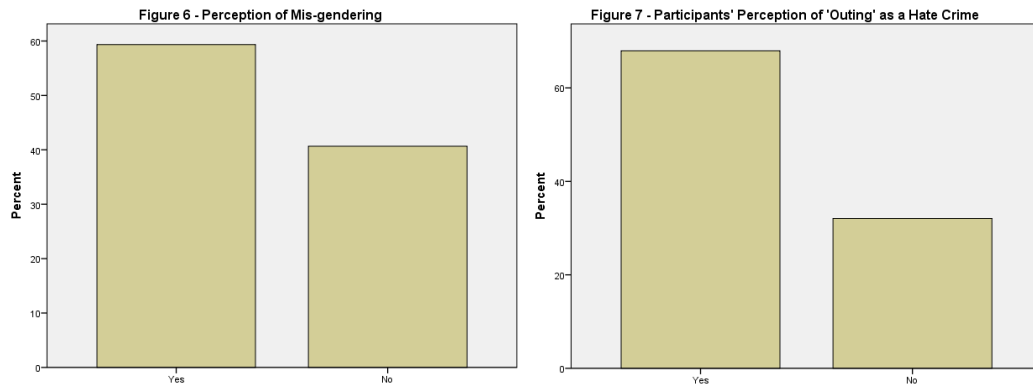
For many participants, the de-legitimisation of micro-crimes as authentic forms of

victimisation is reinforced through failed reporting attempts.

> 'I reported someone for calling me a 'paki tranny' and the police said it was a
> hate incident not a crime, so there was nothing they could do about it. So I don't
> think verbal abuse is a hate crime. I think it can still be recorded for like the
> police records and stuff, but they don't do anything about it.'
> (Dilip, 45, Male)

> 'Like it is almost like in a sense when the guy hit me with the glass, it was easier
> to deal with, because people rallied round to make sure I was okay and it gives
> you a sense that people care, people don't do the same when it is verbal abuse
> because they don't think it hurts so you don't get that instant kind of support and
> you don't instantly get treated like a victim… I don't think that's the polices
> fault [not responding to micro-crimes], I think that is society's fault because
> that's what we get told. I think we are told that it is only a crime if we are
> physically attacked and that we should just learn to accept anything else.'
> (Cody, 29, Male)

> 'I think they might [verbal abuse and harassment], like, technically or legally
> they are hate crimes. I don't think they are treated like hate crimes though. Like
> I had a friend who was verbally abused on a train and reported it to the police,
> but they told him it was a non-crime and recorded it as an incident instead.'
> (Melody, 17, Non-Binary)

In the excerpts above, participants all describe personal, or second-hand experiences of

reporting micro-crimes to the police and having these treated as non-criminal incidents.

There is a clear relationship in Dilip's account between this experience and his conceptualisation of micro-crimes as non-criminal incidents. Cody alludes to this and acknowledges dominant social norms relating to legitimate victimisation influencing the policing of micro-crimes. Cody conceptualises a relationship between socially dominant norms relating to physical abuse being a legitimate form of victimisation and how this is an influencing factor in police responses to micro-crimes.

Despite a clearly established hierarchy of offence types, the most commonly experienced incidents by participants were those that fall lower within the hierarchy. In the online survey participants were asked to indicate what form of crime they had experienced that they considered to be a hate crime. As illustrated in Figure 8 the most common form of crime experienced was verbal abuse in which 95% of participants who had experienced a hate crime indicated they had experienced.

Figure 8 - Was Hate Crime Verbal Abuse?
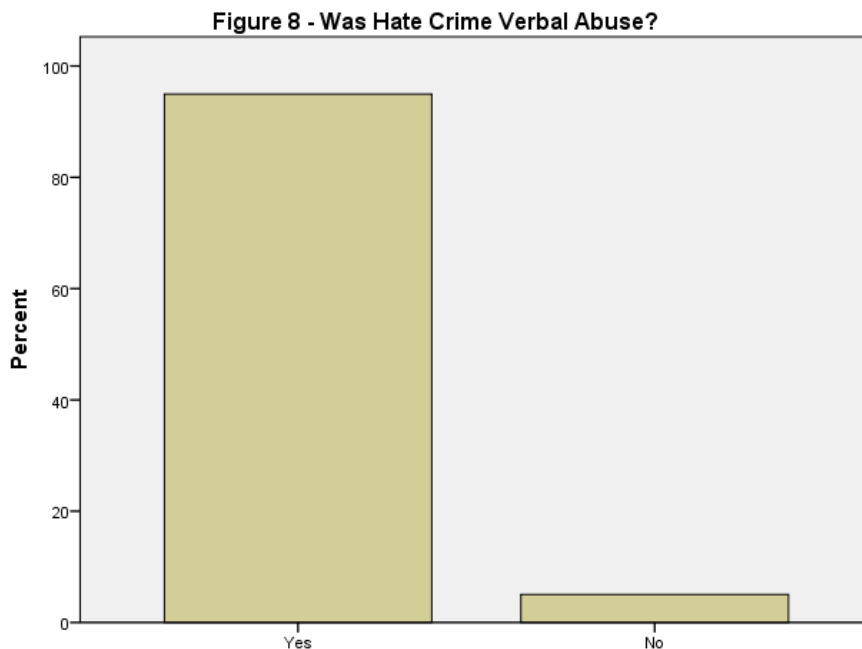
A range of other crimes were also reported and 62.8% of participants who had experienced a hate crime indicated it involved physical violence, 28.7% indicated the

crime involved damage to property and 27.1% indicated the crime had a sexual nature.

Participants were also asked if there were any other forms of crime they had

experienced, and responses included 'blackmail', 'stalking' and 'refusal of services'.

To explore the influence of intersectional characteristics on participants' experiences,

bivariate logistic regression was conducted on the type of crime participants reported

experiencing. Participants were able to select whether the crime they had experienced

was verbal, physical, property offence, sexual offence or an online offence. Verbal

abuse was the only crime that no statistically significant results were produced for.

Therefore, it can be argued that experiencing verbal abuse is an inherently pervasive

feature of trans people's lives. Three intersectional characteristics were statistically

significant in the odds of experiencing a physical hate crime: race, sexuality and

disability status (Table 9). Participants who are 'Non-White British' have 2.504 times

the predicted odds of experiencing a physical hate crime than those who are 'White

British'. Participants who consider themselves to be 'non-heterosexual' have .293 the

predicted odds of experiencing a physical hate crime in comparison to those who

consider themselves 'heterosexual'. Finally, those who consider themselves to have a

disability have 2.245 times the predicted odds of experiencing a physical hate crime

than those who do not consider themselves to have a disability.

Table 9 – Participants' Experience of Physical Abuse as Hate Crime

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1[a] Ethnicity	.918	.307	8.911	1	.003	2.504
Religion	.552	.319	2.993	1	.084	1.736
Gender	-.123	.328	.141	1	.707	.884
Sexuality	-1.226	.348	12.413	1	.000	.293
Disability	.809	.304	7.081	1	.008	2.245
Constant	-1.624	.443	13.442	1	.000	.197

Despite these being the most commonly reported experiences, whether participants conceptualised these experiences as a hate crime was dependent upon their race, religion, sexuality, disability status and gender. In the online survey, participants were asked to indicate whether they considered a range of actions to be hate crimes. The actions they were asked to consider included: damage to property, harassment, hate mail, intimidation, mis-gendering, outing, physical abuse, sexual abuse, stalking and verbal abuse. Bivariate logistic regression was conducted and of the responses recorded, damage to property, harassment, mis-gendering, outing and physical abuse produced non-statistically significant results. All other actions did produce statistically significant results but for various characteristics.

Table 10 – Participants' Perception of Hate Mail as a Hate Crime

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1[a]	Ethnicity	-.835	.373	5.004	1	.025	.434
	Religion	-.237	.383	.383	1	.536	.789
	Gender	.190	.432	.194	1	.660	1.210
	Sexuality	-.801	.486	2.717	1	.099	.449
	Disability	.044	.405	.012	1	.913	1.045
	Constant	-1.687	.515	10.706	1	.001	.185

Participants who identified as 'Non-White British' have .434 the predicted odds of perceiving hate mail to be a hate crime in comparison to participants who identified as 'White British' (Table 10).

Table 11 – Participants' Perception of Intimidation as a Hate Crime

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1[a]	Ethnicity	-1.335	.468	8.147	1	.004	.263
	Religion	-1.058	.449	5.561	1	.018	.347
	Gender	.877	.598	2.146	1	.143	2.403
	Sexuality	-.523	.526	.988	1	.320	.593
	Disability	-.762	.454	2.812	1	.094	.467
	Constant	-1.493	.624	5.718	1	.017	.225

Participants who did identify as 'Non-White British' have .263 the predicted odds of perceiving intimidation to be a hate crime in comparison to participants who identify as 'White British' (Table 11). Furthermore, those who consider themselves to have a religious affiliation have .347 the predicted odds of perceiving intimidation to be a hate crime in comparison to those who considered themselves non-religious (Table 11). Therefore, it is argued that trans people who are not 'White British' are significantly less likely than those who are White British to consider hate mail and intimidation to be a hate crime. Also, trans people who are also religious are less likely to consider intimidation to be a hate crime than those who are non-religious.

Table 12 – Participants' Perception of Verbal Abuse as Hate Crime

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1[a]	Ethnicity	-1.175	.410	8.214	1	.004	.309
	Religion	-.121	.415	.085	1	.771	.886
	Gender	.099	.490	.041	1	.840	1.104
	Sexuality	.209	.442	.224	1	.636	1.233
	Disability	-.126	.431	.086	1	.769	.881
	Constant	-1.858	.561	10.984	1	.001	.156

The final action that provided statistically significant results was participants perception of verbal abuse. Only one personal characteristic produced a statistically significant result. Participants who identify as 'Non-White British' have .309 the predicted odds of considering verbal abuse to be a hate crime in comparison to participants who identified as 'White British' (Table 12). Therefore, trans people who are not 'White British' are significantly less likely to consider verbal abuse to be a hate crime than trans people who are 'White British'. Participants' intersectional characteristics also had an impact on their perception of safety and risk around particular groups of people and the victim-perpetrator relationship also had a significant impact upon participants' perception of their own victimisation as criminal.

5.3 Hierarchical Nature of Victim-Perpetrator Relationship

As discussed earlier in this thesis, dominant accounts of hate crime victimisation often frame incidents as being perpetrated by a stranger, an individual in which there is no existing relationship between the victim and perpetrator. This was reflected in participants' perception of who presented a risk to them. In the online survey, it was unsurprising that 'strangers' (Figure 9) appear to present the most risk (97.4%) to participants and 'acquaintances' (Figure 10) were the second most commonly selected answer (76.8%). However, it was not just strangers that participants felt posed a risk. Rather, people in authority and positions of power also appear to pose a risk to participants, with healthcare professionals (43.5%) and criminal justice officials (55%) reported to be a significant risk to participants. Despite the overwhelming risk that people not known to participants appear to present, there was also significant risk reported from individuals known to participants. A total of 44.3% of participants reported feeling at risk from co-workers and 21.3% of participants reported feeling at risk from friends. Family were also highlighted as potential risk factors with 17.4% of participants indicating they felt at risk from immediate family and 29.9% of participants indicating that they felt at risk from extended family.

Figure 9 - Do participants feel at risk of experiencing a hate crime from strangers?
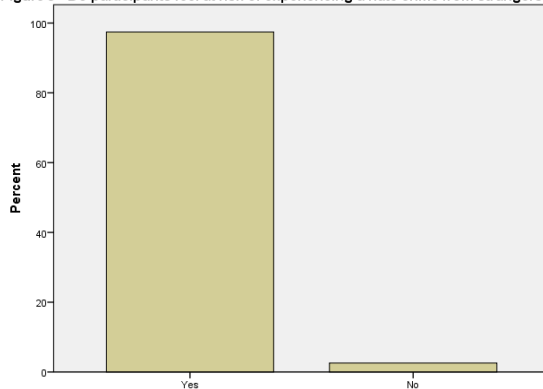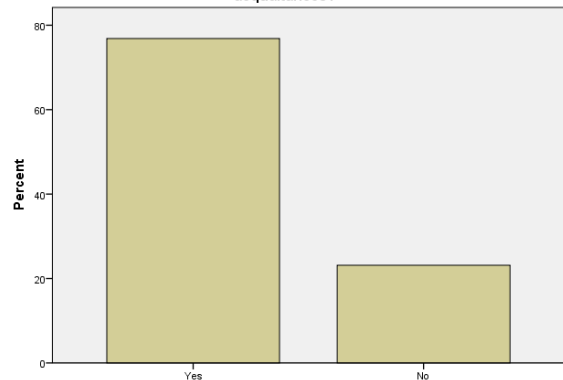
Figure 10 - Do participants feel at risk of experiencing a hate crime from acquaitances?

What becomes clear through participants' accounts of their victimisation is the conceptualisation of these experiences as non-hate crime incidents in circumstances in which a known perpetrator is involved.

> 'Well I didn't really consider it to be a hate crime, or any crime, because they were my family, and you know, regardless, I still love them and do have feelings for them. I didn't want to report it, I didn't want to get them in any kind of trouble. I felt like I [had] disappointed them enough.'
> (Deena, 34, Female)

> 'I had to run away when I came out, I brought shame into my family, I embarrassed my family. I was abused and abused by my family and who I thought were friends, and then I finally had enough and escaped…At the time I was really uneducated on what a hate crime was, it was just my family dealing with it in the way that they know how to deal with it.'
> (Corrina, 21, Female)

> 'No I did not [consider it to be a hate crime]. I knew that it was a crime, I know it is illegal to hurt people, but I did not think it was a hate crime. It was my family, my family I know they loved me, but I brought shame and disgrace to them and they reacted how they knew how to.'
> (Bushra, 29, Female)

In the data above, participants describe their own understanding of their experiences of abuse. In all three accounts the perpetrators were members of the victims' immediate family. It is apparent that in these cases, the perpetrators are not perceived by victims to be perpetrators, but their status as family members is their most prominent identity marker. Throughout these accounts, notions of self-blame are drawn upon. It can be argued that participants' perception of self-blame for the abuse they experienced feeds in to the conceptualisation of their experiences as non-hate crimes. Bushra is explicitly aware of her victimisation as a crime, yet even so, her feelings of self-blame override the identification of family members as perpetrators of crime. Furthermore, cultural norms are present throughout the data, in which participants minimise the criminality of their victimisation by rationalising this in the context of family norms. In this sense,

participants' conceptualisation of their abuse as non-criminal as a result of a recognisable perpetrator also feeds in to the evaluation of whether to report an incident.

> 'Oh definitely, if it was a stranger or someone I didn't know, or a random person on the street, I definitely would have reported it. So my family being family, that's a definite reason why I didn't do anything about it.'
> (Deena, 34, Female)

> 'My father beat me and my family disowned me. I was left on the street with nothing but the clothes I was wearing. I didn't think they were hate crimes, it was a family issue and it must be dealt with by the family. The police would not have been interested in a domestic situation.'
> (Dilip, 45, Male)

> 'My dad and my brother viciously attacked me, I mean literally beat me to a pulp, I was left with broken ribs, black eyes, a swollen jaw. I mean, they didn't just punch me and kick me, they hit me with a belt, my back was split open. I just saw it as something I expected to happen because of my culture and faith and the reactions that I knew would come. I was almost prepared for it before I had come out. I was visited by the police in hospital, but I refused to speak to them, regardless of what had happened they were my family. I didn't see it as a hate crime, I didn't even see it as a crime to be honest.'
> (Sam, 31, Male)

In the data above, Deena, Dilip and Sam also discuss their motivations for deciding to not report incidents of abuse. The role of the 'family' as perpetrators influences the participants' decision to not report the abuse in different ways. For Deena, the overwhelming status of 'family' acts as a barrier for her reporting the perpetration of abuse committed by them. In Dilip's account, the role of 'family' serves to transform an act of criminality into a domestic incident, in which criminality is not a feature, therefore preventing Dilip to conceptualise his experience as a crime. It is also important to note that the role of the 'family' is heavily contextualised within racial, religious and cultural frameworks. In this sense, the role of the 'family' was not as prominent in participants' accounts who identified as 'White British'. This is a similar theme present in Sam's report of his experience. Despite an interest shown by the

police, the role of cultural norms and expectations associated with the notion of 'family' are an overwhelming factor in his conceptualisation of the incident as non-criminal.

This was also present within the results from the online survey. To explore feelings of risk Chi-squared tests were conducted to explore participants feelings of risk from particular people. Participants were asked whether they felt their immediate family presented a risk to them in relation to hate crime victimisation. The only two characteristics that appeared to be statistically significant at a 95% confidence interval were participants race ($X2$ (1) = 27.134), p = .000) and religious affiliation ($X2$ (1) = 18.027, p = .000). This indicated that there is a significant relationship between participants' race and religion and their conceptualisation of risk from their immediate family. To explore this further, binary logistic regression was also conducted on these variables. In relation to participants feelings of risk of experiencing a hate crime from immediate family, participants' race and religion produced statistically significant results. Participants who considered themselves not 'White British' had 3.361 times the predicted odds of feeling at risk of experiencing a hate crime from a member of their immediate family. Furthermore, those who considered themselves to be religious has 2.995 times the predicted odds of feeling at risk of experiencing a hate crime from a member of their immediate family. Similarly, to immediate family, participants' race and religion produced statistically significant results in relation to participants' feelings of risk of experiencing a hate crime perpetrated by a member of their extended family. Participants who considered themselves not 'White British' had 3.331 times the predicted odds of feeling at risk of experiencing a hate crime from a member of their extended family. Furthermore, those who considered themselves to be religious has 3.627 times the predicted odds of feeling at risk of experiencing a hate crime from a member of their extended family (Table 13).

Table 13 – Participants' Feeling of Risk from Extended Family

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1[a]	Ethnicity	1.203	.279	18.567	1	.000	3.331
	Religion	1.288	.283	20.711	1	.000	3.627
	Gender	.326	.327	.996	1	.318	1.386
	Sexuality	-.024	.330	.005	1	.943	.977
	Disability	-.263	.300	.769	1	.380	.768
	Constant	-.682	.383	3.170	1	.075	.506

Despite many participants reporting abuse perpetrated by family members, friends and other 'known' perpetrators, the notion of 'stranger danger' was an intrinsic feature of participants' perception of risk.

> 'I never go to big supermarkets anymore, because there is just too many strangers around for me to feel comfortable. I always panic when I am around too many strangers, because you never know how they will react to you being trans.'
> (Rose, 67, Female)

> 'I think I feel most at risk when I'm around lots of people I don't know. I don't like strangers. I don't feel comfortable around them. I think they present the biggest risk to me, but not just strangers you see on the street, strangers that come in to your space, gas men, delivery drivers, postmen.'
> (Ruby, 52, Female)

> 'I'm not a huge fan of going to places I don't know where there will be people I don't know. There is something very intimidating about strangers. I think it's the power they hold of being unknown. The unknown can be very scary, because you don't know whether someone is going to react positively, or whether they are going to abuse you.'
> (Sam, 31, Male)

In the data above, strangers are conceptualised as presenting the biggest risk to participants in relation to their fear of victimisation. Notions of stranger danger are so pervasive in participants' conceptualisation of victimisation that it can lead to a change in routine, as Rose reports finding smaller supermarkets to shop in, in order to minimise her encounters with strangers, therefore minimising the risk of victimisation. Similarly, for Sam, despite reporting incidents of abuse perpetrated by family members, his

perception of risk is conceptualised in relation to the 'unknown'. Notions of 'stranger danger' are so intrinsically woven in to society's understanding of criminal victimisation, that despite extremely aggressive incidents of physical violence perpetrated by 'known' offenders, participants still conceptualise their own feelings of risk in relation to socially recognisable perpetrators, rather than actual perpetrators of hate crime. This was reflected in the online survey and when binary logistic regression was conducted on participants fear of victimisation from strangers, no statistically significant results were produced. It can be concluded that participants' feelings of risk from strangers and acquaintances is not significantly affected by their intersectional characteristics. This demonstrates the inherent fear of strangers perpetrating hate crimes. This is not to say that strangers play no role in the perpetration of transphobic hate crime, however, given participants' accounts of victimisation by family members, the overwhelming focus on 'stranger danger' may be misleading and therefore influence participants' conceptualisation of their own experiences of abuse as criminal. The way in which the perceived hierarchies that have been discussed interact also have significant implications for trans people's decision on whether to report these incidents to the police.

5.4 Impact of the Hierarchies on Policing and Reporting Practice's

As can be seen in the previous sub-theme, socially dominant perceptions of victimisation impact on participants own perception of their experience as a hate crime. However, as will be discussed in this sub-theme, participants' anticipation of how those in power will respond to these incidents impact their perception of whether it is worthwhile reporting these incidents. This is often framed by participants in two different ways, firstly in the sense that micro-crimes are of no interest to criminal justice agencies, and secondly micro-crimes are framed as trivial in relation to physical

146

violence. The trivialisation of micro-crimes prevents legitimacy being assigned to micro-crimes as valid forms of victimisation.

> 'No [I didn't report it], I just didn't think it would be taken seriously. Like, I thought they would just turn around and be like 'oh it's only kids messing around, don't take it to heart' so I just didn't bother telling the police, or telling anyone actually.'
> (Ashley, 34, Male)

> 'No, I have never reported any of that, just because realistically I don't think the police are going to do anything about it at all, so it is just a waste of my time to make a report to get no outcome.'
> (Corrina, 21, Female)

> 'No I didn't [report the incident] because I know that even though I thought it was a hate crime and I felt violated, I knew that the police wouldn't consider it to be criminal and wouldn't want to waste their time with it.'
> (Star, 44, Non-Binary)

> 'I don't think the police are very trans aware, I don't think they understand the experiences we face as trans people. Particularly verbal abuse, it is not high on the priority list of the police.'
> (Ruby, 52, Female)

In the accounts provided above incidents of micro-crimes are perceived to be unworthy of police attention which is significantly influenced by assumptions made in relation to policing priorities. In all of the accounts provided above participants discuss anticipated police responses to their experiences of micro-crimes. In this sense, there is an overwhelming consensus that no action will be taken and that micro-crimes are not serious enough to be reported. There is a pervasive perception of micro-crimes being framed by police as non-criminal and therefore the likelihood of police actions being taken is minimal. In this sense, socially recognisable forms of victimisation may influence participants' perception of how worthy their experiences are of being reported.

The hierarchical nature of hate crime victimisation also impacted trans people's knowledge of what can be reported to the police. Participants were aware of the

criminality of physical and sexual abuse. However, when discussing incidents of micro-crimes such as verbal abuse and harassment, there was a significant gap in knowledge as to what could legitimately be reported.

> 'I think education is the key to progress. We don't need to read loads of fancy legislation, we need a clear guide, with examples, of what can be reported and how it should be reported. If I read an official document that said I could report if someone threatened me and called me transphobic names, then I would. I would take that document with me, so I could be confident I would be listened to. So, I think people need to be told very clearly on what is reportable and what isn't.'
> (Ty, 21, Non-Binary)

> 'We need to have clear guidance on what can be reported as a hate crime, what can be reported as a hate incident and what cannot be reported at all. I think people don't report because they aren't sure, they are uncertain as to whether what happened meets the threshold for a criminal offence.'
> (Ruby, 52, Female)

> 'I just think the law is so unclear as to what can be reported as a crime and what can't. People need to know that they will be taken seriously when they report things like verbal abuse, and that it will be treated like a crime. I think if people are unclear on whether it is a crime, it makes them think they won't be taken seriously.'
> (Simon, 47, Male)

Participants' allude to the complexity of official policies and legislative regulations that police incidents of hate crime. In this sense, there is an evident power imbalance between those who create, maintain and enforce the law and those who are policed by it. Legislation and official polices are characterised by complexity and are therefore deemed inaccessible for many transgender people. Participants' describe the need for simple, clear guidance that is easily understood. Furthermore, a lack of confidence in the police also emerged from the online surveys. Participants were asked how confident they were in the police's ability to identify and tackle hate crime. Table one below shows the breakdown of responses recorded.

Table 14 - How confident are participants in the police's ability to identify and tackle hate crime?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all	102	25.8	25.8	25.8
	Slightly	119	30.1	30.1	55.9
	Moderately	101	25.5	25.6	81.5
	Very	40	10.1	10.1	91.6
	Extremely	8	2.0	2.0	93.7
	Unsure	25	6.3	6.3	100.0
	Total	395	99.7	100.0	
Missing	9999	1	.3		
Total		396	100.0		

As can be seen in table one above, 55.9% of participants either had 'no confidence', or 'slight confidence' in the police's ability to identify and tackle hate crime. A much smaller percentage (12.1%) of participants were 'very' or 'extremely' confident in the police's ability to identify and tackle hate crime. This signifies a significant lack of confidence in the police force. Furthermore, despite police initiatives to increase confidence in the police, only 66% of participants who lived in a London borough knew who their LGBT Liaison Officer was and only 32.3% of all participants were aware of what an LGBT Liaison Officer's role within the police force was. Participants were also asked how aware the police were of issues facing the trans and non-binary community. 34.9% of participants felt that the police were 'very aware' or 'slightly aware' compared to 53.9% of participants who felt the police were either 'very unaware' or 'slightly unaware'. However, the overwhelming census (95.4%) of participants was that 'Transgender Awareness Training' should be compulsory for all police officers.

A lack of confidence in the police was also evident in the interviews conducted. Participants described a lack of trans awareness from the police which resulted in them experiencing a range of micro-aggressions which de-legitimised their identity as a trans person. It is argued that the hierarchical nature of protected characteristics contributes to

a much wider police awareness of issues pertaining to race, religion and sexuality. As a result, trans people feel that the police lack an appropriate level of trans awareness, which negatively impacts on trans people's perception of the police.

> 'There needs to be a much higher confidence in the police that they will act and will disapprove of these incidents [micro-crimes]. Without this confidence I do not think people will ever feel better to report. I think to get confidence, the police need to be specifically trained around gender identity, so that issues like mis-gendering and using birth names doesn't happen anymore. This will make sure that the police remain respectful to you and do not get your name wrong.'
> (Bushra, 29, Female)

> 'I guess there needs to be some way of knowing that transphobia is taken as seriously, you know, as crimes that are racist or whatever. I think transgender is like the last taboo so there is a lack of knowledge around gender identity. This makes it hard for trans people to report to the police, but you think they won't understand you. I think if they had more knowledge and more awareness and trans people knew they were trained it would make a difference.'
> (Callum, 19, Demi-male)

> 'I think people need confidence that they will be taken seriously and that the police understand their gender identity. I think if the police underwent training and attended events for trans and for non-binary people and got involved in the community, then they would have conversations about what had happened and then the police could show concern and it would just inspire people to report.'
> (Star, 44, Non-Binary)

In the excerpts above participants describe the perceived lack of gender identity awareness of police officers and those in charge of policing hate crime. This is associated with negative reporting experiences and the perpetration of micro-aggressions from policing officers including mis-gendering and 'dead-naming'. Whilst these experiences fall outside the remit of criminality and legislation, they negatively impact participants' perception of the police. What is evident is participants' perception that gender identity awareness training for police officers would increase levels of confidence in the police and decrease participants' sense of risk of experiencing further discrimination and micro-aggressions when reporting.

Considering the lack of confidence in the police reported by participants earlier in the survey, it is unsurprising that of all participants who had experienced a hate crime, only 39.8% of participants responded that they had reported an incident to the police. Participants were then asked to report their satisfaction levels of the reporting process of up to three reported incidents. The average percentage of participants who had reported who were 'very satisfied' or 'satisfied' with the reporting process was only 5.6%. However, participants satisfaction across the three incidents reported on was even lower (3.4%) when considering their satisfaction that the police understood their needs directly relating to their trans identity. Often, the police response to reports of hate crime reinforced the non-criminality of the offence. Despite participants indicating that they had notified the police of a hate crime, the incident was only recorded as a hate crime in less than half of all reports across the three incidents that participants could report on, 44.8%, 41.2% and 31% respectively.

Participants who indicated that they had experienced a hate crime but had not reported the incident were also asked to report on potential factors that prevented them from reporting an incident of hate crime to the police. Of the participants who had experienced a hate crime and chosen to not report the incident, the two most commonly selected factors that influenced this decision was the perception that the police wouldn't do anything about this incident (65.1%) or that these incidents happen too often (63.3%). Other significant motivating factors influencing the decision not to report included a fear of personal repercussions (43.8%), fear of experiencing further discrimination (48.5%) and believing the incident was not serious enough to report (43.8%).

Other participants also described some of the barriers they faced when evaluating whether to report incidents of micro-crime.

'Like, if they [the police] don't do anything when my stuff is destroyed then they aren't going to do anything when I get verbally abused and harassed. So I think it depends on what your report, I think if you get beat up then they might take it more seriously because then it is like a serious assault and maybe they have to meet like targets and stuff on serious crimes, but I think if you report verbal abuse they just won't care and they won't really help you.'
(Corrina, 21, Female)

'I'm just not sure that it would have been a real issue for the police, like they probably have more serious things to deal with like physical attacks and stuff that investigating like verbal abuse probably isn't one of their top priorities and people would get annoyed with the police if they can't report to real incidents because they are busy trying to find someone who said something horrible.'
(Lia, 17, Female)

'I don't think the police would take it seriously if I reported it to them, whereas if I reported a murder they would take it seriously coz that is very obviously a crime you know.'
(Peter, 41, Male)

In the data excerpts above, participants discuss the anticipated reaction from police officers should they report a micro-crime targeting their trans identity. However, this is conceptualised in relation to more socially recognisable forms of victimisation, all characterised by physical violence. In this sense, wider societal frameworks that assign legitimacy to particular forms of victimisation influence participants' conceptualisation of their own victimisation and the worthiness of reporting. Notions of legitimacy are present throughout participants' accounts of their experiences.

'No, like I said, I always feel like I am just going to waste their time [reporting verbal abuse] and to be fair I don't think there is anything they could really do about that. I just felt like things like that would just be a waste of everyone time you know. I don't think stuff like that would be taken seriously enough to warrant taking up time to give a statement and stuff and actually if I did report it, I would then be down the police station at least twice a week and I don't want to become known as like the girl that cries wolf, I want to be taken seriously if anything serious ever happens again and I feel like if I report everything it takes something away from anything serious.'
(Rachel, 18, Female)

'I just want to know that I will be taken seriously by the police, and I think the way in which people look at you depends on how you act. I don't want the police to think, 'oh, here we go, another report by Rose, what is it this time?'. If I was to report all the verbal abuse I experience, it would take something away from how genuine and serious the incidents of physical violence are.'

(Rose, 67, Female)

In the excerpts above, reporting micro-crimes is perceived to be in some way detrimental to the acknowledgement of 'serious' victimisation facing trans people. Rachel and Rose both acknowledge a hierarchy of seriousness that relates to different forms of victimisation, with micro-crimes targeting their trans identity at the bottom of the hierarchy. In this sense, legitimacy is not assigned to these experiences of victimisation. It is conceptualised that by assigning legitimacy to micro-crimes, more socially recognisable forms of victimisation will be de-legitimised in some way. Notions of legitimacy in relation to socially recognisable forms of victimisation interplay with participants' perception of the worthiness of reporting micro-crimes.

5.5 Discussion

Throughout this chapter a range of hierarchies have been established that relate to different aspects of hate crime victimisation. These hierarchies assign privilege to particular forms of victimisation as 'legitimate' in which there is clear criminality and contributes to the overshadowing of various other forms of victimisation (Bowling, 1999). It was therefore unsurprising to find that an overwhelming majority of participants perceive physical aggression and violence to constitute a hate crime. However, despite the dominance of physical violence as the most legitimate form of victimisation, there was also a significantly high level of perception of some non-physically violent offences as hate crimes including harassment and verbal abuse. In this sense, there is a clear perception of criminality relating to non-violent offences which challenges the established hierarchy of victimisation. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, this is more clearly established in the context of the victimisation of others.

One of the key themes that was developed from participants' interviews is 'socially conscious and recognisable victimisation' and the way this impacts on trans peoples' perception of their own victimisation. This is intrinsically linked to the hierarchical nature of hate crime victimisation. It can therefore be concluded that transphobic micro-crimes are less socially recognisable forms of victimisation than dominant conceptualisations of hate crime and legitimate victim status is therefore difficult to establish. This has significant implications for trans peoples' perception of their own victimisation and whether this is perceived by the victim as a legitimate form of victimisation worthy of police attention. The concept of socially recognisable forms of victimisation has been explored by Corteen *et al.* (2016) who describe the institutionalised nature of many forms of discrimination relating to low-level incidents of racial and sexual harassment and the consequence for their recognition as legitimate forms of victimisation. As discussed previously, it can be argued that trans people conceptualise incidents of transphobic micro-crimes as a 'normal' feature of everyday life, therefore, the criminality and legitimacy of this type of victimisation is rendered inconsequential.

Despite the distinction made earlier in this thesis in relation to the difference between micro-aggressions and micro-crimes, what became clear through participants accounts of victimisation is the intrinsically linked nature of both. Participants' often described experiencing a range of micro-aggressions that operated to exclude, oppress and de-legitimise their identity and existence. Alongside this, was a significant amount of micro-crime victimisation, in which verbal abuse, harassment and threats of violence are an integral part of daily living. In turn, incidents of micro-crimes were often perceived as gateway offences, increasing trans peoples fear of more socially recognisable forms of victimisation including physical and sexual violence.

Therefore, this research argues that although each form of victimisation warrants attention, the intrinsic relationship between all three should remain at the forefront of research. In a culture of isolation, oppression and segregation there is a relationship between micro-aggressions, micro-crimes and socially recognisable forms of victimisation in which one form of victimisation facilitates another. In this sense, the exclusion of micro-crimes from the social conscience results in the non-policing of these crimes and positions trans people in a subordinate position on gender hierarchies. Therefore, they become legitimate targets for micro-crimes. As a result of this, micro-crimes act as a gateway for more socially recognisable forms of violence and victimisation.

The hierarchical nature of hate crime victimisation also extended to the notion of the 'legitimate victim'. Christie (1986) argues that only certain stereotypically 'victims' are assigned 'legitimate victim' status. Christie characterises the legitimate victim as an individual who is free from blame, weak, engaging in respectable activity at the time of victimisation and being a stranger from the offender. Although Christie's characterisation of the legitimate victim has been critiqued, and notions of legitimate victim status have developed (Hall, 2010), the requirements for legitimate victim status permeate participants' account of their own perception of their victimisation. In this research, many participants describe experiencing blame from family, friends and criminal justice agencies in relation to their victimisation. This can most often be seen in suggestions made to censor and present a more socially conformative gender presentation in order to avoid further victimisation. In this sense, Christie's notion of 'free from blame' is a significant factor in trans people's self-perception of the legitimacy of their victim status.

Trans peoples' perception of their own victim status is also conceptualised in relation to more socially recognisable minority groups. In participants' descriptions of what constituted a hate crime, recognised victim groups relating to race, religion and sexuality were overwhelmingly at the forefront of participants' conscious. Despite race, religion, sexuality, trans identity and disability status all being formally recognised as hate crime victim groups, it can be argued that the social conscious of these groups is not equal. Overwhelmingly, participants' conceptualised race as a privileged characteristic in relation to its protected status and this has been explored by Jamel (2018). This can be seen is research given the overwhelming amount of literature exploring racially, religiously and homophobically aggravated hate crime. It can be argued that trans people's perception of their own victim status as 'illegitimate' are heavily influenced by a wider societal unawareness of trans identities, and as one participant described, trans identities being the 'last taboo'. This thesis argues that the historic conflation of gender identity with sexuality (Salamon, 2010) which has been dominated by the experiences and exposure of white, gay men (Jones and Newburn, 2001) has led to a significantly lower awareness of trans identities and communities. In this sense, a hierarchy of protected characteristics is established which assigns 'legitimate' victim status to particular groups based on their positioning on the hierarchy. It can be argued that transphobic hate crime is positioned at the bottom of the hierarchy, in which legitimate victim status may be ambiguous in trans people perception of their own victimisation.

Furthermore, Christie's 'ideal victim' typology relating to the notion of 'stranger danger' is also a key tenet in participants' perceptions of their own victim status. What becomes clear through this chapter is that when trans people experience victimisation that is perpetrated by friends and family, their conceptualisation of 'victimhood'

becomes ambiguous. This has been explored in literature relating to familial and domestic violence and abuse (Corteen *et al.,* 2016) in which an existing visible relationship causes the invisibility of perpetrator status being assigned, in turn negating the existence of 'victim' status. In this sense, Christie's idea of the ideal victim being one who has no existing relationship with the perpetrator permeate participants' accounts of their victimisation in relation to a known offender. Therefore, it can be argued that transphobic victimisation within a familial or domestic setting is likely to be significantly underreported as a consequence of the ambiguity of 'legitimate victim' status in these cases.

In relation to the perpetrators of these experiences of micro-crimes, it becomes clear that notions of 'stranger danger' still heavily influence trans people's perception of risk, as strangers appeared to present the most risk to participants in this study. Significantly lower levels of risk were reported relating to perpetrators known to the victim including co-workers, friends and family. It can therefore be concluded that dominant notions of victimisation relating to perpetrators permeate individuals' perception of risk. This is also mirrored in participants' accounts of where they feel most at risk of experiencing abuse, in which the 'home' was one of the least commonly selected answers, mirroring low levels of perceived risk from family and friends. Participants' local area was the most commonly selected answer, reflecting the public nature of victimisation which feeds in to notions of stranger danger. The role of the 'family' is also key in participants' experiences of hate crime. Organista *et al.* (2010) explored the process of 'coming out' for lesbians and gay men from ethnic minority groups and found that 'homosexuality' is primarily conceptualised as an exclusively Western identity, and that this may amount to a perceived cultural and ethnic rejection by lesbian and gay people from ethnic minority backgrounds. This is a similar notion that participants describe, in

which their experiences of victimisation perpetrated by family members is conceptualised within cultural norms in which self-blame is described as a result of bringing shame to the family through the rejection of cultural expectations.

Given the historic tension between particular religious communities and wider LGBT (Law, 2016; Paul, 2016) communities it can be argued that trans people from religious families and communities are more likely to fear rejection, discrimination and abuse as a result of their trans identity than trans people who are non-religious. Religious responses to gender and sexuality non-conformity influence cultural norms in relation to responding to gender non-conformity including conversion therapy (Clucas, 2017) and honour-based violence (Khan *et al.,* 2017) may also therefore play a part in religious trans peoples fear of victimisation from religious communities and family members. It can therefore be argued that trans people who are also religious may face multiple oppressions relating to their gender identity from both non-religious cisgender people and a heightened sense of fear and oppression from religious communities.

The normalisation of victimisation and therefore the negation of 'victim status' presented as a significant barrier for trans people in reporting experiences of transphobic micro-crimes to the police. The inability for participants to recognise their 'victim status' meant that participants did not perceive their experiences of micro-crimes as criminal, and they are therefore conceptualised as unworthy of police attention. In this sense, victimisation is seen as an on-going social process (Chakraborti, 2009). As such, individual incidents of victimisation may be difficult to distinguish from the inherently 'everyday' nature of transphobia. Therefore, the process of normalisation is inherently problematic to the reporting of micro-crimes. However, it is not just the process of normalisation that produces a barrier to reporting, as discussed earlier, the hierarchy of protected characteristics, notions of stranger danger, and experiencing non-socially

recognisable forms of victimisation all contribute to the underreporting of transphobic micro-crimes. Participants' also described a significant lack of awareness and knowledge of the relevant legislation that polices incidents of hate crime and Chakraborti *et al.* (2014) suggest that this is particularly relevant to communities who are socially and politically marginalised.

5.6 Conclusion

The key narrative that runs throughout this theme relates to the perceived hierarchy of a number of elements that relate to hate crime victimisation. As such, trans people often conceptualise themselves to be in a low position within a range of hierarchies, contributing to the under-reporting of transphobic hate crime. In order to address the under-reporting of transphobic hate crime, and more specifically transphobic micro-crimes, a range of hierarchies must be deconstructed. The deconstruction of these hierarchies is essential in assigning legitimacy to all experiences of transphobic hate crime, which is currently reserved for those incidents that sit within the uppermost space of the established order. By utilising a Queer theoretical approach to this research, the hierarchical nature of hate crime victimisation has been emphasised. In doing so, this research has challenged dominant norms within existing literature that privilege and focus on more socially recognisable forms of victimisation.

Chapter Six: Space, Place and Belonging

A key theme that was developed from the data related to participants sense and awareness of space, place and belonging. In particular, sex-segregated public toilets were conceptualised as spaces of heightened sense of vigilance of gender. Furthermore, within this theme masculinity is considered in two ways; firstly, in the context of public toilets being sites of hyper-masculinity in which participants' accounts directly speak to the risk of victimisation they experience as a result of toilets being characterised by hypermasculinity. Secondly, masculinity is considered in relation to its fragility, in which enacting transphobic abuse serves to reinforce a perpetrators dominant position within gender hierarchies.

The multiple marginalisation's experienced by participants who identify with multiple minority social groups that relate to sexuality, race and religion is also discussed. In doing so, the exclusion that trans people who do not identify as heterosexual, atheist and White British is explored. As such, trans culture is characterised by Whiteness, in that those who identify as White British are significantly privileged compared to their non-White British peers. Notions of 'transnormativity' are also explored which assigns legitimacy to particular presentations of 'trans' and excludes those who do not conform to these expectations.

Within this chapter, the role of intersectional characteristics, and how visibility is conceptualised as a risk factor, heightening participants' sense of risk of experiencing victimisation is also discussed. In this sense, participants describe visible characteristics such as race, religious dress and age as factors increasing their sense of risk of experiencing abuse.

6.1 The Policing of Gender and the Distinction between Public and Private

The results from the online surveys highlighted key areas in which trans people feel at risk of experiencing a hate crime. The most commonly selected answer was 'local area' (Figure 10) in which the participant lived and 70.5% of participants feel at risk in this area.

Figure 11 - Do participants feel at risk of experiencing a hate crime in local area?
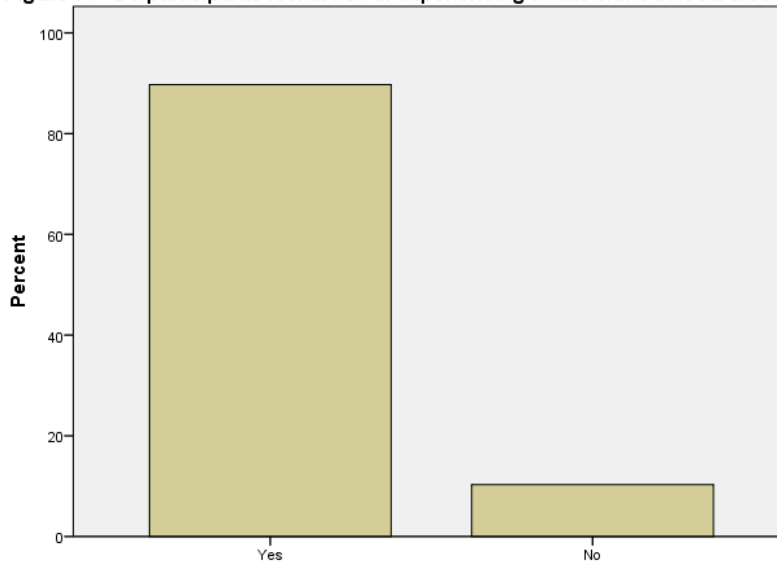
Places of education appear to be spaces of least risk with only 11.9% of participants indicating they felt at risk of experiencing a hate crime in university. This may not reflect the true nature of participants' feelings of risk in educational establishments, as it is unclear how many participants in the sample attend a place of education. Therefore, the true level of risk felt by trans people attending places of education cannot be established. Other spaces that were also highlighted as spaces of risk for participants included home (15.7%) and work spaces (25.3%).

In participants' accounts of their experiences in public sex-segregated spaces, a heightened awareness of gender by other's who also occupy these spaces was described.

The heightened awareness directly feeds in to participants' feelings of risk of

victimisation in sex-segregated spaces.

> 'I think like in most other spaces people aren't as aware of people's gender, but like the toilet can be quite a private thing, so people have like this greater awareness of who is around them and stuff. I definitely feel like people pay more attention to me in the toilet than anywhere else in public. Well, the toilet and then places like changing rooms and stuff. Anywhere where you have to make a choice between a male space and a female space. I do get nervous in these places just because I think someone is more likely to realise I'm trans because people pay more attention.'
> (Ashley, 34, Male)

> 'When I first started college I used the women's toilet and then someone realised I wasn't born female and posted it all over Facebook through like school Facebook groups and writing my name on there. They were posting that there had been a boy in the girls toilet and then everyone was commenting on it saying that I must be sick and I must be a pervert and stuff like that and it was horrible. It's weird, because nowhere else in the college did anyone ever mention my gender or ask me about my gender. If I hadn't gone to the toilet then people might not have been so aware. After that, I try to avoid all toilets in public.'
> (Joby, 17, Gender Fluid)

> 'I feel like the women inside [public toilets] act like security guards, and if you don't fit in to what they think a woman should look like, which I don't, then they think you must be a man. There are only two options for toilets, male and female, so if they don't think you belong in the female toilet, then they instantly assume you belong in the male toilet and that you must be a man. Either as soon as I walk in, or after when I'm at the sinks, women have come up to me and caused a big fuss about me being in there and then it is just embarrassing because it doesn't stay in the toilet, they come out and start telling all their friends and their family and then I feel like everyone in the place is staring at me and judging me and it just makes me feel so anxious and unsafe.'
> (Ruby, 52, Female)

In the data above, Ashley explicitly refers to a heightened sense of awareness of gender

in public toilets and contextualises this within the framework of public and private

spaces. In Ashley's account the distinction between public and private becomes blurred

and this may account for the heightened awareness he refers to. Ruby also discusses the

social policing of gender that is present in sex-segregated toilets but focuses more on

the contextualisation of this policing within the dominant gender binary. In doing so,

social policing occurs as a result of society's reliance on a binary gender system in

which individuals can be clearly categorised as male or female. Joby also discusses a heightened sense of awareness in public toilets, and victimisation they experienced as a result of being socially policed in a sex-segregated space. In this sense, Joby experiences victimisation as a result of a heightened sense of awareness of gender in sex-segregated spaces, that they did not experience in gender-neutral spaces. Furthermore, not only are sex-segregated spaces associated with a general heightened awareness, public toilets have become significant topics of debate in an online context, which will be explored in chapter seven, in which explicit and implicit transphobia are a common feature.

The heightened sense of awareness of gender in public toilets also serves as a form of validation of participants acquired gendered. A key thread throughout participants' accounts was feelings of 'doing gender' successfully measured through their acceptance in sex-segregated spaces.

> 'The female toilet is almost like the pinnacle area of feminism and sisterhood and I am happy when I use the toilet and I don't get questioned. For me, that is like a total sign that I am being seen and accepted as a woman'
> (Isa, 58, Female)

> 'The toilet just be like the ultimate goal for me as a lady. When I go to the toilet and people see me as woman, I know I do good job.'
> (Madee, 24, Female)

In the data above, accessing sex-segregated spaces without experiencing judgement or abuse is conceptualised as the ultimate signifier of how well a person can 'pass' in their acquired gender. This is unsurprising as the dominant theme throughout participants' accounts of sex-segregated spaces frames them as spaces of heightened vigilance in relation to policing gender. In this sense, accessing sex-segregated spaces without experiencing abuse become a measuring rod in which a trans persons authenticity and validity is measured. Despite an awareness of the social policing that is associated with

sex-segregated public spaces, the fear of being policed is dependent upon an individual's ability to 'pass'. The risk of being policed is conceptualised as significantly lower, or non-existent for people who experience privilege associated with passing.

> 'I don't mind public toilets too much, I have been on hormones for years and years, I have lots of facial hair and I pass as a man. I have never really had any trouble in toilets because I am trans, because I don't really stick out.'
> (Dilip, 45, Male)

> 'I don't mind using public toilets, because I live a stealth life, and I can pass easily, they are not really much of an issue for me. Like, I don't feel particularly scared about using the toilet.'
> (Elaine, 48, Female)

> 'Like, I am fully transitioned, my surgeries are all complete, I have so much bloody body and facial hair from all the T. I just look like a regular guy and so I use the men's toilet like any other regular guy. I can urinate while I stand at a urinal, so people don't wonder why I am always going in to a cubicle, like it just isn't really an issue for me at all. It isn't something I even think about consciously anymore.'
> (Peter, 41, Male)

> 'I don't think anyone would pay me enough attention in the toilet to realise I am trans, like at first glance I appear like a man. I'm fairy big built, so unless someone asked me, they probably wouldn't know. So no, I don't think because I am trans that it makes me feel uncomfortable using the toilet in public… It may be because I am hyper-sensitive because of what has happened to me [experiencing victimisation from friends], but I don't get harassment from strangers or abuse from strangers because they see me as I present, as a man.'
> (Simon, 47, Male)

In the excerpts above, participants describe the ease of access to sex-segregated public toilets as a result of being able to pass. Dilip, Peter and Simon all discuss the presence of a stereotypically masculine aesthetic which is characterised by physical build and facial hair. For these participants, the existence of both of these characteristics serve to protect participants' from being policed in public, sex-segregated toilets, as visually they conform to masculine expectations in relation to physical appearance. In successfully passing, participants are privileged in that they no longer need to 'consciously' consider their feelings of safety in public toilets. In this sense, their relative invisibility as a trans person facilitates the ease of engaging in daily life.

However, for participants' whose gender identity is negatively policed as a result of failing to pass, if this is their intention, may experience significantly heightened levels of consciousness relating to their personal safety.

However, this is not the case for all participants. Despite some participants' reporting positive experiences in sex-segregated toilets, other's report feeling significant levels of risk, specific to toilets assigned for men. The feeling of risk is conceptualised in relation to male toilets being spaces of hypermasculinity.

> 'I try to avoid toilets, like, men's toilets are not nice places, not only are they unhygienic but they are just so masculine, and I feel like masculine guys find me a threat. I have a penis the same as them, but they do not know how to process someone with a penis presenting feminine, and I think it threatens them, and people can react badly when they feel threatened.'
> (Joe, 28, Gender Queer)

> 'If you don't fit in to like the typical macho image then it can still be quite intimidating to use public toilets. Even though I identify as male, I'm not the most like blokey bloke and toilets can be so masculine.'
> (Tom, 19, Male)

> 'I just feel like men's toilets are not the safe in general. It's like all 'men only' spaces just turn men in to these animals, like it's all misogynistic, locker-room chat. I don't know why, but men, when they all get together, it's like they need to out-do each other on who is the most masculine, so it is all about sex, money and violence.'
> (Simon, 47, Male)

In the data above, Joe, Tom and Simon present men's toilets as sites of significant risk. Men's toilets are described as spaces of hypermasculinity, which is characterised by sex, money and violence. In this sense, cultural framings of masculinity being associated with aggression, dominance and physical violence permeate participants' evaluation of their own safety in men's toilets. For Joe and Tom, it is a failure to conform to societal framings of masculinity that cultivate their feelings of risk. Their failure to conform to gendered norms of masculinity put them at risk of becoming

victims of masculinity. In this sense, masculinity is perceived to regulate access to 'men-only' spaces and to also police non-conformity.

Notions of sexual violence also permeate participants' accounts of their feelings of safety and risk in men's toilets.

> 'Men all show off in the toilets, like everyone is fighting to be top-dog. Even though they are only in there for a couple of minutes at the most, it's a couple of minutes where everyone wants to be the most-manly version of a man they can be. Even though I live stealth and generally I don't have any problems in toilets, I still always worry that if anyone in there realises I don't have a penis, I will be an easy target for sexual assault, or rape. Like, it's disgusting, but I genuinely feel like men think that would be a way to show off how manly they are.'
> (Brian, 20, Male)

> 'I know it's silly, and it probably doesn't happen that much, but I feel like I would be at risk of being groped or molested in men's toilets if they realise I am trans. It would humiliate me and make them look big in front of all their friends.'
> (Dilip, 45, Male)

In the excerpts above, masculinity is characterised by sexual violence as a display of hypermasculinity. This directly feeds in to participants' feelings of risk of experiencing victimisation that is sexual in nature. In this sense, not only are men's toilets perceived as spaces of hypermasculinity, but participants' fear of sexual violence is assigned to men. Therefore, dominant cultural norms relating to masculinity feed in to participants' gendered fear of victimisation.

Notions of masculinity also permeate participants' accounts of victimisation in relation to victimisation in 'private' spaces. This was most commonly discussed in the context of assigning motivations to the perpetration of hate crimes committed by men.

> 'The men in Essex are so thirsty as well, that makes me panic, I feel like they will start abusing me to show off and make themselves look big in front of whatever girl they are trying to impress. It's like by attacking a trans woman is their way of flexing their muscles.'
> (Rachel, 18, Female)

'I think trans women are a huge slap in the face to masculinity. It is like they have to show off their masculinity to prove that they are not like us. Like, they see us as completely un-masculine, so they have to show off just how super masculine they are so they don't get associated with us.'
(Rose, 67, Female)

'Trans women definitely get a worse time off [of] men than trans men do. I think it has to do with masculinity and how men perceive themselves and how they think others will see them. It's like, if a man knows that a woman is trans, if they don't abuse them, then other men will think that they agree with it, then that somehow takes away from their status as a man. By abusing trans women, men don't lose that status, and their status as a man actually increases.'
(Callum, 19, Demi-male)

In the excerpts above, hypermasculinity is assigned as the motivation for men perpetrating abuse against trans women. Callum discusses the gendered nature of the victimisation of trans women, primarily perpetrated by men, motivated by a need to maintain their status as 'masculine'. In this sense, masculinity is an ongoing negotiation, achieved through interactions with others. As cultural norms characterise masculinity through aggression and dominance, it can therefore be argued that male perpetrators of transphobic abuse are engaging in a process of achieving masculinity through subordinating those who deviate for gendered norms.

Masculinity was also discussed by participants in the context of its fragility, which often surfaced in the context of physical, romantic and emotional relationships with trans women. Abuse targeting trans women was often the outcome of the disclosure of their trans history in the context of a physical relationship.

'All of a sudden Kian just jumped up and pushed me. He didn't hit me, but he was holding my neck. He spat in my face before the other guys pulled him off me. Basically, he attacked me because I gave him head and he enjoyed it. Now, he suddenly feels like less of a man, because I am a trans woman. He was so worried about everyone thinking he was gay and his masculinity was challenged.'
(Elaine, 48, Female)

'I thought he knew I was trans woman. It says on my profile, but he did not read it properly. When I started talking about being trans he got so angry. He be so nasty to me, he shout[ed] at me and call[ed] me names, he was calling me a

faggot and a queer. He was saying I had lied to him and that he wasn't a queer like me. I got scared and told him to leave my house. Then he threw his glass across the room, he grabbed me and threw me on the floor. He left and smashed all of my things on the way out.'
(Madee, 24, Female)

'He had been a client for about six months. He turned up every week, the same day, the same time. He was so nervous about having sex, I think that is why he hadn't got himself a girlfriend, and that is why he paid for sex. The website got updated and they put my trans identity on there, they felt like it would bring more men who were particularly looking for trans women. This guy came back, and he had seen the website. He went absolutely mad. He wrecked the room I was in. He was threatening to kill me. Other people that worked there managed to get him out.'
(Nastasia, 26, Female)

In the excerpts above, participants describe incidents of victimisation as a consequence of engaging in physical, sexual and romantic relationships with the perpetrator. In all of the accounts above, victimisation occurs as a result of disclosing their trans history. As discussed in previous themes, there is a conflation between participants' sexuality and gender identity. As a result, perpetrators of transphobic abuse who have engaged in sexual, physical or romantic relationships with trans women conceptualise their relationship as homosexual, rather than heterosexual. In social hierarchies of masculinity, homosexuality is a barrier to individuals striving to achieve hegemonic masculinity. This can be seen in Elaine's account in which the perpetrator, in striving for hegemonic masculinity, became concerned over other's perception of him as homosexual, lowering his position in the hierarchy of masculinity. In this sense, perpetrators' conflation of a victim's sexuality with their gender identity may contribute to the victimisation they experience, as abuse acts as a means of reaffirming the perpetrators' position within masculinity hierarchies.

6.2 Othering: From Within and Out

A pervasive theme throughout the interviews conducted was the notion of 'othering' that related to participants' feelings of 'belonging'. Participants' who identify as trans, but also identify with other minority groups relating to sexuality, religion and race report experiences of being 'othered' and discriminated against by other trans people. This was also reflected in the findings from the online survey in which 20.5% of participants indicated they felt at risk of experiencing a hate crime in an LGBT space (Figure 12).

Figure 12 - Do participants feel at risk of experiencing a hate crime in LGBT venues?
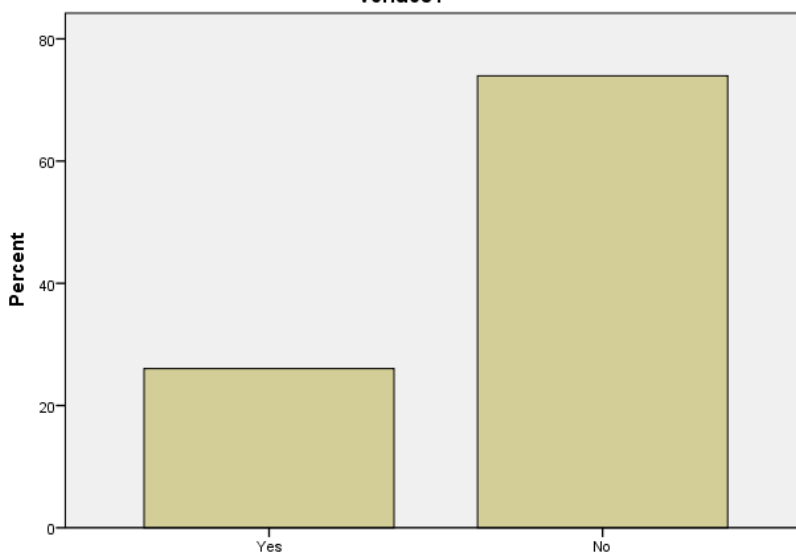
The intersectional competition amongst trans participants can be summarised by Laura:

> Some of the most hateful things that are said are from one transgender person to another and the intersectional rivalry just appals me and there is so much insecurity in our community, so much need to be right for want of a better word and the presumption that everybody is against us that the first reaction is to attack and that happens so much and its disproportionate in the trans support groups that it gets to a another level.'
> (Laura, 57, Female)

In Laura's account of diversity, competition and intersectionality within trans communities she describes the nature of rivalry between different intersecting groups of

trans communities. Laura refers to the overwhelming nature of othering within and between trans communities as a mechanism of defence, normalised as a reaction to continual discrimination. Of those who participated in the online survey and had experienced a hate crime, 28.3% of participants indicated that they had also experienced a hate crime targeting their sexuality, 3.3% of participants had experienced a hate crime targeting their age, 10.6% of participants had experienced a hate crime because of a disability, 13.9% had experienced a hate crime targeting their race and 4.8% of participants had experienced a hate crime targeting their religion. Participants were also given an opportunity to state any other reasons they had been targeted and responses included 'immigration status', 'weight', 'alternative appearance' and general 'physical aesthetic'.

In participants' accounts of their experiences of othering, they can best be divided into three categories; race and religion, trans as distinct from LGB communities, and the exclusion of trans people from same-sex relationships and dating. Participants who identified as religious described continued experiences of othering from wider trans communities.

> 'I have always been surprised at how much racism and Islamophobia I receive from other trans people, not just outsiders of that community. It shocked me, I feel very isolated because I feel like I don't fit in to any particular community or group.'
> (Deena, 34, Female)

> 'If I enter a conversation in any kind of LGBT group and I bring up something about faith, I will often hear comments like 'oh, who invited the God squad along'. It's like there is a stereotype about Christians all being these crazy preacher people who want to force religion in others' faces.'
> (Isa, 58. Female)

> 'Whenever I talk about my faith to other trans people I feel like I am seen as one of those religious protesters at a Pride event and people see my religion as the biggest thing about me and it overshadows my identity as a trans man.'
> (Simon, 4, Male)

'Some of the worst racism I have ever experienced has come from white, gay men. They seem to think they hold all the rights to discrimination and they have had it worse when they have probably had it easiest. Mainstream Queer culture is very white, there isn't space for people of colour and that is very much felt.' (Sam, 31, Male)

What can be seen in participants' accounts is an overwhelming White, non-religious characterisation of dominant trans identities. As a result, those who do not fit within these categories of atheist, or White British experience significant feelings of 'otherness'. In both Simon and Isa's accounts, their religious affiliation is perceived to be a more significant characteristic than their trans status. In this sense, historic tensions and stereotypical characterisations of religious sectors permeate trans people of faiths experiences of othering. Participants' accounts describe their religious affiliation being perceived as their defining characteristic by other's within trans communities. Religion or faith are therefore conceptualised as a means of othering trans people who do not conform to trans norms.

What appears in participants' descriptions of their relationship with their faith or religion and trans communities is a sense of exclusivity, in which one must exclusively belong to either community, but not both communities simultaneously. It can be concluded that participants who identify as both trans and people of faith encounter a social dilemma in which they must choose one identifying characteristic to represent their identity. This was also evident in the results from the online survey. When asked about spaces of risk, LGBT venues was the only variable that produced statistically significant results in a Chi-Squared test at a 95% confidence interval in relation to participants' race (X^2 (1) = 6.193, p = .013) and religion (X^2 (1) = 3.915, p = .048). Therefore, participants conceptualisation of risk is dependent on their race and religion. To explore LGBT spaces further binary logistic regression was also conducted on these

variables. In relation to LGBT venues, participants' sexuality was the only significant

characteristics and those participants who identified as 'heterosexual' had .512 the

predicted odds of feeling at risk of experiencing a hate crime in an LGBT venue than

those who did identify as heterosexual (Table 15). Therefore, trans people who do not

identify as heterosexual are more likely to experience feelings of risk of victimisation in

an LGBT space.

Table 15 – Participants' Feeling of Risk in LGBT Venue

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1[a]	Ethnicity	.425	.281	2.294	1	.130	1.530
	Religion	.509	.289	3.096	1	.078	1.663
	Gender	.510	.323	2.492	1	.114	1.666
	Sexuality	-.670	.318	4.434	1	.035	.512
	Disability	.292	.287	1.036	1	.309	1.340
	Constant	.165	.373	.195	1	.659	1.179

Furthermore, in participants' descriptions of their feelings of otherness is the Whiteness

of trans communities, in which trans people of colour are othered for their very

existence as trans people who are situated in subordinate positions within dominant

societal racial hierarchies. In this sense, racial hierarchies that dominate mainstream

society are applied within trans communities, assigning privilege and power to trans

people who identify at the top of racial hierarchies and further marginalising trans

people of colour. What occurs is a marginalisation of those already marginalised,

furthering the silencing and othering of trans people of colour.

What can also be seen in participants' descriptions of their experiences of othering is a

wider sense of othering of trans communities from wider LGB communities.

'I have a huge group of lesbian friends and they make transphobic jokes all the time which make me uncomfortable, but at the same time I don't want to bring it up with them and be the odd one out coz I feel like that would be making a target of myself. It can be really liberating but difficult at the same time to live a stealth life.'
(Elaine, 48. Female)

'Most of the trolling online I experience comes from other LGBT people, being non-binary, or even just trans is like being a minority in a minority and the majority of the minority try to oppress you for the same reasons they are oppressed, because there is a lack of understanding about non-binary identities. Trans people who identify as male or female don't understand our experiences.'
(Melody, 17, Non-Binary)

In the excerpts above, Elaine and Melody both describe their feelings of being othered from wider LGB communities. Their experiences differ in relation to the relationship they hold with the perpetrators of othering. For Elaine, the otherness she experiences is as a result of close personal relationships with peers, in which she is unable to live an authentic life as a trans women, and through silence becomes complicit in the othering of trans people. On the other hand, Melody experiences feelings of otherness at a significantly wider distance, in which members of LGB communities facilitate her otherness through an online experience. In this sense, Melody experiences feelings of personal othering through a wider discrimination against trans people, whereas Elaine experiences feelings of otherness vicariously through witnessing discrimination targeting trans people, although not in the context of personal discrimination.

Participants' experiences of othering can also be conceptualised more accurately in the context of emotional and romantic relationships. In this sense, participants do not experience othering until attempts are made to engage in same-sex relationships.

'Even though I am a gay man, I still don't fit in. Gay men don't know if they should be attracted to me, lesbians don't know if they should be attracted to me. I downloaded Grindr once and I put that I was trans on there. I just got messages from loads of cis, gay men telling me that the app wasn't for me and there was dedicated apps for 'trannys'. It really made me feel like I didn't belong and I didn't fit on the gay community.'
(Peter, 41, Male)

'I have experienced a lot of abuse from within the LGBT community, mainly gay men on dating sites. I would get messages all the time on my dating profiles saying 'Sorry, don't date trannies' or 'Only interested in real men' and stuff like 'Don't want a vagina to have sex with'. It was horrible, these are people who are supposed to be part of a community, who are meant to stick together and all they do is persecute people who aren't the same as them.'
(Dilip, 45, Male)

'I went to a Queer club once, it wasn't the usual kind of place I go. It was very mainstream, and it was very targeted at gay men…A couple of gay guys came over and at first, I thought they were being really nice and like really interested in my makeup and my heels, but they were actually just laughing at me. In the end I was just like 'look, if you want to laugh at me or you have something to say then go ahead and get on with it' and one of them was basically like 'this isn't your place, people in here are interested in men, they don't want a drag queen like you so why don't you go find some clown club and spend the rest of the night there'. I was shocked, like this was a Queer club, how could I be rejected and ridiculed by my own community.'
(Joe, 28, Gender Queer)

In the excerpts above, participants describe their experiences within spaces targeting the commercialisation of gay men. Dilip describes a particular aesthetic required to be successful within mainstream homosexual dating cultures. In this sense, those who are non-White and do not meet aesthetic standards that dominate gay culture experience a sense of othering. This notion resonates within other participants' in their descriptions of attempts to engage in mainstream gay social spaces. Both Peter and Dilip describe their experiences on dating apps for gay men, in which both experienced a sense of exclusion from gay communities. This is not restricted to just dating spaces, mainstream spaces for the wider LGB community in which cisgender gay men act as gatekeepers, determining those who meet expected standards to authentically inhabit gay spaces. The common thread that runs through participants' account denotes notions of legitimacy and 'belonging' relating to those seen as legitimately LGB and those who are not. Others' perception of legitimacy polices and regulates those who are able to access spaces deemed exclusive for LGB people.

The most pervasive form of othering and exclusion discussed by participants related to a reliance on gendered binary systems and the resulting ostracising of non-binary and other genders that fall outside stable categories of 'man' and 'woman'. This is often conceptualised within two dominant frameworks; exclusion as a result of unawareness, and exclusion as a result of identity politics.

> 'Like not even all trans people know and understand non-binary people and so like they just exclude you. Like there has been times I have been in like LGBT spaces and seen other trans people, and like they will talk to you, and as soon as you say you are non-binary you kind of get excluded, it's almost like they don't want to be offensive so would rather just exclude you than risk saying the wrong thing.'
> (Joby, 17, Gender-Fluid)

> 'Well, I just like what I like, I don't care if I go out wearing a sickening tracksuit with a pair of stiletto's and a beautiful clutch bag. Like people don't understand my gender. Fuck it, I don't even understand my gender. I feel like people are so needy and the need to understand who I am that they try and force me in to this box so that they can comprehend who I am based on their limited understanding. I feel like I get written off by everyone, because people just don't understand me.
> (Joe, 28, Gender Queer)

> 'Quite often, trans people who are white, they are much more dominant than any other trans people, particularly trans men and women who identify within the binary. I think people who identify as non-binary or identify somewhere outside of the binary are also further kind of oppressed because there is even less understanding of gender identities that don't conform.'
> (Sam, 31, Male)

In participants' accounts above, a lack of understanding is conceptualised to be the core reason non-binary individuals experience exclusion from wider trans communities. This is a common rhetoric that can be found through all participants' accounts of their sense of otherness. A lack of awareness is conceptualised as the causal reason for the otherness of all trans people from dominant cisgender communities, but also as the reason for a sense of otherness felt by non-binary, and gender non-conforming people from dominant trans communities. In this sense, those who are perceived to be different experience policing by dominant communities in order to maintain a hierarchical

structure. However, the policing of those perceived to be different also takes on a

broader social and political context in which identity politics permeate participants'

accounts of exclusion as a method of subordinating those deemed different in order to

uplift the social status of dominant communities.

'I was attending a social event for trans people…the organiser of the event came over and asked that I leave, apparently the event was only for trans people and I didn't quite meet the criteria of being trans because I didn't plan on having surgery and didn't identify definitively as male or female…But you know, that is a similar kind of experience I have had whenever I try to access trans only spaces, I get made to feel like I am not trans enough.'
(Star, 44, Non-Binary)

'[discussing abuse they received after engaging in a discussion about trans women] I checked my inbox and I basically just had abusive messages from everyone, from trans people and cis-people…trans people were telling me I shouldn't speak on their behalf because apparently I am not trans…The trans women were debating with cis women, and started excluding me, they were telling cis women not to listen to what I said, that I wasn't a voice for trans people because I wasn't even trans and basically saying that trans people just want to live life and fit in and not change anything and it was radical people like me that cis people needed to be wary of because apparently I personally want to eradicate all gender systems and labels and want everyone to not have a gender.'
(Star, 44, Non-Binary)

'I think within trans communities, there is like an attitude of exclusion for non-binary people because they think that we have the luxury of choosing which gender to present as and we will never undergo surgery and so our experiences must be so much easier than theirs. I have been told by trans women that they have enough trouble getting people to understand and accept trans people who were male or female, and people like me were making things even harder by not choosing a gender to identify with.'
(Melody, 17, Non-Binary)

'I went along to this group for trans people. Well I say trans people, it was basically a group for trans people who pass and want to live stealth and think that is the way forward and how trans rights should progress. So, if you didn't fit in with that image of trans and didn't identify as male or female, then you just weren't welcome and they said horrible things.'
(Ty, 21, Non-Binary)

In participants' accounts above, non-binary identities are perceived to be in direct

conflict with trans people who identify categorically as male or female. In this sense,

trans identities become politicised and trans identities are conceptualised as a political

force, characterised by the motivation of progression. Non-binary and gender non-conforming people are perceived to be a threat to the stability of trans identities and consequently a barrier to their progression within a mainstream political and social climate. As can be seen in the exclusion of trans people from wider LGB communities, notions of authenticity and legitimacy are drawn upon to police trans identities within trans communities. Participants' report notions of failing to meet gendered expectations associated with dominant trans identities and are policed for not being 'trans enough' through their failure to conform to medical and surgical interventions. In this sense, notions of 'transnormativity' permeate participants' accounts of othering in which a hierarchy of 'transness' is established and those who do not identify within dominant gendered binary systems are positioned at the bottom of the hierarchy. Gendered binary systems are therefore used to gatekeep access to those who can and cannot claim 'transness'. Similar notions of agency and choice in relation to gender identity that are often used to de-legitimise trans people who identify within gendered binary structures are also drawn upon to de-legitimise those who identify outside or between stable categories of man and woman. A reliance on the gender binary is also a common feature of the online construction of trans identities that will be explored in chapter seven. However, in the offline world the reliance on the gender binary serves as a way to police access to trans inclusive spaces and exclude those who do not fit within the gender binary from accessing particular spaces such as youth groups and social spaces for trans individuals.

Fitting within the critical realist approach of this research in identifying both agency and structure, the politicisation of language and terminology is also evident. In what participants can articulate and express, the role of language is used as a means of policing and 'othering' those who fall outside of dominant norms relating to 'transness'.

However, the language and terminology available to trans people is the result of unobservable structures relating to the gender binary. As Pearce (2018) argues, the use of the terms 'trans' and 'cis' create a notion of exclusivity in which an individual must identify as *either* trans *or* cis. In doing so, the gender binary is reinforced, leaving little scope for those whose identity is more fluid. In this sense, one is exclusively always 'trans' or always 'cis' which also further marginalises individuals who no longer identify as trans, but simply as male or female. Gender identity and presentation can be a complex issue and the politicisation of language has significant impact on who 'trans' as an identity marker is available too and contributes to the exclusion of non-binary people and others who identify between, or outside of the gender binary.

6.3 No Safe Space: The Role of Intersectionality in Hate Crime Victimisation

Intersectional characteristics also underpin the overall experiences of trans people in their experiences of victimisation. Data from the online surveys were analysed through an intersectional lens and tests were conducted to establish a relationship between participants experiences of hate crime and their demographic information. The first test aimed to test the null hypothesis that 'participants experiences of hate crime is independent of their gender, sexuality, disability status, race and religion'. The only characteristics that provided statistically significant results at a 95% confidence interval were participants race (X^2 (1) = 9.351, p = .025) and disability status (X^2 (1) = 16.474, p = .001). Therefore, it can be concluded that trans people's experiences of hate crime are dependent upon their race and disability status. To explore this relationship further, bivariate logistic regression was also conducted using these variables. Table 16 shows that two factors were statistically significant in the odds of experiencing a hate crime: disability status and race. The table shows that people who consider themselves to have a disability have 3.726 the predicted odds of experiencing a hate crime than those who

do not consider themselves to have a disability. Furthermore, those who are 'Non-White British' have 1.885 times the odds of experiencing a hate crime than those who are White British.

Table 16 – Participants' Experiences of Hate Crime

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1[a]	Disability	1.186	.273	18.937	1	.000	3.276
	Religion	.193	.249	.599	1	.439	1.213
	Race	.634	.246	6.630	1	.010	1.885
	Gender	-.371	.267	1.933	1	.164	.690
	Sexuality	-.405	.264	2.350	1	.125	.667
	Constant	.420	.246	2.913	1	.088	1.522

In some cases, the visibility of another intersectional characteristic is perceived to minimise the risk of victimisation associated with their gender identity. In this sense, the most visible 'difference' of the victim becomes the target of abuse. As a result, they experience a heightened sense of 'non-belonging' because of their intersectional identities.

'I do find that I experience more racism than transphobia. I am so visibly Asian and I can't hide that. I can walk with my head down so people can't see my face, but I can't disguise my colour and I think that is what stands out instantly about me, my brownness.'
(Sam, 31, Male)

'I think because people can see I'm black and I can't cover that up, people tend to focus on that. I mean don't get me wrong, I usually experience transphobia with racism, but I think it is the colour of my skin that makes people initially notice me.'
(Ty, 21, Non-Binary)

'I think now I am further along in my transition, my race is a bigger issue for me. I am now able to pass, so my gender doesn't stick out as much, but people can see that I am Asian from the colour of my skin and they can see that I am Sikh if I go out wearing a headdress. I think this instantly makes me a much bigger target when things like terrorist attacks happen, it makes me scared to go out in case people attack me.'
(Dilip, 45, Male)

'I think people also target me because I am older, I walk with a stick, I'm wrinkly and so people think I'm an easy target, I can't run away, I can't defend myself, so people think I will be easy to abuse. To be fair, they are right, I lose my balance easily, I can't physically defend myself, so I am open to all sorts of

abuse.'
(Rose, 67, Female)

In the excerpts above participants describe the visibility of their racial identity and how

this increases their feelings of risk of experiencing abuse. For Sam and Dilip, the

visibility of their Asian heritage becomes the sole factor in their accounts of risk.

However, Ty's visible appearance as a person of colour interacts with their gender

identity and increases the risk they feel in relation to experiencing victimisation based

on both their race and gender identity. In this sense, Ty experiences a matrix of

victimisation, in which both minority characteristics interplay, and contribute to their

experiences of abuse. An alternative version of intersectional victimisation is provided

by Rose, who believes the visibility of her age and physical frailty make her a bigger

target for experiencing hate crime. In this sense, her visual vulnerability exacerbates her

fear of victimisation. However, it is not just 'difference' that can be identified visually

that contributes to participants' feelings of risk.

> 'I stick out a bit for being trans anyway because I don't pass, so I feel at risk
> anyway and then when people hear me speak and some words I say, they can
> figure out, or they make an assumption that I am a traveller and then I don't
> know if they will say something because of either of those things. Like, if I
> wasn't a traveller then they would have to figure out I was trans, but because I
> am a traveller there is kind of like two things that they might hate me for.'
> (Corrina, 21, Female)

> 'I definitely think being a traveller makes me a bigger target, especially because
> people make assumptions when they hear my accent, and like, I can't disguise
> my accent, so I can't hide it. It also don't help that I'm pale and ginger so I stick
> out like a traveller anyway.'
> (Emmet, 30, Male)

In the data above, participants describe a 'difference' that is less visually different but

relates to 'difference' that can be detected audially. In this sense, perpetrators may not

be able to identify participants as different as easily. As Corrina describes, the fear of

victimisation she experiences targeting her association with a traveller culture does not

override her fear of victimisation targeting her gender identity. Similarly to Dilip, her association with multiple minority characteristics interplay, and heighten her overall sense of risk. This is resonant with Emmet's account of his perception of risk, in which his association with multiple minority identities increases his overall feeling of risk. Despite the less visual nature of the difference described in these excerpts, the difference is still unable to be concealed. In this sense, the visibility of characteristics that denote 'difference' are conceptualised as significant risk factors in participants' experiences of victimisation. However, the striking visibility of 'difference' is not always conceptualised as heightening participants' feelings of risk but can offer a barrier to experiencing victimisation.

> 'Even though I feel like a bigger target because I am a traveller, sometimes it helps, like when people have started abusing me and calling me a tranny and harassing me and then I say something, people shit themselves. Like, there are loads of stereotypes about traveller men, being violent and aggressive, that sometimes you can see people panic as soon as I talk. I think they worry that a big bunch of traveller men are gonna jump out on them. So, sometimes being a traveller actually makes me feel safer.'
> (Emmet, 30, Male)

> 'I think my appearance has actually helped me avoid being physically attacked. Like, punk aesthetic can be quite intimidating, and I am quite dominating physically, like I'm six foot two, I'm quite big built, and I'm a Queer Punk. Like, that is quite a lot to take in. So, yeah, I think in some ways, even though I stand out, sometimes it actually helps keep me safe.'
> (Star, 44, Non-Binary)

In the excerpts above, Emmet and Star both conceive the 'difference' they present as a protective factor in their safety. In this sense, 'difference' is not always conceptualised as equating to increased vulnerability, but actually decreases participants' feelings of vulnerability. Stereotypes associated with various forms of 'difference' are often discussed by participants' in the context of increased vulnerability and heightened oppression. As can be seen in the interviews with Emmet and Star, their feelings of oppression are not necessarily alleviated by a visible difference, but their feelings of risk

of victimisation are alleviated somewhat. In this conceptualisation, Emmet and Star's perception of their 'difference' is dissimilar to other participants' perception of their visible difference.

6.4 Discussion

Public, sex-segregated toilets clearly represent spaces of concern for some trans people. This has been explored by Faktor (2011) who claims that toilets represent a significant space of fear, anxiety and victimisation for trans people. This thesis claims that toilets may represent spaces of anxiety for trans men as a result of a socially expected display of hypermasculinity within these spaces. Masculinity is policed within male toilets in a variety of ways including whether an individual uses a urinal or cubicle, in which the latter may be considered a display of femininity (Cavanagh, 2010). As such, the urinal becomes the pinnacle area of male toilets to enact hypermasculinity. Therefore, if trans men do not use the urinal, which may be impractical for a number of reasons, their masculinity may be called in to question. On the other hand, public toilets also represent spaces of anxiety for trans women in which fear of accusations of sexual deviance are present throughout trans people's narratives. However, as becomes clear, trans people who 'pass' are less likely to fear victimisation in sex-segregated spaces. Furthermore, accessing these spaces often becomes a signifier of acceptance. For trans people who identify outside the binary and have a visibly gender incongruent presentation, risk of abuse is conceptualised within both male and female toilets. As a result of this, coping mechanisms are often employed that reduce the frequency of trans people toilet use. Access to public toilets significantly impact on trans people's ability to engage in 'everyday' life and relatively mundane activities may require significant planning and consideration to ensure safe spaces are accessible. Public toilets have also become a focal point for contemporary online debates which will be explored in the next chapter.

Trans people's accounts of their victimisation within the context of physical, emotional and romantic relationships has not garnered significant academic attention. However, it has been argued that masculinity is precarious because of its performative, rather than biological nature (Stotzer and Shih, 2012). It has also been suggested that men are significantly more conscious about their gender role than women and are more likely to attempt to prove their masculinity (Whitley and Kite, 1995). Furthermore, Vandello *et al.* (2008) claim that men display higher levels of anxiety than women when their gender role is threatened and are more likely to enact physical violence. As discussed earlier in this chapter, there is often a conflation of trans identities with homosexual identities. Within the context of physical and romantic relationships, it can therefore be argued that perpetrators of abuse are re-establishing and reaffirming their masculinity by distancing themselves from and actively subordinating those who they may associate with femininity or homosexuality. The notion of 'fragile masculinity' has been explored in relation to violence targeting gay men (Kaufman, 2007; Murphy, 2001) and more recently in relation to violence targeting trans women (Kehrli, 2016) in which it is conceived that the very existence of a trans woman is a figurative assault on cisgender, heterosexual masculinity.

What also became clear through this research is the impact of intersectional characteristics in participants' experiences of victimisation. Participants who identified with multiple marginalised communities often described the matrix of oppression they live within. In this sense, living within the intersections of gender, race, religion, sexuality and disability results in higher levels of perceived risk of victimisation. This is often the result of a sense of increased visibility, in which the perceived 'difference' they present is heightened. Participants' often describe the intersectional nature of victimisation, in which multiple characteristics of their identity are targeted

simultaneously, increasing their sense of 'otherness'. This highlights the heterogeneity of trans communities and how trans peoples' experiences of victimisation are situated within a range of social power hierarchies. It can therefore be argued that particular groups of trans peoples experience a range of privileges pertaining to race, sexuality and disability status that may minimise their risk of victimisation. Notions of privilege, oppression and victimisation have been discussed widely by those concerned with intersectionality theory (Collins, 2004; Crenshaw, 1991; McCall 2005; Nash, 2008) and it is argued that the intersections of race, religion, gender, sexuality and disability status form a matrix of domination which may create difficulties to separate these intersecting systems of oppression.

It is argued that the role of intersectionality is often overlooked and hate crime victimisation is conceptualised only through the lens of heteronormativity. What becomes clear in this research is the role of religious, cultural and social norms influence participants' experiences of victimisation. Participants' experiences of victimisation are often conceptualised as a result of contravening gender norms, alongside racialised expectations of their gender. In this sense, participants who identified as Black British described a particular racialised expectation of their gender presentation. Lemelle (2010) discusses the structure of masculinity as a strong incentive for Black men to display explicitly anti-homosexual attitudes. Lemelle conceptualises this within the framework provided by Blumer (1958) in which it is suggested that a marginalised group is not concerned explicitly with another subordinate group as such but is concerned in maintaining a relatively dominant position in relation to other minority groups. In this sense, racialised gender expectations can be seen to influence trans people of colour experiences of victimisation, for not only violating mainstream gender norms, but also deviating from racialised gender norms.

Violation of gender norms is not explicitly related to race, there are also expected

gender norms and expectations within trans communities. In this sense, notions of

'transnormativity' were present in the accounts of 'othering' that non-binary and gender

non-conforming participants experienced. Perry (2001) claims that minority-on-

minority violence can also be conceptualised in relation to 'doing difference'. Minority

'othering' is still the result of hierarchical conflict and is the result of identity politics in

which particular groups seek legitimisation and validation and this is often thought to be

achieved through the subordination of other minorities. In relation to the 'othering' of

non-binary and gender non-conforming peoples' experience of victimisation, they may

experience double-discrimination. In this sense, they experience victimisation from

cisgender people for violating dominant gender norms and challenging the gender

binary. At the same time, they may experience exclusion and discrimination from trans

people who identify within the gender binary, as male or female. This became clear in

participants' accounts of trans peoples claims that non-binary people do not represent

the trans community and this is often presented within the notion that non-binary

identities may pose as a barrier to trans progressive movements because of their gender

non-conformity.

Trans people who identify with a gender identity outside of the traditional gender binary

face significant levels of othering from both cisgender populations and trans

populations. As Garrison (2018:624) argues 'the desire to bring one's body "into

alignment" with one's identified gender is essential to legitimating trans identity'. In

this sense, it is essential for trans people to follow a pre-prescribed journey in which the

end goal is medical transition to align with the traditional gender binary. Garrison

(2018) further argues that when people perform gender in ways that are unrecognisable

to others, their gender may be challenged. However, an increasing social visibility of

binary trans identities has challenged mainstream ideas of pre-existing gender systems that correlate gender with biological sex. As a result of this, those who identify outside of the binary have been excluded (Shuster, 2017). It is therefore argued that trans people who identify outside of the gender binary disrupt societal understandings and conceptualisations of 'trans' as a category. Transnormativity is therefore employed as a method of policing gender boundaries, reinforcing the gender binary and regulating the inclusion of trans people. Trans people are therefore held accountable to these standards of gender presentation which are specific to trans people. Those who do not meet these standards are consequently othered and excluded from trans spaces. The exclusion of non-binary people from the wider trans community serves to reinforce the gender binary in which trans people who identify as male or female conform to. The presence and inclusion of non-binary and gender non-conforming people actively challenges the very hierarchical gender binary that binary trans people strive to conform too. As such, conforming to the gender binary becomes the ultimate goal, in which 'passing' is perceived as the ultimate signifier of successfully 'doing' gender.

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter space, place and belonging have been explored in relation to trans people's conceptualisation of risk and othering. It is argued that trans people's experiences of victimisation differ according to their positioning on several different social hierarchies. In this sense their level of visibility as 'different' and their level of visibility as 'vulnerable' are fluid in relation to the spaces they occupy. Trans people who are visibly trans, or visibly 'different' in relation to other intersectional characteristics conceptualise their risk of victimisation as significantly higher than those who are less visible, either through their ability to pass, or their lack of visible difference in the sense of their race, religion, sexuality or disability status. It can be

concluded from this research that notions of 'visibility' play a significant role in trans peoples' experiences of victimisation.

Participants' sense of belonging has also been discussed in this chapter. It has been argued that spaces assigned for trans people are heavily policed by trans people who are privileged on a range of other social hierarchies relating to race, sexuality and disability status. As such, transnormativity assigns privilege to particular trans people and contributes to the othering of trans people who do not meet expected gender norms. Furthermore, the role of visibility has also been discussed in relation to trans people's intersectional characteristics. Trans people who are also visibly 'different' in relation to their race, religion or disability status experience a heightened sense of exclusion, othering and fear of victimisation.

Furthermore, it is suggested that public, sex-segregated toilets represent places of significant concern for trans people. In spaces of sex-segregation participants reported a heightened sense of gender policing, controlling who is allowed to access these spaces. Furthermore, toilets assigned for men are conceptualised as spaces of hypermasculinity, in which trans men feel pressured to present a particular image of masculinity or fear victimisation. Masculinity is also presented in terms of its fragility, in which perpetrator's masculinity becomes unstable in the context of physical, emotional or romantic relationships with trans women. It is therefore claimed that transphobic abuse acts as a facilitator for the re-establishment of masculinity.

Chapter Seven: The Online Othering of Trans People in Relation to 'Gender-Neutral Toilets'

The results discussed in this chapter contribute to the emerging literature through an examination of how 'gender-neutral toilets' and 'trans people' are constructed in *YouTube* videos addressing issues of gender-neutral toilets. In recent years, the provision of public toilets where access is not gender specific has become a topic of public debate. Public toilets are perhaps the most frequently-encountered sex-segregated spaces in daily life in many countries and as was demonstrated in previous chapters are sites of significant anxiety and spaces of abuse for trans people.

Despite the aim of this thesis to be inclusive of all forms of gender expression, the data sampled only referred to 'trans' people and as a result, this research could not explore how non-binary or other gender expressions are constructed. Three central themes were developed from the analysis in relation to 'gender-neutral toilets' and trans people. 'Gender-Neutral Toilets as Sites of Sexual Danger' is the most pervasive theme throughout the data and forms a central part of the counter-narrative against the implementation of 'gender-neutral' toilets. There are three key sub-themes that form the counter-narrative that all centre around the risk of sexual violence: male sexuality as uncontrollable; trans people as potential sexual offenders and highlighting safety in segregation. These recurrent constructions problematize 'gender-neutral' toilets in socially recognizable ways using child imagery, the construction of women as vulnerable and in need of protection and the pathologizing of trans people and male sexuality as uncontrollable. It is argued that the online discursive construction of public toilets as sites of danger can lead to the offline victimisation of trans people.

'Claiming Victimhood: Gender-Neutral Toilets as Undermining the Rights of Cisgender People' relates to ideas of victimhood, particularly in relation to cisgender dominant majorities as the victims of political and social forces, with political correctness and a wider political agenda being claimed to mask the 'real issues' that society faces. Furthermore, cisgender populations are constructed as inclusive and willing to work towards equality but rights-based claims by trans communities are deemed 'special privileges' that fall outside the category of reasonable requests.

'The De-legitimisation and 'othering' of trans people' reports on a range of motifs drawn upon to de-legitimise trans people including making claims of mental 'illness' to negate trans people's claimed gender experiences. Notions of science, nature and the unnatural are used to de-legitimise trans communities. Notions of the 'natural' feed in to the normalisation of religious values to undermine the claimed authenticity of trans people, positioning trans individuals as inferior and contrary to and offending against religion. Furthermore, wider societal structures are also discussed in the process of legitimising and de-legitimising trans people.

In the data excerpts that are used to illustrate these themes, the comments are presented as they appeared on *YouTube*, so any spelling or grammatical errors remain.

7.1 Gender-Neutral Toilets as a Site of Sexual Danger

A key and recurrent theme that was developed from the data is 'gender-neutral' toilets as a site of possible sexual danger. Commenters draw upon examples, personal opinions and speculation of sexual danger and factualise this concern, effectively opposing the implementation of 'gender-neutral' toilets. A range of discursive resources are used to privilege the commenters' own argument. This serves to maintain the status-quo of sex-segregated toilets and to construct 'gender-neutral' toilets as sites of danger to women

and children whilst simultaneously reinforcing gendered norms of male dominance. The outcome of these constructions is a categorical division between a constructed 'us', the dominant, normal majority, and 'them', the problematized, 'othered' trans minority. In its most simplistic use, the potential for sexual danger is assigned to gender-neutral toilets which creates a sense of panic and fear.

7.1.1 Male Sexuality as Uncontrollable: Risk of Sexual Violence and Child Victimisation

There is a consistent co-occurrence in the comments between commenters' perceptions of male sexuality as uncontrollable and the risk of sexual assault in public toilets. The risk of sexual assault is constructed as inevitable and a range of techniques is used to heighten this sense of inevitability. *YouTube* commenters draw upon personal experiences and examples to reify the risk that commenters' have constructed as inevitable.

1. Having been atracked...panties ripped, dick out...and now disabled and cant defend myself, I am very uncomfortable around unkown cis men alone with little clothing. So I can very much relate to profound discomfort.
   (This comment is by a cisgender woman in reply to other commenters who are opposing gender-neutral toilets and speculating about cisgender men sexually assaulting women')
2. 'Wicked people will take advantage of the law and rape, molest, and or sexually assault others.'
   (This is a direct comment to the video publisher who in the video speaks of the risk to women of gender-neutral facilities)
3. 'Only a matter of time until someone is molested or attached.'
   (Direct comment to video. No responses.)
4. 'TWO GUYS IN SEPARATE INCIDENTS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED FOR FILMING WOMEN IN THE LADIES BATHROOM. ALSO A REGISTERED SEX OFFENDER HAS BEEN ARRESTED FOR GRABBING A LITTLE GIRL IN THE TARGET LADIES BATHROOM.'
   (Direct comment to video. No responses.)

All of the above comments present the risk of sexual assault in 'gender-neutral' toilets as an inevitable event. The use of a timeframe (Comment 3) functions to factualise the inevitability of a sexual assault occurring by drawing the risk into reality and transforming

it from an abstract possibility. Use of the word 'will' (Comment 2) serves the same purpose, factualising the inevitability of sexual assault. A range of personal experiences and second-hand examples work to accentuate the risk (Comments 1 and 4). By accentuating the risk through appeals to experience, the opinion is presented as literal, factual and independent of the commenter, therefore functioning as truth. Using personal examples of incidents of sexual violence already occurring not only contextualises personal speculations within real world incidents, but also heightens the urgency for people to express condemnation. Furthermore, the commenters' accounts of personal experiences corroborate other commenters' concerns, a key procedure that, Edwards and Potter (1992) argue, functions to factualise an opinion. The vivid description provided in the first comment constructs male sexuality as uncontrollable and animalistic. By commenting on the outcome of this incident, the commenter can portray potential devastating consequences to others if they do not actively condemn the implementation of 'gender-neutral' toilets.

A positioning process occurs dominated by commenters who do not advocate for 'gender-neutral' facilities. Using personal experiences, imagery of children and a factualisation of opinion, commenters are positioned as morally superior. As a result, those who advocate for 'gender-neutral' facilities are positioned as morally inferior, making it difficult to counter-argue. In the comments presented below, there is only one attempt made by a commenter to counter-argue (Comment 1). However, the counter-argument does not address the content of the original comment but is a simple attack on the commenter herself.

1. 'Just let a MAN come in a restroom while I'm in there..I won't be fucking pretty... Wanna be a bitch? FINE...I will kick his ass like he's a little bitch!!! it would be worth going to jail for a few hours!! Keep your pansy asses OUT of the women's bathroom!! I have grandchildren you pervs..and it's already happened, some pervs have uses it to get at looking at little girls!!'

2. 'People ARE NOT all the same. You pervs are NOT the same as my little granddaughter, and you DO NOT have the right to have access to her.'
   (Video 4. In response to a comment saying 'You guys want it to be like the civil rights era you guys are stupid. Equality for all!. Nobody counter argues. Only supports.)
3. 'just be sure to force your daughter or granddaughter to pull their pants down next to a rapist.' *(Video 4, in response to same comment as above. Nobody replies to counter argue, only to support)*

In all three comments above there is a differentiation or even a segregation achieved between the commenter and those who might disagree. The use of threats of violence to an imagined audience of trans individuals, the use of capital letters and derogatory language (Comment 1) intensifies the commenter's opinion and segregates the commenter from the 'other'. The use of capital letters (Comment 2) in text is most commonly associated with shouting or bringing attention to a particular word. The chosen words that are capitalised all focus on people's right to do something and primarily follow the word 'you' which emphasises the 'othering' of the commenter from those who do not condemn 'gender-neutral' toilets. The use of the phrase 'you pervs' not only marks a clear segregation between the commenter and others, but also serves to implicate those who do not openly condemn 'gender-neutral' toilets as complicit in or facilitating sexual violence. This implication is furthered by using child imagery (Comments 2 and 3) which is a recurrent resource mobilised across the data. The words 'child', 'children' and 'young' appear in the data 283 times. This is unsurprising as children inherently represent the epitome of innocent victims. These ideas serve to maintain the status-quo of sex-segregated toilets and construct 'gender-neutral' toilets as sites of danger to women and children whilst simultaneously reinforcing gendered norms of male dominance.

1. 'What about if I need to take my granddaughter to the restroom?'
   (Direct response to video. No replies.)
2. 'Men will be posing as transgender just to go in rest rooms with little teenage girls.....Wake up people these are our children.'
   (Video 2. Direct response to video. One reply: 'hasn't happened in states and cities that have transgender rights laws, and many of them have had them for years.')

Again, building up factuality of an opinion occurs in the above comments. The use of a rhetorical question (Comment 1) functions to create an implication that child victimisation will occur as a result of implementing gender-neutral toilets because of male sexuality being uncontrollable. Through using child imagery within the question, the comment serves to imply a factual risk that is presented to children in the presence of 'gender-neutral' toilets. Similarly, the use of language that transforms an opinion into a fact ('will' in Comment 2) further functions to emphasise the inevitable victimisation of children. Furthermore, the commenter is also positioned with a constructed collective majority through use of the word 'our'. This word implicates a sense of ownership over children and emphasises the need for protection. This is not only a comment that implies risk, but also acts as an incitement for solidarity. Given that using child imagery positions commenters as moral guardians, there are limited options for others to counter-argue. The potential risk of child victimisation is framed within the pervasive theme of male sexuality being uncontrollable. In the above comments, there is only one instance of counter-discourse being provided (Comment 2). The comment in response functions to discredit the original commenter's opinion through questioning their knowledge levels implicitly through the use of examples and personal experiences ('Hasn't happened in states and cities that have transgender rights laws.') which contributes to the factualisation of a specific version of opinion.

Attempts are made to provide counter-discourse to the notion of the 'child victims' by locating the responsibility for ensuring children's safety onto parents and caregivers. This

results in extremely restricted response options for those claiming risk to children, as responses could produce an implication of failure of protective parenting.

1. 'kids should not be allowed to go into any private area were adults are without being accompanied by a responsible adult.'
   (Video 2, direct comment to video. No responses.)
2. 'I don't get the fear of child molesting in gender-neutral bathrooms. If you are a responsible parent you don't let your small child go into the public restroom alone anyways.'
   (Video 7, direct comment to video. No responses.)
3. 'Most parents supervise small children in a restroom or at least they should. I do see your point though.'
   (Video 7. In response to a commenter making claims of risk to children. One response to comment: 'It gives them a legal option to go into a different bathroom.')

In the above comments the responsibility for ensuring children's safety and protection is located with parents and caregivers. Given the dominant rhetoric of risk of sexual violence assigned to gender-neutral toilets, it is difficult to successfully deflect or effectively challenge this construction in other ways. Therefore, it is essential for those who advocate for 'gender-neutral' toilets to reposition the responsibility for children's safety so as not to be implicated or complicit in the victimisation of children. The only attempt to provide counter-discourse appears in Comment 3 which disregards the responsibility for care that has been assigned to parents and caregivers and directs the conversation back to perpetrators.

Furthermore, legal frameworks are drawn upon to rebut claims of sexual violence. The function of referencing legal frameworks is not to dispute that sexual violence may occur, but rather to acknowledge that these offences are legally wrong and punishable.

1. 'Fear mongering has created a problem that had not existed previously. It is still illegal for a person or persons to use any facility for illicit purposes such as rape, molestation, kidnapping, and so forth.'
   (Video 2. Direct response to video. No replies.)
2. 'Letting people into a restroom is not going to prevent molestation and harassment from being illegal.'
   (Video 7. Direct response to video. No replies.)

3. 'If someone assaults another person in a bathroom, that is still illegal. If someone films in a bathroom, that is still illegal.'
   (Video 3. In response to a comment suggesting Obama would be uncomfortable if his daughters had to use a bathroom like this.)

It is important that sexual violence is acknowledged as illegal and immoral to prevent accusations of condoning or being complicit in sexual violence. This can be seen in all the above comments in which commenters acknowledge the illegality of sexual violence Referencing legal frameworks also privileges the commenters' opinion as it operates as an expression of knowledge. By expressing such knowledge, rather than opinion, the commenter is positioned as being entitled to comment.

7.1.2 Trans People as Offenders

A further subtheme that was developed specifically relates to the previous discussions around identifying perpetrators of sexual violence. The risk of experiencing sexual assault is also constructed in relation to trans individuals and the entire LGBTQ population more broadly. Direct links are established between trans individuals and sexual offending. To establish this link there is a pathologizing of trans people as sexually and psychologically deviant.

1. '"Transgender" perverts want to fuck children. The Democratic Party = prop Pedophile party. "Transgender" rights = "Pedophile rights"
   (Video 3. Direct response to video. No responses.)
2. 'They want to fuck little kids should we find a way for them to be able to do that? A grown man with a dick should not b going into the women's bathroom cause HE wants to b a woman.'
   (Video 3. Direct response to video. No responses.)
3. Those types are usually have some sexual trauma associated with their gender reassignment. I feel that they are a threat to other small children and women. I feel that they are more likely to engage in other sexually deviant behavior such as pedophilia or rape.'
   (Video 7. Direct response to video. No replies.)

The pathologizing of trans people contributes to the inevitability of sexual offences occurring, as deviance is essentialised as a quality of 'transgender'. The use of medical

terminology such as 'sexual trauma' and 'gender reassignment' (Comment 3) is key in the pathologizing process as it constructs trans people within medical and deficiency frameworks. This also serves to de-legitimise trans people which is a recurrent theme within the data. The deliberate use of incorrect pronouns, in capital letters (Comment 2), functions to construct trans people as a pretence or a façade. The use of quotation marks (Comment 1) around the word 'transgender' suggests that these expressions of gender are not real, but rather an imagined, non-existent identity. In all of the comments trans people are homogenised and broad, sweeping statements are used to minimise individuality amongst trans communities. In doing so, the threat posed by trans individuals is heightened as the entire community poses a risk, not merely particular individuals.

The construction of 'gender-neutral' toilets as sites of potential sexual danger appears to serve one primary purpose: to deflect accusations of transphobia. Quite often, these speculations are preceded by a disclaimer that function to limit opportunities for counter-discourse and avoid being accused of discriminatory views.

1. 'So please for the sake of being civil don't make this an issue as if me or anyone else who disagrees with this new policy is somehow bigoted toward trans people, just realize that I am not afraid of you but afraid of the monsters out there. Mostly men who prey on children bay truly scare me about this.'
   (Video 2. Direct response to video. Some comments in response around paedophiles who assault boys etc…)
2. *'*I'm completely for LGBTQ rights and I'll stand with them all the way. But I ask that you try and understand where some people may be coming from. It's unfortunate that due to the fact that some perverts may see this as an opportunity to hurt people that this has reflected badly on those who this really is in place to accomodate and protect, the LGBTQ community.'
   (Video 6. Direct response to video. No responses.)
3. 'im NOT worried about the transgender people. ive got no qualms with them. i think transgender people who ARE transgender should NOT be discriminated. but what i am worried about is the heterosexual people who are heterosexual but can claim to be anything they want because of culture's "anything goes" policy and claim to be transgender and take advantage of gender-neutral bathrooms no matter how small the statistics are. 0.1% is still too high for me.'

> *(Video 7. Direct response to video. Some responses around people raping in lots of different places and big debate over word 'cisgender')*
>
> 4. 'You're stupid. It's not the trannies that we are worried about, it's the SEX OFFENDERS and PERVERTS who will claim to ID as a woman.'
>
> *(Video 7. Direct response to video. No responses.)*

The above examples begin with the commenter either directly showing support for trans individuals (Comment 2) or denying that the issue is about this community (Comments 1, 2,3 and 4). By preceding a comment with support for or indifference towards trans people, accusations of transphobia or prejudice are rendered difficult to make. Effectively, the disclaimer aims to prevent counter-discourse that questions the motive behind the comment. This is evident in Comment 1 where not only is a disclaimer used, but a request is made to others not to make accusations of bigotry. By doing so, the commenter is positioned as separate from other commenters making transphobic remarks. Comment 3 constructs 'gender-neutral' toilets as a trade-off in terms of safety; the quantification of trans people functions to highlight the minority group in contrast to the dominant majority. In comment 4, not only is a disclaimer used, but there is an underlying transphobic element to the comment. The use of derogatory terms such as 'trannies' infers a discriminatory attitude towards trans individuals whilst also using a disclaimer to portray a non-prejudicial attitude. This comment is preceded by stating that those who are making accusations of transphobia are 'stupid'. By stating that these people are 'stupid', there is very little scope for dialogue being offered; rather there is a blunt denial of transphobia.

7.1.3 Safety in Segregation

Up to this point, two dichotomous opposing views regarding 'gender-neutral toilets' have been explored. Gender-neutral toilets were being constructed as sites of risk and sexual danger for the most vulnerable. On the contrary, alternative constructions of gender-

neutral toilets as spaces of safety and convenience for the most vulnerable were also evident in the data. However, there is a recurrent 'middle ground' that was discerned through the analysis. Throughout discussions around 'gender-neutral' toilets, a common suggestion is made to create separate, isolated facilities for trans individuals.

These suggestions may be made following a statement of speculation regarding sexual danger that is assigned to 'gender-neutral' toilets.

1. 'Just wait until one day God forbid a young girl is raped by a TG with a penis or a man new to cross-dressing, don't say it's impossible. IF it does occur don't say we didn't warm you- you are just asking for trouble. Should be bathrooms for men ,women and TG where little girls do NOT go!'
(Video 2. Direct response to video. One reply calling commenter a pervert.)
2. 'Access to the ladies toilet however, makes it relatively easily to do things, for example take videos and pictures, with very little risk. I don't have any issues with single use restrooms, like for example in an airplane, where there is a proper door.'
(Video 6. In response to commenters saying that trans people have been using toilets for years.)

In these examples the suggestions for separate, isolated toilets for trans individuals all follow a statement regarding sexual danger. By foregrounding the suggestion in this way, the commenter is constructed as reasonable and rational. The suggestion is therefore portrayed as a compromise, which is not often associated with transphobia. As a result, accusations of transphobia can be deflected based on the presence of a compromise, which is key in reifying the commenters' construction of 'safe' facilities. To unsuccessfully deflect accusations of bigotry opens the way to effective challenges being directed towards the opinion that is given.

Alternatively, these suggestions are presented as an isolated statement, often as an opinion and stated in a way that appears common-sensical and the obvious solution.

1. 'I think trans people should get a New bathroom.'
(Video 2. Direct response to video. One reply suggesting this may be dangerous for transgender individuals.)

2. 'Just set up a third bathroom.'
   (Video 3. Response to a commenter questioning whether Obama would be comfortable with his daughters using a gender-neutral toilet.)
3. 'Make a trans bathroom period.'
   (Video 2. Direct response to video.)
4. I agree. Transgenders should have their own bathrooms.'
   (Video 8. In response to someone suggesting there should be a separate bathroom.)

In these comments there is a clear 'othering' process occurring. The use of the word 'third' (Comment 2) operates not only as a suggestion but also as a means of clearly distinguishing between 'them', trans individuals, and 'us', cisgender people. Furthermore, it clearly locates trans individuals outside the given gender binary and constructs these expressions of gender as the 'other'. Additionally, the 'othering' process is instrumental in the dehumanisation and de-gendering of trans people. The use of 'transgenders' as a noun (Comment 4) strips trans individuals of any other identity and negates their identities as men, women or any other gender identification.

7.2 Claiming Victimhood: Gender-Neutral Toilets as Undermining the Rights of Cisgender People

The second theme that was developed from the data relates to issues of victimhood, in particular cisgender dominant majorities claiming victimhood. These claims are presented and contextualised within varying notions of victimisation, from being victims of political correctness to victims of a more dominant, aggressive and bullish minority community. These ideas have been explored before by Kolber (2016) in relation to the denial of white privilege and claiming oppression. This thesis argues that the denial of transphobia and simultaneous claims of victimisation made by the dominant, cisgender majority are intrinsically linked.

7.2.1 Victim of a Political Agenda

A recurrent theme that was developed from the data is the contextualisation of victimhood within a political context. Sullivan *et al.* (2012) argue that this form of victimhood is often drawn upon for the 'in-group' to maintain a positive moral group identity. This can be seen in the data sampled in which 'transphobia' is constructed as a politically correct term to refute accusations of transphobia whilst simultaneously claiming victim status,

1. 'Gender dysphoria is a mental illness. But the common tactic of most propaganda is to reverse the roles. So now, anyone who doesn't agree that the mental illness is okay, must be mentally ill with 'transphobia'.
   (Video 2. In response to a commenter suggesting a separate bathroom should be made for bigots.)
2. 'No one is afraid of gays. Homophobia and transphobia are made up terms used to bully people into a specific way of thinking. In reality those perversions are a mental disorder but the script has been flipped and now anyone who doesn't agree with those mental disorders must have a mental disorder or a 'phobia' of them.'
   (Video 2. This is in response to other commenters debating whether children will be safe in gender-neutral toilets.)
3. 'Awww we are bigots because we don't want men in the ladies restroom lmao? Fuck off sicko'
   (Video 2. In response to a commenter suggesting a separate bathroom should be made for bigots.)

It becomes clear that 'transphobia' is constructed as a social, politically correct term (Comments 1 & 2). The use of inverted commas around the word 'transphobia' in comment 1 and the direct claim that 'homophobia and transphobia are made up terms' (Comment 2) function to deny responsibility, or even the existence of discriminatory views. On the contrary, comments 3 and 4 do not construct 'transphobia' as non-existent but do construct the labels 'bigot' and 'transphobic' as unfairly assigned. The use of an acronym to suggest extreme laughter, 'lmao', within a rhetorical question (Comment 3) functions to minimise the accusations of bigotry and the label that has been assigned.

Not only are cisgender people constructed as victims of 'political correctness' they are also constructed as victims of a wider political agenda. Commenters claim that issues of

'gender-neutral' facilities are purposely brought into the spotlight to mask 'real' issues that may affect the dominant, cisgender majority.

1. 'Wait, between all this shit, are we fucking fixing the economy?'
   (Video 10, direct response to video with no responses.)
2. 'We the people are given a "Toy" to play with while bigger things happen…'
   (Video 4, direct response to video with no responses.)
3. 'To me this whole thing just seems like a distraction from all the real problems in this country'
   (Video 6, direct response to video with no responses.)
4. 'The trans issue is way overblown, they are a small minority (Like less than 1% of our population) it seems like a huge expense nationally for us all to create bathrooms for them.' *(Video 7, direct response to video.)*

Comments 1, 2 and 3 all highlight 'problems' that are being overshadowed as a result of the focus on gender-neutral toilets. A specific example is given in the first comment, within a rhetorical question. The use of a rhetorical question functions to negate the need for a response; the economy is firmly established as needing fixing. The second comment also functions to trivialise 'gender-neutral toilets' and constructs them as a distracting side-issue, unworthy of the attention it is receiving. Similarly, in the third comment, gender-neutral toilets are constructed as a 'distraction' from the real problems, which implicates that they are not being dealt with which leads to the victimisation of 'the people'. The final comment assigns blame to a wider 'liberal agenda' which is claimed to serve to cause chaos within society to mask the real intentions of wider political structures. Within this victimisation, there is also an invocation of financial costs to the dominant majority.

7.2.2 Loss of Rights, Privacy and Safety

Gender-neutral toilets are also constructed as presenting a trade off in terms of the rights, privacy and safety between trans people and cisgender people. Cisgender people are constructed and positioned as victims of this trade-off in terms of rights, privacy and

safety in that the implementation of gender-neutral toilets will result in a loss of rights and safety for the dominant majority. The gains of the broader LGBT movement are often highlighted to position the dominant majority as accommodating which is necessary to facilitate a discriminatory comment. However, sometimes these gains are constructed in the context of a brutish, aggressive and demanding LGBT community.

1. 'I just think with this issue you need to decide who's comfort level you are willing to side with is it a) the trans-gendered person who feels more comfortable in the opposite sexes bathroom or B) ex. the female in the FEMALE bathroom who feels uncomfortable with MALES in the female bathroom...everyone has different comfort levels, so please keep that in mind.'
(Video 7, direct response to video.)
2. 'We all have a right to be comfortable in a public bathroom facility. I don't see why hundreds of people who identify as the gender they were born should be uncomfortable just so very few transgender people can use the bathroom that they want to.'
(Video 7, direct response to video. One commenter responds and compares gender-neutral toilets to pornography and that people eventually get used to it.)
3. 'The argument you make should apply to the others as well that have a choice in how they want to live their life. Last i checked if someone that doesn't want a sex change its their decision and their rights are just as important as a transgender.'
(Video 2, in response to a comment suggesting if someone is transgender it is their choice, and if people don't like it, it is their problem)

Comment 1 clearly constructs a 'trade off' in terms of rights and safety through the use of the phrase 'who's comfort level you are willing to side with' which functions to divide communities. Furthermore, the use of capital letters for the words 'FEMALE' and 'MALES' functions to reinforce the gender binary and de-legitimise people that do not conform to the gender binary. The de-legitimisation of trans people is key in raising the 'worthy' victim status of cisgender communities. Furthermore, the quantification of communities emerges again (Comment 2) which is key in raising the 'worthy' victim status of the cisgender communities as the potential harm or infringement caused by the implementation of gender-neutral toilets affects a larger number of people. Finally, the

last comment functions to raise the 'worthy' victim status of the cisgender community by highlighting the role of autonomy, choice and free-will in the decisions trans individuals make. The role of autonomy and choice in trans individuals' lives functions to subtract from the 'worthy' victim status that may be afforded to them, as they are constructed as choosing to be in this position.

Alongside a trade-off in terms of safety and rights, the concept of 'privacy' appeared to be key in the construction of gender-neutral toilets. Anderson (2009:91) argues that 'anxieties about privacy violations while using a toilet are profoundly strong in Western culture'. Therefore, it is unsurprising that notions of privacy were present within the data. A range of techniques are used to heighten the sense of invasion of privacy including quantification and conflation of categories.

1. 'For me it has nothing to do with trans people or the issue with weirdos in the bathroom. It's hard enough trying to shit with women in the bathroom. It's a lack of privacy.'
    (Video 7, direct response to video.)
2. 'Girls need privacy…modesty is important.'
    (Video 5, in response to another commenter challenging this commenter when they suggested a completely separate area for transgender individuals.)
3. 'Why should I have to sacrifice my privacy and comfort just for the sake of 1% of the population?'
    (Video 7, direct response to video. One commenter replies asking how they would be sacrificing their privacy to which the response is 'Because I'm not really comfortable going to the bathroom with the opposite sex')

The issue of privacy is also contextualised in a similar way to the issues of rights and safety; it is framed as a trade-off in terms of privacy. This is clear through the use of the phrase 'sacrifice my privacy and comfort' (Comment 3) which is also followed by a quantification of the trans community which functions to highlight how the privacy of an overwhelming majority may be sacrificed. On the contrary, the invasion of privacy is constructed as very mundane in the first comment, referring only to bodily functions as the core reason to prevent the implementation of gender-neutral toilets.

Besides reasons of privacy and safety, often less-extreme reasons are given. Throughout

the data, themes of men's convenience can be developed. Gender-neutral toilets are

constructed as inconvenient for men and as a loss of a privilege.

1. 'Don't install urinals? They help things move faster. No way. (That seems discriminatory)' *(Video 7, in response to a commenter suggesting not to install urinals to make a toilet gender-neutral)*
2. 'I'm against unisex bathrooms. I don't know what women do in public bathrooms that leads to the long queues in front of them, and I don't care. But I don't want to have to queue because women are apparently unable to get rid of their body secretions in a time-efficient manner.' *(Video 7, direct response to video.)*
3. 'Now your trying to get rid of urinals for men because a few people get triggered. Stupid. Why can't we just leave it how it is, easy, we do our business you do your business. The thing is women would get upset over urinals as well.' *(Video 7, in response to another commenter suggesting not to install urinals.)*

Male convenience is not a new issue. Even in the mid-nineties Greed (1995) was

researching the convenience afforded to men in the provision of two-thirds more public

facilities than were offered to women. Claiming victimhood is evident within this theme

(Comment 1) where there is speculation of discriminatory behaviour, which functions to

highlight the victimisation of the dominant, powerful group. There is also an

essentialisation of biological difference established in both the second and third

comments. Both comments serve to distinguish clear essential differences between 'man'

and 'woman' which also through implication de-legitimises gender identities that do not

conform to the gender binary. The distinction between groups is clearly established in

comment 3 using the words 'your' and 'we'. There is also a quantification that occurs;

the use of the word 'few' functions to minimise the perceived demand for gender-neutral

toilets.

Furthermore, victim status is also established through constructing the broader LGBT community as demanding, unfair and 'bullies'. Constructing the LGBT community in this way, positions the cisgender community as victims.

1. 'LGBTQ = BULLIES'
   (Video 10, direct response to video)
2. 'They talk about they being bullied, but sometimes when the victim gets lots of power they can end up becoming the bully they hate so much. So congrats LGBT and Liberals you became what you hated so much.'
   (Video 10, direct response to video)
3. 'Some people suggested a Transgender bathroom. The LGBT didn't want it. They just want what they want. No negotiations.'
   (Video 8, in response to another commenter claiming there should be a separate 'transgender' bathroom.)
4. 'They want to annoy us. A Transgendered restroom would've been better cause that way they're not violating our space, but no. Only restroom I'll be using is in my house.'
   (Direct response to comment 3).

A key process in establishing victim status is establishing an offender. This is established in all the above comments. Directly in the first comment, an equivalence is made between the LGBT community and bullies. This simple statement clearly establishes an offender. Comment 2 relies on widely accepted discourses around the 'abused' becoming the 'abuser' that, although widely accepted, have been proven to be unfounded (Leach *et al.,* 2016). The third and fourth comments construct the LGBT community as demanding, unfair and irritating. The use of the phrase 'no negotiations' functions to construct the community as challenging and unfair. Through implication, this constructs the cisgender community as the victim of this unfairness, contributing to establishing their victim status.

7.2.3 The End of the World

Drawing upon the notion of victimhood, 'slippery slope' arguments are then developed, ultimately drawing attention to the significant harm that the dominant, majority victims will experience if the 'righteous' do not object and intervene. The result of all the implications previously discussed is constructed as 'the end of the world' if the cisgender

community do not unite and prevent the progression of equality. The 'end of the world' concept can most often be seen in extreme case formulations, in which significantly extreme harm is predicted. This occurs in two different formats. 'Slippery slope' arguments are often presented, highlighting the dangers that may occur if control is not re-established. Following on from slippery slope arguments, apocalyptic claims emerge prophesising the 'end of the world' because of gains made by the trans community.

1. 'Marrying animals and then ultimately dead people are next! Watch!'
   (Video 8, direct response to video)
2. 'Having standards is healthy. Not having any leads to insanity. (Pedophilia, Bestiality, Necrophilia, Polygamy, Pornography, Prostitution)'
   (Video 10, in response to another commenter questioning why teaching children about LGBT issues is indoctrinating but teaching them about heterosexual issues isn't)
3. 'If we lie to "transsexuals" to make them feel better, who is the next group we have to lie to: animal sex lovers, pedophiles, necrophiliacs. Just how far down that rabbit hole do we want to go as a society.'
   (Video 2, direct response to video)

In all three comments above, reference is made to socially unacceptable practices, such as necrophilia, bestiality and paedophilia. This functions not only to equate issues of non-conforming gender expressions with other socially unacceptable practices, but also to construct the existence and acceptance of trans people as a pathway into moral social decline. In comment one, a catalogue of absurdity is established through claims of bestiality and necrophilia. Pomerantz (1986) argues that 'extreme case' examples are drawn upon when attempting to justify or argue a conclusion they have come to. However, as can be seen below some commenters accentuate this moral social decline even further, and construct the progressions attempting to be made by the trans community as literally the 'end of the world'.

1. 'Societal rot. We are on a very dangerous path.'
   (Video 7, direct response to video)
2. 'I can't wait to see when this place burns like Sodom and Gomorrah.'
   (Video 8, direct response to video)

3. 'These laws are feminism and LGBTQ run amuk, but, let it go down. It will be the great undoing of them all. When you begin to get into this level of confusion, you know you're at the end. Let it burn. It's time.'
   (Video 8, direct response to video)

The 'end of the world' rhetoric is framed in various ways. The first comment establishes this rhetoric through implication. The use of the phrase 'on a very dangerous path' functions to leave it up to the reader to construct the final result but establishes through the word 'dangerous' that it will be a negative outcome. The second comment uses a religious rhetoric, the story of Sodom and Gomorrah (mentioned in the Hebrew Bible and in the Christian New Testament), the inhabitants of which are commonly assumed to have been destroyed because of homosexuality and other vices. This association is key in condemning the LGBT community whilst also constructing an 'end of the world' argument. The final comment also associates the 'end of the world' with the advances made by the LGBT community. In this comment, the 'end of the world' has already been established, in the present moment, not a future prediction. This functions to heighten the sense of urgency for the cisgender community to regain control.

7.3 The De-legitimisation of Trans People

Conversations around 'gender-neutral' toilets coincide with the legitimisation and de-legitimisation of trans people. Four key motifs that function to de-legitimise trans people were discerned through the data analysis. Notions of science, nature, religion and mental health are all invoked to undermine trans people's claimed authenticity. Furthermore, the media is positioned as responsible and complicit in the emergence of 'trans' in contemporary Western society, in which 'trans' is constructed as a modern trend. Finally, physicality, appearance and a reliance on gendered binaries become key tools employed to negate and invalidate trans people's claimed gender expressions.

7.3.1 Mental Health Claims as a Method of De-legitimising Trans People

The invocation of mental health themes is not a new phenomenon in relation to the construction of sexual and gender minorities. Gonsiorek (1982) discusses the construction of homosexuality throughout history and its conflation with mental health issues has proven to emerge and re-emerge at different times. Arguably, this is influenced by medical professions and the categorisation of alternative gender and sexualities as 'mental disorders' throughout history. Gender dysphoria is still currently categorised in the DSM-5[9] (American Psychiatric Association, 2013) which may influence the construction of trans people as experiencing a 'mental illness'. The association between trans people and 'mental illness' is usually made explicitly by *YouTube* commenters.

1. 'XX or XY…the rest is mental illness, seek help.'
   (Video 9, direct response to video)
2. 'Just change the sign and put mental disabled people.'
   (Video 1, direct response to video)
3. 'No child should have to share the same bathroom with these mentally deranged people who are so frickin deluded that they think they are the opposite gender.'
   (Video 2, direct response to video)

It is clear in all of the above examples that a direct link is made between trans people and 'mental illness'. Claiming 'mental illness' is the cause of alternative gender identities invalidates and de-legitimises trans people and their claimed authentic gender experiences. Consequently, norms relating to the gender binary, which is intrinsically linked to the binary categories of sex, are drawn upon (Comment 1). In this sense, the gender binary is reaffirmed whilst de-legitimising any claim to an authentic experience of gender outside of the binary.

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[9] DSM-5 is the 2013 updated edition of 'The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders' and is used by health care professionals. It is considered globally as the authoritative guide to the diagnosis of mental disorders.

Explicit claims are not always substantial enough to rebuff counter-discourse and as a result what can be seen is a continued reference to academic studies and the DSM-5.

1. 'A john hopkins independent study said in 1989 that transgender is a mental illness. A delusion of a male thinking he is a female and vice versa. Most of them have bi-polar, shizophrenia, deppression too. A lot commit suicide because they can't handle what their altered state of mind is telling them to do.'
   (Video 1, in response to another commenter claiming if you have a penis you should use the male bathroom)
2. 'A person's belief that he or she is something they are not is, at best, a sign of confused thinking. When an otherwise healthy biological boy believes he is a girl, or an otherwise healthy biological girl believes she is a boy, an objective psychological problem exists that lies in the mind not the body, and it should be treated as such. These children suffer from gender dysphoria. Gender dysphoria (GD), formerly listed as Gender Identity Disorder (GID), is a recognized mental disorder in the most recent edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of the American Psychiatric Association (DSM-V). American College of Pediatricians. http://www.acpeds.org/the-college-speaks/position-statements/gender-ideology-harms-children'
   (Video 9, in response to another commenter claiming it is not a 'mental illness')

Throughout the above comments there is reference to an external source, an 'independent' voice, which functions to increase the factuality of the commenters opinion and reflects an expression of knowledge. Through expressing knowledge, the commenter orients towards occupying a privileged and knowledgeable position. Referencing an external source also provides the commenter with a 'distance' in a way to avoid blame or counter-discourse as the 'opinion' is not that of the commenter but comes from another. The provision of a link to a website (Comment 2) also functions to legitimise the comment by providing evidence from an external source. In both the first and second comments the reference to an external source is made before the expression of a personal opinion. The 'evidence' is presented before the opinion as it reduces the possibility of counter-discourse emerging as the person's opinion is based on the 'evidence' presented. There is also a conflation of trans people with wider mental health concerns such as bi-polar

disorder, schizophrenia and depression (Comment 1) which further legitimises the commenters association between 'mental illness' and trans people.

Not only are trans individuals constructed as embodying illegitimate forms of gender expression that result from a mental health problem, there is also a construction of the dominant majority as guardians, with the responsibility of not exacerbating these mental health conditions.

1. 'Lets enable and nurture mental disorders yay!'
   (Video 7, direct response to video)
2. 'We need to stop treating this crap like its normal and get these folks the mental help they need.'
   (Video 8, direct response to video)
3. 'You are what you are. Surgery and drugs can only mask that. Should society be compassionate, yes, but that compassion should be geared towards getting them couseling. I have never felt that lying to someone is either helpful or constructive to solving a problem.'
   (Video 2, direct response to video)

The sarcastic exhortation to 'enable and nurture mental disorders' (Comment 1) functions to de-legitimise any claim made of a trans identity. The use of the word 'we' (Comment 2) functions to create an in-group of the dominant majority and an out-group of the minority. The responsibility of 'treatment' for trans individuals is then placed on the in-group, the guardians of society. This is reinforced in the final comment, claiming that the in-group should show compassion, but aimed towards a 'treatment' for the 'other'. By constructing two groups in this way, the dominant majority is constructed as 'parent' figures, responsible for the care and 'correction' of trans individuals.

7.3.2 Trans People as Challenging the Given Order: Invocations of Nature and Biology

Notions of 'nature' and 'biology', often contextualised within broader constructs of 'medicine' and 'science', are routinely invoked in the de-legitimisation of trans people.

These motifs are invoked in various contexts, but all perform the same function of establishing a given and 'ultimate' order of things which should not or could not be breached. Trans people are constructed as challenging and contravening or attempting to contravene this order. An authoritative status is assigned to nature and particularly biology and science within the data and functions to privilege the statements made by the commenters.

1. 'Try to make unnatural behavior mainstream. This will be their downfall.'
   (Video 9, direct response to video)

2. 'Have fun slowly getting even more depressed while you regret mutilating your penis. You'll never seem or look like or act like or BE a NATURAL woman.'
   (Video 1, direct response to video)

The first comment presents a standard claim in the data: that trans people are engaging in behaviour that is oppositional to nature but are seeking to normalise this behaviour. This is constructed as having potentially negative implications for them. The second comment presents trans women as aiming to become or appear to others as cisgender, 'natural' women and constructs this is as a futile task. The use of an extreme case formulation ('You'll never'), upper case lettering in 'BE' and 'NATURAL', and a four-part list ('seem or look like or act like or BE') presents gender in essentialised terms of 'being'. The construction of trans people as unnatural in behaviour or in essence or as falling short of the 'natural' in their claimed gender functions to delegitimize them.

The motif of 'natural' and 'unnatural' is also recurrent within the data and is often located within a framework that provides a causal explanation for transgenderism.

1. Homosexuality and Transgender are too [two] different things though. Homosexuality only likes the same sex, transgender things their the other sex. But I feel you completely, there's nothing wrong with being gay but it's another thing Changing what you were born with, and I strongly don't support shit like that.'
   (Video 8, direct response to video)

211

2. 'Everyone who accepts and respect how they were born are targeted.'
   (Video 8, direct response to video)
3. 'If people are born gay if nature is the ones doing it. Why then does it give the men sperm and the women eggs? There never going to use it.'
   (Video 10, in response to someone claiming it is environmental factors that influences sexuality)

The theme of 'unnatural' occurs in the first comment above with the phrase 'changing what you were born with'. It is implicit that what people are born with is 'natural' and any deviation from that is 'unnatural'. There is also a distinction of categories between sexuality and gender alongside a disclaimer. The function of this is to position the commenter as open-minded and rational as they accept homosexuality. This allows for the de-legitimisation of trans people to occur without the commenter appearing bigoted. The notion of being born 'natural' occurs again in the second comment above and this aligns with the previous theme of 'claiming victimhood'. In the final comment presented above there is a construction of 'natural' relating to reproductive abilities which is followed by a rhetorical question. The use of a rhetorical question after this construction of 'natural' increases the sense of factuality as it is constructed in a way in which the question answers itself. Furthermore, claimed trans identities are routinely de-legitimised through claims of science and medicine,

1. 'You aren't Transgender because nobody is…since choose or changing your gender is medically and biologically impossible!'
   (Video 2, in response to another commenter claiming they are transgender)
2. 'At the current time, science and basic biology tell us that you cannot be born the wrong gender.'
3. 'That .01% is growing rapidly due to Phthalates and endocrine disrupting Chemical in Pharma, in plastics, in fertilizers. The T-levels of men have been reduced by 50% in the last 50 years. And the epidemic of male baby's born w/ deformed genitals will not be broadcast by the MSM.'
   (Video 9, in response to another commenter claiming transgender individuals make up only 0.01% of the population.)
4. 'It's just another of the liberal ills being forced down the throats of normal healthy people in the hopes that they will infect the population and "normalize" the behaviour.'
   (Video 4, direct response to video)

The first and second comments above invoke notions of science and biology. In doing so, culturally identifiable understandings of gender non-conformity ('born in the wrong gender') are rejected and the possibility of legitimately inhabiting a different gender. In both comments there is an explicit denial of the existence of 'transgender'. This is contextualised within scientific, biological and medical motifs and functions to construct the opinion within a knowledge base. By establishing a knowledge base the commenter positions themselves in a privileged position. This is even more evident in the third comment. The use of specific scientific language such as 'Phthalates and 'endocrine' serves to reinforce the construction of the commenter as knowledgeable and therefore positioned into a place of power in relation to who in the conversation holds the most knowledge. Latour (1987) argued that language used becomes more technical when debate between scientists becomes vigorous and that the invocation of technically challenging language operates to factualise an opinion. This origin story, with the authority of scientific discourse, constructs transgenderism at least partly as a medical abnormality caused by external toxic agents. In the final comments trans people are de-legitimised through constructing them as a 'virus' with the potential to 'infect' the normal population. This construction of trans people functions to negate the existence of claimed trans realities and serves to construct them as 'unnatural'.

7.3.3 Mobilization of Religious and Moral Values and Norms

A further motif that is frequently mobilized in the data is religious and moral values and norms. This functions to justify querying or denying the legitimacy of trans people. Notions of a 'higher power' are invoked to determine and legitimate parameters of 'rightness' and 'wrongness'.

1. 'Deuteronomy 23:1-25 KJV. A man that has his stones crushed or private cutt off shall not enter into the congregation of God. God isn't no respecter

213

of men I liken women that get their Tubes burned or tied shut sterilization castrating or making themselves into transsexual lesbians would some under his same category as same as crushed stones for a man, sex change operations or vasectomy to tell God their going to have sex, without concern without consequences of making babies.'
(Video 2, direct response to video)

2. 'In my opinion, I don't understand why Trans people are trans. God doesn't make mistakes, and even if you don't believe in him, its ungrateful. Be a tomboy, or a boy who is kinda girlish. Geez.'
(Video 7, direct response to video)

3. 'One, its not USA. It's the DEMOCRATS. The LEFTIST immoral garbage who rejected God in Christ and now worship the devil.'
(Video 3, in response to another commenter claiming the USA is now a global embarrassment)

In the data presented above, God is invoked and constructed as the ultimate authority who cannot or should not be challenged or defied, and those who do will face negative consequences. In the first and second comments above trans people are constructed as opposing the divine will in themselves or as representing a social rejection of the divine will. This results in the legitimisation of religion and the de-legitimisation of trans individuals. The first comment conflates gender reassignment surgery with sterilization and constructs these as defiance of divine will, which is worked up and evidenced through the invocation and rather free-form interpretation of Biblical text. The third comment constructs transgenderism as an outcome of rejecting God and embracing the devil. In all three comments, trans people are positioned in opposition to God.

Despite a clear use of religious norms and values to de-legitimise trans people, this does not go unchallenged. Many commenters challenge the legitimacy of religion and bluntly deny the existence of a 'higher power'.

1. 'A) There is no God and B) Transgender people are literally born with the brain of the opposite gender therefore meaning they are born in the wrong body.'
(Video 1, in response to another commenter claiming it is sinful to undergo gender reassignment surgery)

2. 'I'm not really into fiction books so I'll have to pass, but thank you for the recommendation.' *(Video 2, in response to another commenter quoting from The Bible)*
3. 'change their sex? Its not something you choose, it's how your were born, irregardless of what you were assigned at birth, stop using your outdated and oppressing beliefs to restrict others.'
(Video 1, in response to another commenter claiming it is sinful to undergo gender reassignment surgery)

All three comments above function to de-legitimise the validity and authenticity of religion. It is important for commenters to question the legitimacy of religion in order to be able to provide any counter-discourse against religious norms and values that function to de-legitimise trans people. This is done in a range of ways, from bluntly denying the existence of religion (Comment 1) to the use of sarcasm (Comment 2) to negate the existence of a 'higher power' and through claims of these views being outdated and utilised to restrict others' freedom (Comment 3). An accusatory tone is also achieved in the third comment as the comment positions religious advocates as perpetuating oppression. The notion of immorality is pervasive throughout the data and functions to construct trans individuals as immoral. However, the notion of immorality is also drawn upon to characterise those accused of oppressive views as immoral.

The subject of moral values was also discerned in attributions made about difficulties that trans people experience. These difficulties were acknowledged but were attributed to bad decisions and choices made by trans people. Responsibility for creating these difficulties was often assigned to trans people themselves who were constructed as authors of their own misfortune.

1. 'There is no confusion over the transgender issue being pushed down people's throats; the issues of trans people are self created and self imposed.' *(Video 4, direct response to video)*
2. 'I say the same to people who are desirous of making themselves freaks! Yes, I do. When you VOLUNTARILY ELECT to undergo such drastic unnatural physical changes, then it is on YOU to fend for yourself. A total nation should not be FORCED TO ACCOMMODATE your self imposed

special needs.'
(Video 4, in response to another commenter challenging their initial comment that body modification is wrong)

In both of the data excerpts presented above, notions of free will are mobilized to construct trans people as having actively made a choice that does not align with wider societal expectations of gender. It is vital that trans people are constructed as making a choice for the commenter to express a negative opinion. If transgenderism were not presented as a matter of choice, this could make it more difficult to evaluate trans people negatively or at least it could call for more complexity in evaluation. The notion of transgenderism as a 'choice' is achieved using capital letters for the phrase 'VOLUNTARILY ELECT' and the use of phrases such as 'self created' and 'self imposed' (Comment 2). This also confers on trans people a responsibility for themselves and perhaps for their own safety by virtue of their having freely chosen to alter their bodies and thereby defy nature ('unnatural physical changes'). Furthermore, in the first comment trans individuals are constructed as needing to 'fend for themselves'. This followed by stating that an entire nation should not be forced to accommodate their needs which creates an implication that any abuse trans individuals may experience is justified. Furthermore, it represents them as not entitled to the collective protection that would have come with the decision to adhere to societal expectations about gender expression. This was mostly challenged in expected ways.

The theme of immoral choices is also employed by commenters to construct the counter-discourse to the overarching theme of de-legitimising trans people. *YouTube* commenters position those engaging in a negative construction of trans people as intruding in an unwarranted way into an issue that is not theirs, as being judgement and as perpetuating hate.

1. Call it whatever you like. A lifestyle, a mental disease, a delusion. The fact is that there are people who concern themselves with things that have nothing to do with them. There are many people who just blatantly prey off of those who live this way for absolutely no reason. *(Video 1, direct response to video)*
2. 'I remain dumbfounded as to how, after millennia, we have not come to understand that judging others beliefs, life choices, biology, or nature leads to conscious and unconscious hate, and that is going to be our downfall.' *(Video 6, direct response to video)*
3. 'I'm so disgusted by this comment section. Where are people's hearts??'
   a. 'I identify myself as a heart. Stop offending me!!!!'
   b. 'Excuse me, I identify as a CRUEL HEARTLESS BASTARD. Don't judge me.'
   (Video 1, direct response to video)

In the first comment above, there is an acknowledgement of other people's opinion and these are validated. This is a necessary function for others then to be constructed as animalistic and immoral. Animalistic imagery is employed using the word 'prey' which connotes food chains and predatory behaviour whilst simultaneously constructing trans individuals as vulnerable. The second comment above reflects on the history of judgement and hate and the preceding lessons that should have been learnt. The use of reflection on previous history functions to increase the facticity of the commenter's comment. By constructing others as acting immorally and perpetuating hate, commenters locate those others in a morally inferior position which decreases the validity of those people's comments. It also serves to hinder counter-discourse which is successful in the first two comments as no responses were found. However, it can be seen in the final comment above that evoking a theme of morality does not prevent counter-discourse.

The feelings of personal hurt or moral offence portrayed by the original commenter are relatively strong emotions; feelings of disgust are constructed by the apparent lack of empathy and understanding shown by others. However, this comment which orients towards locating others in an inferior position is met with sarcasm from all subsequent commenters. The first two responses (Comments 3a & 3b) contribute to the de-

legitimisation of trans people through making claims of illogical personal identities whilst simultaneously mocking the original commenter by claiming to identify as either a 'heart' or 'heartless' in response to the commenter's original rhetorical question. As can be seen in this example, the framing of effective resistance to anti-trans online talk is not straightforward. A framing within moral discourse is vulnerable to challenge owing to the likelihood of morals and moral values being treated as subjective and therefore lacking authority.

7.3.4 Media Responsibility for Trans People as a 'Modern Trend'

Another major theme that was developed from the data is the de-legitimisation of trans people through making claims that these forms of gender expression are the result of a new 'modern trend' and the responsibility for this is usually associated with modern media, in the widest sense. Constructing transgenderism as a 'modern trend' presents it as lacking any substance and negates any requirement for social change. Blame is attributed to traditional media outlets such as newspapers and televisions and to modern media forms such as social media and information sharing. Claims that trans people are a 'fad' were usually made in a direct form.

1. 'You're probably just a teenager who wanted to rebel. Who ever saw a transgender person before 2 years ago? It's a fad. Before this sex and gender were synonymous.'
   (In response to another commenter claiming people don't know the different between sex and gender)
   a. 'Before a few years ago – if that – I had never even heard of the term transgender. It's a fad. Before 2015 everyone realized, I have a penis! Wow, I must be a dude.'

In the comments above trans people are explicitly constructed as a 'fad' and a range of techniques is used to factualise this notion. The construction of the previous commenter as 'just a teenager' functions to entitle particular persons or group of people to a knowledgeable opinion and by constructing the commenter as 'just a teenager' the

comment serves to de-legitimise the authenticity of the knowledge they have. Another commenter further corroborates this construction of trans people. The use of a specific year which they claim saw the onset of trans people functions to factualise the opinion through the use of a precise, detailed account. The construction of trans people as 'a fad' functions to de-legitimise the claimed authentic, lived experiences of trans people and therefore negate the need for any discussion around specific provisions claimed to be needed.

Discussions of 'trans' being 'a fad' go even further where commenters speculate and assign blame to different organisations for the emergence of trans people, most commonly media outlets. In rhetorical terms, it is important to assign blame of the emergence of trans people to increase to facticity of the argument that it is indeed 'a fad'.

1. 'The far left same sex, trans ideology that is going on right now and basically being pushed on by the media is beyond silly.'
   (Video 1, direct response to video)
2. 'If you look at history you'd see that such notions were a small minority amongst different cultures and were sort of a religious belief than an actual thing. Today it's nothing more than a Tumblrism people who feel the need for extreme attention adopt.'
   (Video 1, in response to another commenter constructing counter-discourse by claiming transgender people have existed throughout history in different cultures.)
3. 'There are studies to show that being transgender is something Neurological. Like people who are transgender have brains similar to the gender they wish to be. So in short, there brains are the opposite of what their body in terms gender. Think what you want buy science stands behind those who are transgender.'
   a. 'No they are brainwashed by the media to become trans.'
      (Video 1, direct response to video. Comment A is a direct response to comment 3)

In the comments above reference is made to both the 'media' in the traditional form and also to Tumblr, a social media platform. The two different forms of media have blame attributed in different ways. In both the first and third comments blame is attributed to the media for pushing trans ideology onto the mass public and 'brainwashing' them.

219

Responsibility for the emergence of trans people is situated with the mass media. The second comment above refers specifically to social media. The commenter establishes an informed opinion about the history of trans cultures through an expression of knowledge that locates them in a privileged position to express an opinion.

Furthermore, within and throughout discussions of the media and trans people, reference is often made to Caitlyn Jenner[10]. Given the high-profile, media fuelled public transition of Caitlyn Jenner, it is unsurprising to find that she becomes the embodiment of transgenderism, the reference for people to draw upon to increase the facticity of the argument that trans is a fad. Furthermore, Caitlyn Jenner was the topic of many media headlines in relation to a 'sex change regret' and considering a 'de-transition'. Caitlyn Jenner received widespread and sustained media attention following a public announcement of her trans status in 2015 and this is invoked as evidence of transgenderism as a media fad that will pass. Referencing a public figure functions to de-legitimise trans people in a variety of ways.

1. 'If you think about it, couldn't you honestly at any moment just decide you want to be part of this new fun "transgender" trend? You would be like Caitlin Jenner".
   (Video 2, direct response to video)
2. 'Just make trans men go to women restrooms and trans women go to men restrooms, people wont notice the difference since they well look the sex they changed to.'
   (Video 1, direct response to video)
   a. 'People won't notice the difference??? Have you ever seen a trans person?? They look considerably different then a typical woman because the surgery isn't perfect, I mean Kate Jenner is freakign rich and even his didn't come out without you telling a difference.'

The claim that transgenderism is a modern trend is made in direct form in the first comment. In response to the second comment above Caitlyn Jenner is referenced to de-

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[10] Caitlyn Jenner was born October 28th, 1949 in New York. She is an actress and producer and former Olympian. Caitlyn Jenner is known for her roles in 'Keeping Up With The Kardashians' and 'I am Cait'. Caitlyn Jenner was also under public scrutiny during her transition period.

legitimise trans peoples claimed authentic gender experience because of their failure to adequately present as their preferred gender. By drawing upon public trans figures who have been central in public debate around trans people and particularly associated with a negative discourse functions to de-legitimise trans people and construct them as a modern trend. Moreover, the reference to Caitlyn Jenner with the use of masculine pronouns ('his') also serves to delegitimise her claimed authenticity as female.

7.3.5 Reinforcing Gendered Binaries: Invoking Physicality

The final subtheme that is discussed is how trans people are de-legitimised through a cultural reliance on the gender binary, which are intrinsically related to sex. This is evident in commenters' invocation of physicality, in both the presence of genitalia and one's ability to 'pass'. Invocation of physicality and personal appearance functions to de-legitimise either all trans people or those who do not fit within gendered binaries.

1. 'You can easily tell the difference between a fake and the real thing. You can't just throw on a wig and say you're trans.'
   (Video 8, in response to someone discussing men dressing up as women to sexually assault women in public toilets)
2. 'If you look like a man go into the mens room if you look like a women go into the womens room, whats the problem?'
   (Video 1, direct response to video)
3. 'Trans people who don't pass well should use these bathrooms.'
   (Video 1, direct response to video, referencing 'gender-neutral toilets' when stating 'these bathrooms')

All of the above comments contextualise the construction of trans people in reference to public toilets. There is a heavy notion of a trans person's ability to 'pass' in the legitimisation of trans people. In the first comment it is claimed that 'you can easily tell the difference between a fake and the real thing'. This distinguishes trans women from cisgender women and implies the impossibility of trans women being able to successfully pass as cisgender. As a result, there is an implication that those who do not successfully 'pass' as the gender they identify with are not 'real' trans people.

221

By constructing trans people in this way, there is a simultaneous legitimisation of one group of trans people and a de-legitimisation of other trans people. This is a recurrent motif in both the second and third comment, relying heavily on visual markers to legitimise trans people who can successfully 'pass' and delegitimizing those who cannot. The notion of being able to 'pass' is also intrinsically linked to a social reliance on the gender binary. This is important to note, as the de-legitimisation of particular groups of trans people, those who cannot pass, is key in constructing the rights and freedoms assigned to them. As can be seen in both the second and third comments above, those who do not have the ability to 'pass' are consigned to using either a separate bathroom or the bathroom of the gender they no longer identify with.

The invocation of a gender binary is also used to further delegitimize trans people. In this sense, the gender binary and categories of 'man' and 'woman' are employed to delegitimize the fluidity of gender and ones 'right' or 'entitlement' to deviate from these fixed, given categories.

1. 'If you're man, men's bathroom – a woman, ladies bathroom. Simple. None of your transgender bullshit excuses.'
   (Video 2, direct response to video)
2. 'If u have a dick use the mans room. Its that simple. We don't need a third bathroom. Transgender people are ridiculous and will never be accepted as the sex they want to be.' *(Video 2, direct response to video)*
3. 'I do not believe that there is such a thing as "transgender". You either a male or female, there is nothing else.'
   (Video 7, direct response to video)
4. 'You are either a boy or a girl. There is no 'choice' in the matter. There is no gender fluidity or gender binary or whatever other 76 genders that have been invented. If you are a biological man you go to the male bathroom. If you are a biological female you go to the female bathroom. There is no debate.'
   (Video 10, in response to another commenter claiming transgender people should use whichever bathroom they identify with.)

In all the comments above, there is a clear invocation of gendered binaries, through reference to either 'man' and 'woman' or reference to the presence of a particular type of

genitalia (Comment 2). Additionally, in the last comment above, there is a quantification of the number of gender identities available. This is an exaggeration and functions to further delegitimize trans people using sarcasm. Furthermore, the construction of trans people is done in a familiar and authoritative way, which constructs the opinion as having a 'taken for granted' quality which functions to construct the opinion and the de-legitimisation of trans people as being common sense and natural. Not only do these constructions delegitimize trans people, they also function to reinforce the normality of cisgender people and the gender binary, effectively 'othering' trans populations.

7.4 Discussion

This chapter argues that trans people are constructed in similar ways to the historic construction and othering of other marginalised groups. What is evident is that there is a limited repertoire of resources that are used to delegitimize and other non-conforming people in culturally recognisable ways. Fitting within a critical realist approach to this research, what becomes clear is that dominant, hegemonic discourses privilege versions of social reality and reinforce existing social structures and power relations associated with them. What becomes evident in the data is an implied hierarchy of social and cultural illegitimacy in which lesbian and gay people are more widely tolerated in society in comparison to the complete rejection and oppression of trans people. In this sense, the rhetoric used to construct trans people online is reflective of trans people's experiences offline as was discussed in previous chapters.

This is reflected in wider research exploring societal attitudes towards sexual and gender non-conformity (Lewis *et al.,* 2017). This research has identified a range of techniques that legitimatises prejudice and social inequalities (Wetherell, 2003), including othering trans people through the construction of them as mentally ill, unnatural and biologically

illogical, as offending against religion and as a result of a modern media trend. It can therefore be argued that the process of othering trans people and constructing them as contravening social norms relating to gender functions as a self-justification for commenters' behaviour and therefore responsibility and accountability of prejudice and discrimination is minimised. Responsibility and accountability are minimised through the construction of trans people as not belonging to mainstream society because of their gender non-conformity and therefore are not assigned the same privilege and protection that cisgender people are assigned. In this sense, the othering of trans individuals online reflects the offline experiences of trans people discussed earlier, in which they are othered from a range of physical social spaces such as youth groups and support services, as a result of similar rhetorics.

Notions of mental illness have been pervasive in the historic denigration of LGBT communities (Perone, 2014). This is undoubtedly linked to the classification of homosexuality as a mental illness in the UK until 1992. The classification of homosexuality as a mental illness is linked to the pervasive history of correctional treatments many homosexuals experienced (Perone, 2014; Silverstein, 2009). Notions of mental illness are invoked in order to de-legitimise the authenticity of identities it is aimed at and feeds in to a deficiency and treatment-based perspective. In this sense, it perpetuates the othering of minority communities and creates a clear divide between the heteronormative majority and the homosexual minority. It can therefore be argued that gender dysphoria's association with the DSM, which also categorises several 'fetishes' associated with sexual deviance, heavily influence the construction of trans people as mentally ill. Therefore, it can be argued that the construction of trans people as 'mentally ill' positions them as 'less than' the dominant, gender normative majority. This construction therefore allows for the discrimination, abuse and othering of trans people

as they are not deemed worthy of social integration. Furthermore, the online construction of trans people as 'mentally ill' mirrors the experiences of participants discussed in chapter four, in which the verbal abuse targeting them has either explicit, or implicit connotations to mental health.

Notions of science, biology and nature are also invoked when constructing trans people and is usually framed in relation to trans people contravening scientific and biological evidence. At points within the data trans people are constructed as a virus and an infection with the potential to take over the social norm of cisgenderism. Tileaga (2007) explores how speech of this nature is used to de-legitimise the people it is aimed at and justifies the moral exclusion in which they are removed from the normal considerations given to other groups.

Notions of science and biology also feed in to wider discourse relating to trans literature that relates to the 'medicalisation of the body'. The medicalisation of the body leads to the construction of gender in biomedical terms, which has the 'effect of discursively producing it as a 'natural', ahistorical phenomenon' (Eckhert, 2016). Trans people create social anxiety that cisnormative ideals are threatened and scientific and biological discourses function to diffuse. It becomes clear in this chapter that genitals become the indicating factor of an individual's sex, and this is intrinsically linked to gender. It is assumed that those with male genitals will also engage in behaviours associated with masculinity. This assumption is challenged by trans and non-binary people and contests 'the 'cultural truth' that gender identity is always congruent with sex' (Bennett, 2015: 183).

The function of scientific and biological discourse is then to reinforce the gender binary and construct trans people as outside of this binary. However, scientific and biological

discourse has often contributed to the medicalisation of trans bodies in different ways, seeking to shape the trans body and ensure the conformity of trans bodies to normative gendered expectations. This has been discussed by MacKenzie (1994) who argues that the goal of gender reassignment surgery is to maintain the normative ideal that masculine-acting people belong in male bodies and feminine-acting people belong in female bodies. In this sense, the scientific and biological discourse that has historically been seen constructs trans people within normative frameworks and actively limits the non-compliant potential of incongruency. As a result, those who present outside of these frameworks are perceived to be 'different' and therefore legitimate targets for hate crime victimisation.

The medicalisation of trans bodies also affords privilege to those deemed 'trans enough' and places pressure on trans people to conform to transnormative expectations and alter their bodies in ways that may not be possible or wanted. Tobin (2007: 434) acknowledges that 'large numbers of trans people live without such surgery due to medical conditions, financial constraints, fear of complications, religious beliefs, or simply by person choice'. As such, those who do not undergo gender reassignment surgery are constructed as illegitimate and a threat to the cisnormative order. This is also evident throughout chapter six in which trans people who identify outside of the binary find themselves excluded from a number of social spaces, such as youth groups and support services, based on their non-conformity to expected gender presentation. On the other hand, Cowan (2005) argues that through gender reassignment surgery, trans people 'are, literally, "made to fit" within existing sex and gender structures' and this ensures that through their conformity they no longer present a threat to cisnormativity. Gender reassignment surgery also functions and facilitates the 're-inscription of sex on to "unruly" bodies' (Hird, 2000: 349). Arguably, the medicalisation of trans bodies functions to control the threat presented by gender

incongruence to cisnormative understandings of gender and sex. There are also significant implications of scientific and biological discourse relating to gender identity in that it feeds in to corrective discourse and constructs the need for management, control and treatment of trans identities.

The medicalisation of trans bodies also feeds in to wider motifs of naturalness. Notions of naturalness are not new motifs used to de-legitimise and other sexual and gender non-conforming people and feed in to the construction and maintenance of the 'natural' gender binary. Bornstein's (1994) elaboration of Garfinkel's (1967) identification of beliefs about gender that are created, expressed and reinforced through social interaction. Bornstein and Garfinkel pointed to beliefs that there are only two genders and this binary is natural; a person's gender is invariant; genitals are the essential sign of gender; and any exceptions to the two genders are not to be taken seriously. Notions of a natural gender binary also function to further marginalise non-binary and gender non-conforming people through claims of scientific and biological absurdity, reinforcing the natural gender order. In this sense, notions of 'natural' and a natural order of gender that are recurrent in the data presented in this research have long been used in the denigration of gender and sexual minorities and are a dominant rhetoric drawn upon to de-legitimise minorities in socially recognisable ways. Through undermining the authenticity of trans people's claimed gender identity, trans people are therefore constructed as legitimate targets of hate crime victimisation. The continual de-legitimisation that often goes unchallenged contributes to a culture of acceptance of transphobia.

Notions of 'natural' also feed in to the de-legitimisation of trans people through religious discourse. Again, the religious denunciation is not a novel discovery and has been historically used in the othering and de-legitimisation of gender and sexual non-

conforming people (Cragun *et al.,* 2015). In relation to homosexuality, it has historically been constructed as a contradiction to divinely inspired gender roles that are constructed as natural through religious motifs. In this sense, the gender binary is constructed as natural and for the explicit reason of producing children in which the categories of 'man' and 'woman' are constructed as oppositional, but complementary roles and consequently constructs homosexuality as contradictory to God's plan (Bartkowski, 2001) and therefore a clear violation of gender roles instilled in both men and women by God. It can therefore be argued that the construction of 'heterosexual' sex, especially for reproduction is constructed as 'natural' and by default homosexual sex is characterised as 'unnatural' (Conrad, 2010). In this sense, LGBT people are constructed as flawed in God's image, and therefore reinforces scientific and biological discourses that rely on a treatment and correct construction of sexual and gender non-conforming people.

Reflecting upon religious motifs present in the data collected for this research, it becomes clear that the de-legitimisation of trans people closely mirrors the historic religious denigration of homosexuality. What can also be seen is the intrinsic relationship between a range of motifs that are invoked to de-legitimise trans people. Notions of religion, nature and the gender binary are intrinsically linked and although discussed separately in this chapter, were often invoked in unison. It can therefore be argued that there is a matrix of motifs that are drawn upon to de-legitimise trans people and often the distinction between religion, nature and science becomes blurred.

However, as has been argued in this chapter, the advent of the internet has given rise to the formation of a new rhetoric used to de-legitimise trans people. In this sense, the media, in particular social media and the modern format of reality television, are blamed for the emergence of 'trans' as a temporary fad. Trans people are therefore de-

legitimised and claims of authenticity are negated in relation to their acquired gender. However, this motif of de-legitimisation differs significantly from other motif's that have previously been discussed, in that it does not prescribe to a corrective, or treatment-based discourse. Instead, trans people are constructed as not requiring any attention at all. In this sense, there is no requirement for cisnormative populations to make any adjustments or offer any legal or civil protection to trans people as they are constructed as existing temporarily.

The role of the media has more historically been associated with the vilification of LGBT communities, particularly in relation to perpetuating the AIDS epidemic and framing this as a 'gay disease' (Netzhammer and Shamp, 1994). Furthermore, the media has also played a role in perpetuating heteronormativity and gender norms Hantzis and Lehr, 1994) and reinforcing stereotypes (Gross, 1994). It can be argued that along with the rise of internet usage, there has been a push to mainstream trans identities in traditional media forms such as television, radio and newspaper (Anderson, 2018).

The increasing visibility of trans people on primetime and mainstream television, including Chaz Bono, Laverne Cox and perhaps most notoriously Caitlyn Jenner has been argued to be an effort by the media to normalise trans identities (Anderson, 2018). Despite transphobic hate crime not being high in the social conscious, the significant media coverage that Caitlyn Jenner received pushed trans people into the mainstream conscious. However, this has led to a reductive understanding of trans communities (Jamel, 2018). Furthermore, the intense media coverage of Caitlyn Jenner has led to her becoming the embodiment of trans identities, as can be seen in the data of this research. Caution should be exercised when Caitlyn Jenner is constructed as the media representation of trans identities, as Jamel (2018) notes, the focus on a single, personal experience can neglect the role of race, class and sexuality upon trans peoples' experiences. It has also been noted

that the media presentation of high profile trans people such as Jenner are often reduced to basic narratives of physical transition (Lea, 2016) and therefore the social and psychological transition is neglected. The focus on physical transition further reinforced the gender binary and normative gender assumptions. Furthermore, Jenner is in a position of relative privilege and power compared to most trans people and the portrayal of her transition, which may have been challenging given the media focus, may have been alleviated by her financial security and higher position on several social hierarchies relating to class, sexuality and race. In this sense, it is important to not allow the public transition of one person overshadow the often-difficult journeys that trans people face in relation to their social status. This thesis argues that the rhetoric used to construct trans people is simultaneously produced and reproduced in an offline and online context.

It becomes clear in this chapter that gender-neutral toilets are constructed as sites of sexual danger. This is mainly achieved through the construction of male sexuality as uncontrollable. In doing so, the online construction of male sexuality in this way significantly impacts the offline experiences of trans individuals accessing sex-segregated spaces. What is evident in this chapter is that stereotypes relating to masculinity permeate the construction of sexual danger. As is argued by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005: 832) hegemonic masculinity is best understood 'as the pattern of practice (i.e., things done, not just a set of role expectations or an identity) that allowed men's dominance over women to continue'. Notions of hegemonic masculinity rely on the gender binary and characterise men and masculinity as physically dominant, aggressive and unable to control their sexuality. In this sense, sexual violence is used to exert dominance over women. Even though hegemonic masculinity may not be achievable for all men, it has become the norm (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005) and it can therefore be argued that this is what most men strive to achieve.

It has been argued that sexual cultural scripting socially constructs the expected sexual behaviour of men (Willie *et al.,* 2018). In Western communities, men's sexual scripting dictates that men should have strong sexual needs and are supposed to remove any restrictions in place by a sexual partner to fulfil their sexual needs (Byers, 1996), which in turn, socially legitimises the perpetration of sexual violence against women. Kelly (1987) argues that sexual violence is a normal part of male heterosexuality. In this chapter, it becomes clear that the norm of hegemonic masculinity feeds in to the construction of gender-neutral toilets as sites of sexual danger. The construction of male sexuality as uncontrollable also perpetuates stereotypes of women and femininity as being weak, vulnerable and in need of protection. In doing so, normative characterisations of gender roles are achieved, and gender hierarchies are reaffirmed. This thesis argues that the domination of fear and risk present in the data results from the existing cultural normalisation of male sexuality as uncontrollable and heightens the fear expressed.

On the other hand, trans people themselves and gay men are also constructed as potential perpetrators of sexual violence. The construction of homosexuals as sexual deviants has a long history (Conrad, 2010; Minton, 2002; Takahashi, 1997) and therefore this is not a new motif in the de-legitimisation of marginalised groups. Similarly, the pathologizing of trans people is well-established through their associated with the DSM and through popular representation of trans people (Zhang, 2014). In this sense, deviance is characterised as an essential component of LGBT identities, raising the inevitability and uncontrollable nature of their 'sexual offending'. Not only does this function to construct gender-neutral toilets as sites of sexual danger, but also pathologizes and 'others' trans people. In doing so, gender-neutral toilets are constructed as gendered spaces, in which only those with genitalia that matches the associated gender presentation should access.

Sex-segregated toilets reproduce the mutually exclusive notion of a binary gender system, intrinsically linked to the notion of sex and characterised through masculine or feminine presentation (Woolley, 2017). In constructing the need for sex-segregated toilets on the basis of safety also reinforce the gender binary as trans people are forced to decide on which toilet to access. This has serious implications for trans people with gender incongruent presentations, in which they may experience scrutiny from others when accessing sex-segregated toilets. Social scrutiny of gender in sex-segregated spaces regulates which individuals, what kind of bodies, and which forms of gendered presentations are permitted to occupy and use gendered bathroom spaces' (Woolley, 2017). Therefore, the online discursive construction of public toilets as gendered spaces can lead to offline victimisation of trans people.

The implementation of gender-neutral toilets are also constructed as undermining the rights of cisgender people. Notions of 'claiming victimhood' has been explored in relation to the denial of racism and claims of 'White victimhood' (Kolber, 2016). Similarly, to research exploring the claiming of 'White victimhood', claims of 'cisgender victimhood' create a protective barrier of directly addressing cisnormativity and therefore maintain gender hierarchies and gender norms. It becomes clear throughout the data that *YouTube* commenters often frame and construct 'cisgender victimhood' to be a significantly larger societal problem than transphobia and this reflects a similar notion found in the claims made of 'White victimhood' (Norton and Sommers, 2011). These online interactions and constructions significantly mirror the offline heightened awareness of victimhood in White communities who experience less serious offences. The construction of cisgender people as victims is perpetuated by a number of social institutions. Often without factual evidence, mainstream media

perpetuates the moral panic surrounding trans children (Travers, 2018) which feeds into notions of 'cisgender victimhood'.

Furthermore, the function of claiming victimhood as creating a barrier to addressing the cisnormative social hierarchy also reaffirms cisgender peoples' dominant place within the gender hierarchy. In this sense, those positioned highest on the gender hierarchy may perceive the progression of trans rights as threatening to the stability of the gender hierarchy and therefore the claiming of a victim status functions to minimise the instability caused, by oppressing any progression of trans rights. Similar techniques have been found in the study of 'White victimhood' in which white people are threatened by racial equality movements (Wilkins, Hirsch, Kaiser and Inkles, 2016).

Cisgender commenters also construct trans equality movements within an 'end of the world' rhetoric. Similar notions have been found in the construction of homosexuality (Cragun *et al.*, 2015) and in this sense trans people are constructed as a significant social problem forecasting the definitive obliteration of civil society. Within this rhetoric, issues of morality surface in which the progression of trans rights indicate a wider societal moral decline, and blame is assigned to trans people for the predicted morally anomic future which cisgender people will have to inhabit. In this rhetoric, claims to victimhood are made whilst simultaneously constructing trans people as the catalyst for the claimed victimisation. In this sense, trans people are 'othered' through notions of morality, in which they are positioned as outside the realms of normative morality and therefore legitimate targets of abuse. Furthermore, trans people are constructed as legitimate targets for abuse, discrimination and oppression through the constructed risk they present to a wider societal moral decline if their identities are not policed and suppressed.

7.5 Conclusion

It becomes clear throughout the analysis presented that a range of different themes and motifs and are drawn upon to construct trans people as illegitimate. What can also be seen is the same motifs being mobilized in alternative ways to construct trans people as legitimate. This study argues that societal expectations of male dominance are clearly constructed in discussions of 'gender-neutral' toilets and that male dominance is strong that it becomes the focal point of construction in debates around issues associated with gender. It becomes clear throughout this chapter that notions of sexual violence are drawn upon heavily to create a counter-narrative against the implementation of 'gender-neutral' facilities. This study argues that notions of sexual violence are mobilised as they can easily be constructed in an emotionally charged way that facilitates the 'othering' of those who disagree. The use of child imagery transforms a debate over public facilities into an issue of morality in which people must side with the collective, dominant 'moral' group or be assigned to the group characterised by 'immorality'. Furthermore, the online construction of public toilets as sites of significant risk mirrors the concerns of trans people discussed earlier in relation to feelings of safety in sex-segregated spaces. In this sense, notions of 'risk' are assigned to those deemed to be 'different' from the in-group the commenter aligns themselves with.

It can also be argued that claims of 'victim status' highlight how the construction of 'the self' as a victim is often contextualised within a collective framework, emphasising the 'otherness' of trans people as a minority. This thesis argues that claiming victim status is essential in successfully opposing the implementation of 'gender-neutral' toilets whilst simultaneously deflecting claims of bigotry and hatred. Furthermore, the underpinning notion of morality is also invoked when claiming victim status, assigning those who are complicit in the victimisation of the dominant, cisgender majority as immoral.

This chapter has also highlighted the discursive resources that have contemporary cultural traction that are used to construct trans people in an online context. What becomes clear throughout this chapter is that the online construction of trans people significantly overlaps with the narratives employed by perpetrators of micro-crimes. The resources that are used and the ways they are used to de-legitimise trans peoples 'claimed' gender experiences overlap significantly with the resources that have long been used in the offline discursive denigration of sexual minority groups. The discursive resources and motifs that we discerned are woven into and indeed constitute the fabric of our social world. Sexual and gender non-conformity that pose a potential threat to hegemonic ways of understanding and ordering the social world is responded to from a limited repertoire of resources that delegitimize and other non-conforming people in culturally recognisable ways. What can be seen in this study is a significant amount of blame assigned to internet-facilitated communication and online media outlets for the emerging 'modern trend' of gender non-conformity. This construction of 'trans' as a category being a 'fad' of an internet driven society is not apparent in existing literature and therefore this study argues that the internet is key in the development of new motifs to de-legitimise and 'other' those who do not conform to societal expectations of gender. What can be seen, is that dominant motifs used to de-legitimise minority groups often mirror the dominant social and cultural discourses of the time by those most powerful including the media, politicians and religious leaders.

Chapter 8: Conclusions, Implications and Future Research

This chapter begins by providing a summary of the findings of this research. In doing so, the results from each individual study are synthesised to answer the overarching research questions of this thesis, which are:

1. What are the experiences of transgender people in relation to low-level, 'everyday' incidents of transphobic abuse?

2. How do transgender people's conceptualisation of their experiences impact the likelihood of reporting low-level, everyday incidents of hate crime to the police?

3. What intersectional characteristics influence transgender people's experiences of hate crime victimisation and what is the nature of those relationships

4. What is the impact of hate crime abuse on transgender people's lives, including their reporting practices and their access to support?

5. How are transgender people and identities constructed online within relevant contemporary debates?

In answering these questions, the original contributions of this research are emphasised. Three significant original contributions are identified that relate to the conceptualisation and definition of 'micro-crimes' as an alternative way of understanding trans people's experiences, in which the concept of 'micro-crime' is further defined and distinguished from 'micro-aggressions' and 'hate crime'. Additionally, the role of 'visibility' in hate crime victimisation in which dominant theoretical frameworks that have been used to explore hate crime victimisation, including Perry's theory of 'doing difference' and the reconceptualization of this theory through the lens of vulnerability (Chakraborti and Garland, 2012), are explored. In this exploration, it is claimed that although both

perspectives are useful in exploring and explaining hate crime victimisation, using a lens of 'visibility' is more beneficial in understanding hate crime victimisation. Finally, the role of intersectionality on trans people's experiences are also explored and the original contributions of this research in relation to intersectionality are outlined. Furthermore, the implications of this research are then addressed, highlighting the need for clear and accessible guidance for trans people on what can be reported as a crime and what they can expect when reporting. Practical implications are also discussed in which the policing of trans communities can be improved with the aim of increasing confidence in the police and encouraging the reporting of transphobic micro-crimes. This chapter concludes by identifying key areas for future research to focus on as a result of questions raised throughout this thesis.

8.1 Summary of Findings

A significant challenge in this thesis was combining different methodological approaches into a cohesive narrative. What becomes clear throughout the discussion of findings is an intrinsic connection between the observable, empirical realities that participants can articulate and describe and the unobservable power structures and social hierarchies that exist which may contribute to the existence of observable experiences. By adopting a critical realist approach for this research, deeper levels of 'reality' have been able to be explored that relate to the empirical reality, the real and the actual. In doing so, different methodological approaches to data collection can be seen as complementary rather than competing. By adopting a critical methodological pluralistic approach to data collection, the social construction of trans identities and gender norms and hierarchies are shown to impact the reality of living as a trans person.

This research has shown that trans people experience a range of victimisation ranging from micro-aggressions, micro-crimes and physical and sexual violence as an inherent and pervasive part of their everyday lives. The normalcy and everyday nature of transphobic victimisation is clear throughout this thesis. As such, transphobic abuse in conceptualised as part of trans people's everyday routine in which abuse is to be expected. However, abuse is also conceptualised by trans people as a result of engaging in their everyday routine. In this sense, engaging in a daily routine means that trans people consider themselves to be victimised as a result of circumstance. Trans people experience high levels of verbal abuse, harassment, threats of violence and online abuse which are conceptualised as part of 'everyday' life. This fits within wider feminist discourse that suggests women's fear of violence and victimisation is often conceptualised as 'normal' in relation to the dominant gender binary.

Although the impact of hate crime victimisation is well-documented, this thesis conceptualises the impact of transphobic micro-crimes in relation to its invisibility. This research also contributes to the existing literature that has explored the impact of victimisation on minority groups (Chakraborti *et al.,* 2014; Iganski, 2008a; McDevitt *et al.* 2001; Sullaway, 2004; Williams and Tregidga, 2013). The impact of experiencing continual micro-crimes can be divided into two categories: emotional impact and practical impact. The emotional impact that trans people experience as a result of continual micro-crime victimisation include increased levels of anxiety, depression, isolation, withdrawal, nervousness, disturbed sleep patterns and self-blame. The emotional impact can often lead to more practical consequences for trans people including disengagement from education, training and employment, self-harm, suicide attempts, relocation to avoid further victimisation and substance misuse to cope with the impact. It is argued that although the short-term impact of victimisation may be visible

to participants, the long-term impact is often an invisible, gradual build-up. In this sense, the impact of continual experiences of micro-crimes is more difficult to identify and therefore more difficult to address than the often-visible impact of physical and sexual violence. This is also influenced by the normalisation of micro-crimes in which acknowledging the criminality of such incidents could lead to an inability to maintain daily functioning.

The normalisation of micro-crimes described by trans people in the semi-structured interviews can also account for some of the contradictory results from the online survey. It was argued that there appeared to be a disconnect between trans people's perception of hate crime, in which many participants indicated micro-crimes as legitimate forms of victimisation. However, many participants indicated that they had never experienced a hate crime but later indicated that they experienced verbal abuse and harassment on a regular basis. The normalisation described in the interviews is useful in explaining this disconnect, in the sense that it is easier to assign criminality to incidents that do not directly involve the victim. When that act becomes directly targeted at the victim, the normalisation of their own personal victimisation prevents them from conceptualising their victimisation as criminal. In this sense, trans people's conceptualisation of their victimisation acts as a barrier to reporting these experiences to the police, as they are deemed to be unworthy of police attention, as they are often considered not to meet the threshold of criminality.

The hierarchical nature of hate crime victimisation has also been explored, in which trans people conceptualise the legitimacy of their victimisation based on their positioning within a number of hierarchies. Participants described a range of experiences of victimisation that were committed by their family, friends and community and, as such this thesis contributes to the literature that challenges dominant

notions of 'stranger danger' in relation to hate crime victimisation (Mason, 2005; Mason-Bish, 2010; Meyer, 2014). However, this is not to say that strangers were not perceived as posing a risk to trans people or were not responsible for some of their victimisation, but it challenges notions that the victim is always interchangeable and there is no existing relationship between the victim and offender. What can be seen is how notions of 'stranger danger' impact on trans people's decision whether to report incidents of hate crime. In this sense, those who experience victimisation at the hands of family, friends and colleagues are less likely to perceive their victimisation to be criminal, even when the victimisation is physically or sexually violent.

The role of space, place and belonging also significantly impacts upon trans people's conceptualisation of their experiences. Notions of masculinity are also pervasive throughout this research. In one way, violence targeting trans people can be seen as a display of hypermasculinity which is characterised by competitiveness, violence as 'manly' and thrill-seeking (Glass, 1984). Hypermasculinity has been theorised to contribute to violence against women (Kilmartin and Allison, 2007) but has not been sufficiently applied to violence against trans people. Therefore, this thesis makes an original contribution to the theorising of violence against trans people as a display of masculinity. Furthermore, this is often conceptualised within the context of fragile masculinity (Myketiak, 2016). Violence therefore occurs as a result of engaging in emotional, physical and sexual relationships with trans women. There is often a conflation with homosexuality in cisgender, heterosexual men's understanding of trans women, and as a result their masculinity becomes threatened through an understanding of homosexuality being in direct conflict with hypermasculinity. The findings of this thesis coincide with existing theorisation of masculinity and the violence against lesbian, gay and bisexual communities.

By embracing an intersectional perspective throughout this research, the role of gender, sexuality, disability status, race and religion have all been considered. This research makes an original contribution to existing literature by embracing an intersectional approach. Obtaining such a diverse sample is critical for advancing hate crime scholarship and developing a nuanced understanding of intersecting oppressions. Seeking to obtain a diverse sample is crucial in developing research that is generalisable and more representative of heterogenous trans communities. What can be concluded from this research is that intersectional characteristics have a significant impact on trans people's perceptions and experiences of victimisation. This is a key finding and has implications for future research exploring hate crime. Intersectional characteristics influenced the likelihood of participants experiencing different forms of victimisation. Those who identified as 'Non-White British' and who also considered themselves to be religious had a higher likelihood of experiencing sexual victimisation. As a result, it is important to consider the impact of cultural and religious norms on trans peoples experiences of victimisation. However, intersectional characteristics had no statistical significance for participants likelihood of experiencing micro-crimes such as verbal abuse, and this reinforces the pervasiveness of micro-crime victimisation.

Participants who identified as 'Non-White British' and as living with a disability were significantly more likely to experience a hate crime. This relates to the claims made in this thesis regarding notions of 'visibility'. In this sense, intersectional characteristics which are highly visible lead to significantly higher rates of victimisation. This also came through in participants' interviews, in which trans people of colour or who were living with a disability felt unable to hide their race or disability in the way that they could disguise their trans identity. As such, this thesis makes an original contribution to existing literature by adopting an intersectional lens and emphasises the significantly

different experiences of trans people in relation to their positioning on a number of social hierarchies. Although not subject to specific analysis, a range of other situational factors appear to impact on participants experiences of hate crime. Factors such as individual's employment status, mode of transport and residential area should all be considered in exploring hate crime victimisation. Trans people who are more visibly trans and whose only option for travel is public transport may also experience higher levels of abuse. As became clear throughout this research, trans people in employment found themselves in unique situations to experience discrimination and abuse. For example, trans women who are also part of the sex industry may experience unique situational dynamics in which abuse, discrimination and violence become normalised. Whilst some participants who were not involved in the sex industry described feelings of deception that some partners had felt, violence experienced by trans women within the sex industry was not as a result of deception. In this sense, trans women within the sex industry found themselves in unique position in which their experiences of abuse resulted from a form of internalised homophobia experienced within the client. As can be seen, there is a conflation between gender identity and sexuality, but in a different way than previously discussed. This conflation has been explored by Mai (2012) who reports on the specific context of the 'normalisation' of violence experienced by trans sex workers. Violence often occurs after sexual activity has occurred, and this may be due to feelings of guilt and shame experienced by a client (Lyons *et al.,* 2017). Trans sex workers can be considered at a higher risk of violence than male sex workers (Kinnell, 2008). Therefore, it is important to consider the particular situational dynamics within which trans individuals experience and normalise violence.

This thesis has also explored the construction of trans people online within contemporary debates around 'gender-neutral' toilets. The thesis has contributed to the

existing literature that relates to the construction of marginalised, minority groups (Kolber, 2016; Perone, 2014; Weaver, 2013). The techniques used to de-legitimise trans people mirror the historic de-legitimisation of other marginalised groups. However, the motifs drawn upon to de-legitimise trans people in an online context permeate their experiences of micro-crimes in an offline context. Participants described the nature of verbal abuse often having religious undertones, claims that they are 'mentally ill' or claiming their gender identity is 'illegitimate' through a reliance on the gender binary. However, this research has made an original contribution to the literature that explores the construction of trans people through the attribution of blame to the media for manufacturing a modern 'trend'. This thesis therefore argues that the emergence of the internet has not only facilitated a new way of disseminating hate speech, it has also provided a new motif to de-legitimise trans people.

8.2 Theoretical Contributions

It can be argued that Criminology has historically neglected the experiences of trans people in relation to their victimisation. This thesis has made a significant contribution to a growing body of literature addressing this area (Chakraborti *et al.,* 2014; Jamel, 2018; Kidd and Witten, 2008). A Queer theoretical perspective has been embraced throughout this research in order to challenge notions of transnormativity (Vipond, 2015; Pearce, 2018). In doing so, this thesis has developed a more nuanced understanding of trans identities and the role of intersectionality in victimisation. The diverse and heterogenous nature of trans communities has been widely neglected by Criminological literature, often tending to the experiences of White trans people who identify with a binary gender. In doing so, Criminology often contributes to the politicisation of language and terminology that is used to police who 'belongs' to a community and who is 'othered'. Utilising a Queer perspective allows for a deeper

understanding of diversity of trans people. The function of a Queer theoretical perspective as a deconstructive tool that can be used to challenge dominant frameworks is essential in research exploring issues of gender. By embracing this theoretical perspective, this research has been able to challenge simplified portrayals of hate crimes as extreme, isolated incidents that are perpetrated by strangers. In challenging notions of 'stranger danger' this thesis has also contributed to the conceptualisation of the 'family' within a cultural context. In doing so, this research has also contributed to an emerging literature that challenges the Whiteness of much research into trans issues (Jamel, 2018).

Furthermore, a Queer theoretical perspective has been used to deconstruct dominant research methods that are traditionally used in hate crime research. It is therefore argued that embracing a Queer perspective is essential in challenging mainstream epistemological and ontological assumptions and contributes to developing a more nuanced understanding of the lived reality for trans people. This thesis has adopted a critical realist perspective in order to synthesise both the objective and subjective experiences and constructions of trans people. In doing so, this research has been able to explore the role of 'reality' on a number of levels: the empirical, the real and the actual. Consequently, this thesis has been able to appreciate both the lived experiences of trans people but also identify and consider the non-observable social structures and power relations that may trigger observable events and realities. Criminological literature has largely adopted a social constructionist or realist approach to issues of hate crime yet has not appreciated the benefits of combining more than one perspective.

This research has identified two major contributions to existing literature examining transphobic hate crime. Firstly, it is proposed that less socially recognisable forms of victimisation such as verbal abuse, harassment and online victimisation are

conceptualised as 'micro-crimes'. In doing so, the criminality of many of these experiences can be highlighted. Secondly, this research identifies that 'visibility' plays a significant role in hate crime victimisation and recommends that dominant theoretical perspectives of hate crime should be reconceptualised through the lens of visibility.

8.2.1 Micro-aggressions, Micro-Crimes and Hate Crime

This research has identified three distinct, yet interrelated forms of victimisation that trans people experience: micro-aggressions, micro-crimes and hate crimes. As discussed earlier in this thesis, dominant frameworks of exploring victimisation have often focused on either micro-aggressions, a category in which micro-crimes are often subsumed, or socially recognisable forms of hate crime, in which micro-crimes are often overshadowed and excluded. As a result of this, the criminal victimisation of trans people who experience verbal abuse, harassment and other forms of criminal victimisation that fall outside the category of physical or sexual violence is often overshadowed within hate crime literature. On the other hand, the inclusion of verbal abuse, harassment and other forms of criminal victimisation within literature exploring micro-aggressions reinforces the social neglect to recognise these types of victimisation as criminal. This thesis argues that micro-aggressions are best understood as non-criminal incidents that often occur outside the social consciousness and that result in the denigration of those they target. In relation to transphobic micro-aggressions, these would best be characterised by the inclusion of social exclusion and isolation, outing, mis-gendering and dead-naming.

On the other hand, incidents where guidance suggests criminality is involved, such as verbal abuse, harassment, offensive gestures, hate mail and unfounded malicious complaints are best conceptualised as 'micro-crimes' to reflect the criminality of these

incidents. This is necessary to avoid contributing to the perpetuation of victimisation of this nature as non-criminal, therefore contributing to the under-reporting of trans people's victimisation. An intrinsic relationship has been identified between the nature of micro-aggressions, micro-crimes and hate crime. Essentially, many forms of micro-aggressions such as mis-gendering and dead-naming may form part of trans people's criminal victimisation in the perpetration of verbal abuse and harassment. Furthermore, incidents of micro-crimes may result in an escalation of victimisation that results in trans people experiencing more socially recognisable forms of hate crime including physical and sexual violence. Figure 13 below illustrates the interrelated nature of all three forms of victimisation and how micro-aggressions may appear in all forms of victimisation, and micro-crimes may appear within the perpetration of traditionally recognised hate crimes.

Figure 13: Relationship Between Micro-aggressions, Micro-Crimes and Hate Crimes
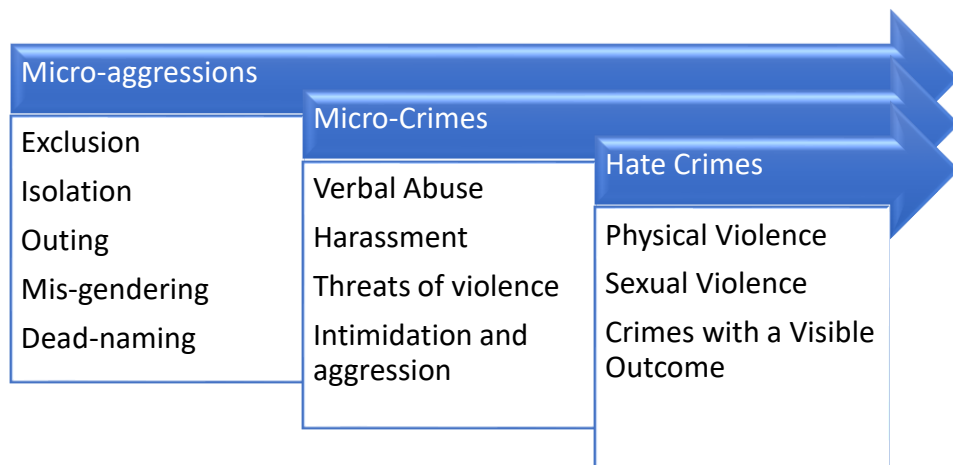
It is important to conceptualise the relationship in this way and not in a hierarchical format to ensure that by highlighting the importance of exploring micro-crimes, other forms of victimisation are not rendered inconsequential. By conceptualising the relationship between micro-aggressions, micro-crimes and hate crimes in this way, the impact of all three forms of victimisation can be considered in relation to trans people's

experiences of victimisation in a more holistic way. Therefore, issues that have been raised with previous research exploring hate crime victimisation, such as the overshadowing of micro-crimes based on a hierarchical interpretation of victimisation can be avoided.

8.2.2 The Role of Visibility in Hate Crime Victimisation

Several theoretical frameworks have emerged that have provided a basis on which hate crime can be understood. Among these theories, Perry's concept of 'doing difference' has emerged as one of the most influential frameworks for understanding hate crime victimisation. Notions of difference were apparent in participants' accounts of their victimisation, in which they conceptualise the difference they present as a motivating factor for their victimisation. This is evident in participants' understanding of their own multiple minority characteristics and the increased level of difference that is visible to perpetrators of hate crime. This is mirrored in the results from the online survey in which participants who identified with multiple marginalised communities also reported significantly higher levels of fear of victimisation and higher probabilities of experiencing hate crime victimisation. Furthermore, notions of difference are also apparent in the online construction of trans people, in which the construction of 'difference' is achieved through invoking a range of socially recognisable motifs. Therefore, the findings of this study coincide with the framework provided by Perry (2001) and lead to the conclusion that 'difference' plays a significant role in the victimisation of trans people.

However, Perry did not consider the notion of difference as a protective barrier to hate crime victimisation. In focusing solely on the role of difference in the motivation and perpetration of hate crime, she neglected to explore how difference, and stereotypes

related to difference, can minimise people's fear of victimisation and can function as a barrier to victimisation. This became clear in two different ways in this research. Firstly, the role of stereotypical perceptions of individuals from a traveller culture, characterised by criminality, aggression and physical violence served as a preventative factor in the victimisation of some trans people. Furthermore, even though some participants described themselves as visibly different in several ways, physically intimidating presentations of difference also served as a protective barrier to experiencing hate crimes. This is not to say that those who are characterised and stereotyped as aggressive, physically violent and physically dominant do not face high levels of oppression, discrimination and abuse, as the victimisation of traveller communities is well documented (Donnelly, 2002; James and Smith, 2017; Wallengren and Mellgren, 2015). However, it is argued that stereotypical perceptions of some marginalised communities and visibly dominant physical bodies prevented some incidents of victimisation. In this sense, when perceived difference is conceptualised by perpetrators of hate crime as decreasing a potential victim's vulnerability and creating a more balanced power dynamic in relation to physicality, difference may serve as a preventative factor.

The role of difference was also linked in participants' accounts of victimisation to notions of vulnerability and coincides with the framework provided by Chakraborti and Garland (2012). They suggest that the application of Perry's framework is often neglectful of the banal motivations and spontaneity of many incidents of hate crime. In this sense, Chakraborti and Garland argue that an array of hate crime incidents that are commonly framed as a mechanism of oppressions may instead be the result of more opportunistic contexts, perpetrated against those deemed vulnerable by perpetrators. They therefore argue that 'a vulnerability-based approach acknowledges the heightened level of risk posed to certain groups or individuals that can arise through a complex

interplay of different factors, including hate, prejudice, hostility, unfamiliarity, discomfort or simply opportunism or convenience' (Chakraborti and Garland, 2012:506). In this sense, notions of vulnerability feed in-to the current debates around the conceptualisation of hate crime and whether 'hate' is necessarily be associated with the perpetration of hate crimes. However, it is not suggested in this conceptualisation that notions of 'difference' are rendered inconsequential. On the contrary, Chakraborti and Garland (2012) suggest that whilst 'difference' does not automatically indicate the victimisation of an individual, it can result in those in vulnerable positions being at a heightened risk of victimisation.

In the conceptualisation of hate crime through the lens of vulnerability, Chakraborti and Garland (2012) conclude that existing conceptual frameworks of hate crime victimisation further marginalise our understanding of individualistic acts of abuse and hate crime that result from boredom, opportunity or a lack of understanding of 'difference'. It is therefore argued that perceptions of 'difference' should be given a greater prominence in hate crime literature alongside notions of 'vulnerability'. Notions of vulnerability and 'difference' certainly surfaced in participants' accounts of their victimisation in a number of ways. Some participants described perpetrators having perceived physical vulnerability in relation to their age and disability status, in which perpetrators targeted them as they were considered 'easy targets'. Notions of vulnerability are also evident in participants' accounts of their victimisation in relation to social, cultural and power inequalities in which their marginalisation in society assigns them a label of vulnerable. In this sense, participants' accounts coincide with Chakraborti and Garland's (2012) claims that notions of vulnerability can be useful in conceptualising hate crime victimisation as the result of boredom, opportunity or an indifference to 'difference'.

Clearly participants' accounts of their victimisation lend support to both Perry's (2001) and Chakraborti and Garland's (2012) conceptualisation of hate crime victimisation. However, in this research notions of 'visibility' were also key in participants' conceptualisation of their own victimisation. It can therefore be argued that 'visibility' plays a key role in both perceptions of 'difference' and perceptions of 'vulnerability'. The role of 'visibility' operates in dichotomous ways in participants' experiences or non-experiences of hate crime victimisation. In this research, trans people who were visibly trans, and therefore visibly different because of a gender incongruent presentation or through a conscious decision to live openly as a trans person, described significantly more frequent incidents of victimisation. On the other hand, trans people who 'pass' in their acquired gender and live a stealth lifestyle report significantly less frequent incidents of victimisation. This was also reflected in the discursive analysis of *YouTube* comments, in which trans people were constructed in relation to the visibility of their difference. In relation to accessing sex-segregated spaces, those deemed to look female were constructed as being able to access female only spaces. On the other hand, trans people who were deemed to look masculine were constructed as being a risk in female only spaces. In this sense, the 'invisibility' of their 'difference' reduces their vulnerability to victimisation. Participants who do 'pass' frequently reported experiencing transphobic micro-crimes as a consequence of disclosing their trans identity and therefore increasing the 'visibility' of their 'difference'.

This can also be seen in participants' descriptions of the role of intersectional characteristics. Participants described the visibility of their age, disability status, race and religion and the increased fear of victimisation as a result of this increased 'visibility'. In this sense, 'visibility' operates in two ways: increasing the likelihood of transphobic victimisation or decreasing the likelihood of transphobic victimisation in

place of victimisation targeting a more visible characteristic. Participants' descriptions of the visibility of their age and disability increased their likelihood of experiencing transphobic micro-crimes as they were perceived to be more visibly 'vulnerable'. Alternatively, in relation to participants' race and religion, these intersectional characteristics were perceived to be more 'visible' than their trans identity. Although the visibility of their race or religion decreased the likelihood of experiencing transphobic victimisation, this was replaced by an increased likelihood of experiencing racist or anti-religious victimisation. In this sense, the role of 'visibility' plays a key role in the form of victimisation that trans people experience and it is often targeting the most visible 'difference' of an individual.

Therefore, although there is nothing inherently problematic about notions of 'difference' and 'vulnerability' in the conceptualisation of hate crime victimisation, this research argues that the overarching notion of both perspectives relates to 'visibility'. Therefore, it is argued that, when discussing hate crime victimisation in relation to 'difference' and 'vulnerability', it should be done through the lens of visibility. As discussed in this thesis, 'visibility' is intrinsically linked to individuals' likelihood of experiencing victimisation or not. It therefore seems problematic to discuss hate crime victimisation without explicitly considering the notion of 'visibility' and its role in exacerbating the likelihood of hate crime victimisation, or alternatively, the notion of 'invisibility' as a protective barrier to experiencing hate crime victimisation.

8.3 Policy and Practice Implications

What became clear from participants' accounts of their victimisation was that significantly higher levels of victimisation were experienced at the beginning of their transition journey. This was often conceptualised as a result of having a more visibly

gender incongruent presentation. Whilst the process of undergoing gender reassignment, either socially or medically, may be a long process, it is widely acknowledged that waiting lists for first appointments at Gender Identity Clinics are extremely long, with some trans people reporting a wait of over five years for an initial appointment (Vincent, 2018). In order to address this, waiting lists for initial appointments at Gender Identity Clinics must be significantly reduced to allow trans people who wish to access a Gender Identity Clinic to progress in their transition. It is noted that this would require an increase in funding, however, given the high rates of mental health concerns in trans populations (METRO, 2014), a more efficient gender identity service may result in a decreased dependence on mainstream NHS services.

What became clear through participants' accounts of their decision not to report an incident of victimisation was a lack of clarity around what the process, expectations and likely outcome of a report are/would be. In October 2018 the Law Commission announced it would be conducting a review in to current hate crime policy and legislation in a bid to make the process more effective. Furthermore, for participants who did report, they often experienced a number of micro-aggressions from those they reported to, including incidents of mis-gendering and dead-naming which undermined the credibility and trustworthiness of the police in their eyes. This signified to participants a lack of awareness of gender identity from police officers and made them cautious of reporting again. Despite police initiatives to build confidence within minority communities and encourage the reporting of hate crimes, these are often seen as tokenistic gestures with the aim of appeasing trans communities. There is also a lack of awareness of LGBT Liaison Officer's role within the police service. These issues are significantly influential in trans people's decision whether to report an incident or not.

In order to address these issues that contribute to the under reporting of transphobic hate crime, an accessible, easy to understand policy should be developed. The policy should outline what can be reported to the police as a hate crime, what victims can expect when reporting a hate crime in terms of the process and the behaviour from police officers, with clear guidance on how to make a complaint in the event of experiencing further discrimination. Further, a standardized 'Gender Identity Awareness' training should be available for all public facing police roles, which should be facilitated by an organisation working with trans people. To address financial and time constraints, the training could be delivered as a phased model, in which small cohorts of police officers are trained at a time, so as not to drain police resources. The police have made efforts in relation to strengthening relationships between the police and LGBT communities. For example, the introduction of LGBT Liaison Officers in every London borough. However, this is not without criticism, in that the introduction of LGBT Liaison Officers was primarily on an ad-hoc basis in areas which had a visible, commercial LGBT 'scene' (Moran, 2007.) Additionally, there has been no consistency in relation to the roles and responsibilities of LGBT Liaison Officers and the requirements to be one, in relation to necessary training and self-identification as a member of the LGBT community have been unclear (Moran, 2007). Therefore, the police should engage with trans communities in trans spaces and hold meaningful conversations around transphobic hate crime that are often not feasible at existing events that police attend such as Pride events, due to the public nature and lack of confidentiality available to trans people at such events. Finally, if LGBT Liaison Officer roles are to continue, they must be advertised more publicly and reach out to the most marginalised groups of LGBT communities. Funding should be made available to ensure an LGBT Liaison Officer is available in every police force, in a paid, full-time capacity to engage in

community relationship development, safety initiatives and to encourage the reporting of transphobic micro-crimes.

The other significant factor that was identified by participants as a barrier to reporting incidents of transphobic micro-crimes was the frequency of victimisation, in which participants felt they experienced victimisation too frequently to report every incident. As a result of this, and to ensure that all incidents of victimisation can be reported conveniently, it is suggested that an online reporting system be developed, in which victims of hate crime can upload statements relating to victimisation and attach any evidence. This will help victims of hate crime log and record incidents of micro-crime. As discussed earlier, victimisation is often a systematic, ongoing process and not a one-off incident. The online statements and evidence could be reviewed remotely by police officers who could contact the victim if it was believed that the incident met the threshold for police intervention. However, in order to avoid the pitfalls associated with third-party reporting, an official online reporting service would need to be sufficiently advertised, explained and made accessible to as many marginalised people as possible. It has been argued that third-party reporting systems are often poorly publicised and are therefore not as effective as they should be (Chakraborti, 2018).

This also coincides with the continual closures of significant support services that are inclusive of trans and non-binary people. As discussed earlier in this thesis, a number of charities organised have lost funding that played a significant role in the support for LGBT communities. It has been claimed that closure of services can lead to significant feelings of isolation for victims and reduce the likelihood that they will report hate incidents (Chakraborti, 2018). Therefore, a review of current support services available for trans people should be undertaken to identify gaps in support which can be

addressed to reduce feelings of isolation and encourage victims to report incidents of hate crime.

As transphobic hate crime is conceptualised as less serious and less recognised as a legitimate form of victimisation, it is also recommended that current legislation is also reviewed. The review of current legislation should seek to ensure that transphobia, along with other forms of discrimination and prejudice are acknowledged as equally as race and religion in legislation. In doing so, the hierarchical nature of protected characteristics can be deconstructed and trans people may no longer feel a sense of 'illegitimacy' regarding their victimisation. A review of current legislation should also consider the intersectional identities of many people who experience hate crime. As such, a holistic approach should be taken to legislation in which the nuanced experiences of minorities can be appreciated.

However, in a broader sense, the use of restorative justice in hate crime cases may prove beneficial. Whilst this thesis suggests that legislation should be reviewed to ensure all protected strands are afforded the same level of protection, this does not necessarily indicate an increase in punitive responses. There is already a strong case building for the use of restorative justice (Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime, 2014; Walters, 2014). Given the significant emotional impact upon victims of hate crime, a restorative justice approach may address some of the harms caused more effectively than an increased prison sentence. This is particularly pertinent to this research in which participants conceptualised their micro-crime victimisation as a result of ignorance, misunderstanding or lack of knowledge on behalf of the perpetrator. A restorative justice approach in which the victim and perpetrator have an opportunity to discuss the incident may not only reduce the harm caused to the victim, but also increase the awareness of trans identities for the perpetrator. However, it should be noted that

existing research on the effectiveness of restorative justice is inconclusive and is often based on relatively small sample sizes (Walters, 2014). If restorative justice is to be implemented nationally, it should be standardized, as the perceived effectiveness is related to the context in which it is conducted. Walters (2014) found that impromptu meetings hosted by police officers resulted in victims being significantly less satisfied than when meetings were conducted by a third party in a neutral space.

As discussed earlier in this thesis, current legislation does not accurately reflect the lived experience for many victims who may experience abuse targeting multiple minority characteristics. Any review of legislation should seek to provide a more inclusive framework in which multiple discriminations can be considered. In considering intersectionality, the review of current legislation should also seek to provide protection to individuals who may not necessarily fall within one of the five existing protected characteristics. In exploring expanding protections, notions of visibility, particularly the concept of discursively constructed visibility, should be considered to offer the widest range of protection. Utilising a model of visibility would allow for current protections to be expanded to groups who may already be marginalised due to their invisibility from the public gaze. This may include sex workers who work from within a private residence, and individuals living with human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) who may experience abuse and discrimination as a result of disclosure.

Faktor (2011) identified sex-segregated toilets as spaces of concern for trans people in relation to access and exclusion. This research has contributed to this literature and identified sex-segregated toilets as sites of significant risk to trans people. The use of sex-segregated toilets can have significant consequences for trans people in their everyday lives. Considering this, it is recommended that public buildings are

encouraged to provide 'gender-neutral' toilets. There are arguably a number of benefits to installing gender-neutral toilets relating to carers, parents and individuals with a gender incongruent presentation. As there would be significant financial implications, this could be phased in with new buildings rather than demanding that all buildings re-structure to accommodate the installation of a gender-neutral toilet.

8.4 Recommendations for Future Research

There is a growing body of literature exploring micro-aggressions targeting LGBT communities, which often incorporates incidents of micro-crimes, and a significantly larger amount of existing literature exploring hate crime targeting LGBT communities which often overshadows micro-crimes. Future research should seek to build upon the arguments put forward in this thesis to establish micro-crimes as a socially recognisable form of victimisation. Specifically, future research should seek to identify the perpetrators of micro-crimes using a large data set to make confident conclusions relating to participants' experiences of victimisation and their conceptualisation of stranger danger which has been challenged in this thesis. Despite the wider literature addressing the victimisation of LGBT people more broadly, trans people's experiences are often overshadowed by or conflated with sexuality, and therefore future research should aim to highlight the experiences of trans people specifically. In doing so, the interrelated nature of micro-aggressions, micro-crimes and hate crime should be explored. There is also a significant gap in literature exploring the perpetrators of transphobic hate crime and hate crime more generally. In exploring the concepts of micro-crimes further, future research should seek to explore perpetrator's motives and conceptualisations of hate crime offending.

This research has also drawn upon Perry's (2001) notion of doing difference and highlighted how difference can function as both a facilitator of hate crime victimisation, whilst also serving as a protective barrier, potentially limiting the amount of victimisation trans people experience based on their perceived difference. The role of difference as a protective barrier for victimisation has not been explored and raises interesting questions around notions of difference in explaining hate crime victimisation. Therefore, this is an area that warrants further exploration both empirically and theoretically.

Given the theoretical contributions of this thesis to the role of visibility in trans people's experiences of micro-crimes, future research should seek to gain more empirical data to investigate the role of visibility in victimisation. In doing so, consideration should be given to other potential influencing factors that may predict the victimisation of those deemed 'different' and 'vulnerable' by perpetrators. Although existing research has explored the role of visibility in relation to victimisation, none has done so specifically in the context of trans people's victimisation and when visibility is discussed, it is often done in a simplified manner, neglecting the intersectional nature of visibility.

There is an apparent disconnect between trans peoples' perception of what constitutes criminal victimisation and the identification of the criminality of their own experience. Although this research has touched on possible influencing factors for this disconnect, including the role of family and friends as perpetrators, it has not been able to do so in detail. Therefore, future research should seek to investigate this disconnect and identify a range of potential influencing factors that contribute to this and investigate potential ways to address this with the aim of encouraging reporting practices among trans communities.

This research has provided a detailed but broad overview of the role of intersectionality in the victimisation of trans people and disability status proved to be a significantly influential characteristic in the perceptions and experiences of trans people and victimisation. Therefore, future research should seek specifically to explore the victimisation experiences of trans people living with a disability. The experiences of trans people in this research who identified as living with a disability were unique in that they were more likely to fear victimisation from healthcare professionals and therefore a potentially inescapable part of their daily routine led to a heightened fear of victimisation. It would be interesting to explore this further and have significantly more detailed accounts of trans people's experiences in relation to living with different types of disability that may impact their mental, emotional or physical functioning to make a comparison across their perceptions and fear of victimisation. Despite this recommendation for future research to focus on the intersection between trans identity and disability status, it is also suggested that any future research exploring trans people's experiences of discrimination, micro-crimes and victimisation be pursued through an intersectional lens to avoid further marginalising the most oppressed sectors of trans communities. Future research should also seek to explore intersectionality beyond traditional identity markers to appreciate situational and environmental factors through an intersectional lens to explore the unique positions victims may find themselves in as a result of their residential area, employment status and mode of transport. For example, extending on the findings of this research, future research should seek to explore whether employment status and use of public transport also creates situational experiences of abuse and discrimination.

In acknowledging the limitations of this research in relation to sampling, future research should also seek to adopt an ethnographic approach. There may have been particular

groups of people excluded from this research, such as migrant populations and trans people who do not speak English as a first language. By adopting an ethnographic approach, future research may therefore be more inclusive of these populations who may be considered to be doubly marginalised.

8.5 Concluding Comments

The conclusions from this research contribute to the literature surrounding transphobic hate crime through the conceptualisation of micro-crimes to avoid perpetuating the continual exclusion of these incidents from criminological research. In this sense, the central aim of this thesis was to highlight the experiences of transphobic micro-crime victimisation. Through the presentation of results in this research and the discussion of findings in relation to existing literature it can be concluded that there is significant progress to be made in bringing micro-crime victimisation into the social consciousness. In doing so, the ambiguity surrounding the criminality of many micro-crimes will be reduced and significantly impact upon the reporting of transphobic micro-crimes.

Furthermore, this thesis has acknowledged that despite micro-crimes being conceptualised by victims as significantly less severe in nature than more socially recognisable forms of victimisation, the resultant impact can be similar to the impact experienced when trans people are physically and sexually victimised. However, it may also be concluded that this impact is significantly harder to detect and identify as it often occurs as the result of an accumulation of victimisation. In this sense, the impact of micro-crimes is often conceptualised as invisible.

Finally, this thesis has made a significant contribution to debates through conceptualising transphobic micro-crimes through the lens of visibility. In doing so, existing theoretical frameworks can be strengthened through the acknowledgement of

the complex nature of 'visibility' and 'invisibility' and how both operate to either protect or facilitate the victimisation of those who are visible or invisible in different social contexts. Through an intersectional analysis this research has challenged the Whiteness of much research into transphobic hate crime. This research has made an original contribution to existing literature that explores transphobic hate crime and it can be concluded that trans people navigate their visibility within systems of oppression and a matrix of victimisation, in which differing extremes of victimisation are interconnected and facilitate a culture of othering, discrimination and abuse for trans people.

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Q2 Please write a username unique to you. (This will be used to identify your data should you later decide to withdraw from the study.)

Q3 How would you describe your gender identity?

- ○ (1) _____
- ○ Skip Question (2)
- ○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (3)

Q4 Do you identify as trans?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)
- ○ Skip Question (3)
- ○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (4)

Q5 How would you describe your sexuality?

- ○ Asexual (1)
- ○ Bisexual (2)
- ○ Gay (3)
- ○ Heterosexual (4)
- ○ Lesbian (5)
- ○ Pansexual (6)
- ○ Questioning (7)
- ○ Other (Please Specify) (8) _____
- ○ Skip Question (9)
- ○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (10)

Q6 How would you describe you ethnicity?

- ○ Asian British (1)
- ○ Asian Chinese (2)
- ○ Asian Indian (3)
- ○ Asian Pakistani (4)
- ○ Asian Other (Please Specify) (5) _____
- ○ Black African (6)
- ○ Black British (7)
- ○ Black Caribbean (8)
- ○ Black Other (Please Specify) (9) _____
- ○ Mixed: Asian & British (10)
- ○ Mixed: Black African & British (11)
- ○ Mixed: Black Caribbean & British (12)
- ○ Mixed: Other (Please Specify) (13) _____
- ○ White British (14)
- ○ White Irish (15)
- ○ White Other (Please Specify) (16) _____
- ○ Other (Please Specify) (17) _____
- ○ Skip Question (18)
- ○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (19)

Q7 Which area do you currently live?

- ○ (1) _____
- ○ Skip Question (2)
- ○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (3)

Q8 Do you consider yourself to have a disability?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)
- ○ Skip Question (3)
- ○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (4)

Q9 Which of the following would you consider yourself to have? (Please tick all that apply)

- ❑ A sensory impairment (1)
- ❑ A mobility impairment (2)
- ❑ A learning disability (3)
- ❑ A mental health condition (4)
- ❑ A disability or impairment not listed above. (Please Specify) (5) _____
- ❑ Skip question (6)
- ❑ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (7)

Q10 How old are you?

- ○ 16-18 (1)
- ○ 19-24 (2)
- ○ 25-34 (3)
- ○ 35-44 (4)
- ○ 45-54 (5)
- ○ 55-64 (6)
- ○ 65 and over (7)
- ○ Skip Question (8)
- ○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (9)

Q11 What is your religion or belief?

- ○ Bhuddism (1)
- ○ Christianity (Including CofE, Catholic & Protestant) (2)
- ○ Hinduism (3)
- ○ Islam (4)
- ○ Judaism (5)
- ○ Sikhism (6)
- ○ No Religion (7)
- ○ Other (Please Specify) (8) _____
- ○ Skip Question (9)
- ○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (10)

Q12 Do you consider transphobic hate crime to be: (Please tick all that apply)

- ❑ Damage to property (1)
- ❑ Harrassment (2)
- ❑ Hate Mail (3)
- ❑ Intimidation (4)
- ❑ Misgendering (5)
- ❑ Online trolling (6)
- ❑ Outing (7)
- ❑ Physical abuse (8)
- ❑ Sexual abuse (9)
- ❑ Stalking (10)
- ❑ Verbal abuse (11)
- ❑ Other (Please Specify) (12) _____
- ❑ Skip Question (13)
- ❑ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (14)

Q13 Do you feel at risk of experiencing a hate crime targeting your gender identity?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (2)
○ Skip Question (3)
○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (4)

Q14 Do you feel at risk of experiencing a hate crime targeting any of the following? (Please tick all that apply)

❑ Age (1)
❑ Disability Status (2)
❑ Ethnicity (3)
❑ Religious Affiliation (4)
❑ Sexuality (5)
❑ Other (Please Specify) (6) _____
❑ I do not feel at risk of experiencing a hate crime (7)
❑ Skip Question (8)
❑ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (9)

Q15 Where do you feel at risk of experiencing a hate crime? (Please tick all that apply)

❑ Home (1)
❑ School/College (2)
❑ University (3)
❑ Work (4)
❑ In my local area (5)
❑ In LGBT Venues (6)
❑ Online (7)
❑ Other (Please Specify) (8) _____
❑ Skip Question (9)
❑ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (10)

Q16 How safe do you feel in the following areas?

	Very Safe (1)	Fairly Safe (2)	Neither Safe or Unsafe (3)	Fairly Unsafe (4)	Very Unsafe (5)	Not Applicable (6)	Skip Question (7)	Exit survey and proceed to debrief (8)
Home (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
School/College (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
University (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Work (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
In my local area (Daytime) (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
In my local area (Evening) (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
In LGBT Venues (7)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Online (8)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q17 Who do you feel presents a risk to you? (Please tick all that apply)

❑ Immediate Family (1)
❑ Extended Family (2)
❑ Partner (3)
❑ Friends (4)
❑ Co-workers (5)
❑ Strangers (Someone completely unknown) (6)
❑ Acquaintances (People you may see regularly but do not consider a friend) (7)
❑ Healthcare Professionals (GP's, Nurses, Social Services) (8)
❑ Officials (Police Officers, Magistrates) (9)
❑ Other (Please Specify) (10) _____
❑ I don't feel at risk (11)
❑ Skip Question (12)
❑ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (13)

Q18 Do you believe that discrimination against people who identify as transgender is common?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (2)
○ Unsure (3)
○ Skip Question (4)
○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (5)

Q19 Do you believe that transphobic hate crime is common?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (2)
○ Unsure (3)
○ Skip Question (4)
○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (5)

Q20 How confident are you in the police's ability to identify and tackle transphobic hate crime?

○ Not at all (1)
○ Slightly (2)
○ Moderately (3)
○ Very (4)
○ Extremely (5)
○ Unsure (6)
○ Skip Question (7)
○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (8)

Q21 If you live in London, are you aware of the LGBT Liaison Officer in your borough?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (2)
○ Unsure (3)
○ I live outside London (4)
○ Skip Question (5)
○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (6)

Q22 Are you aware of what an LGBT Liaison Officer's role is in the police?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (2)
○ Unsure (3)
○ Skip Question (4)
○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (5)

Q23 Can your briefly describe what you believe an LGBT Liaison Officer's role within the police is?

- ○ (1) _____
- ○ Skip Question (2)
- ○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (3)

Q24 For what reasons do you think people who experience hate crimes targeting their actual or perceived gender identity fail to report these crimes to the police?

- ○ (1) _____
- ○ Skip Question (2)
- ○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (3)

Q25 How aware of trans issues do you think the police are?

- ○ Very aware (1)
- ○ Slightly aware (2)
- ○ Neither aware nor unaware (3)
- ○ Slightly unaware (4)
- ○ Very unaware (5)
- ○ Skip Question (6)
- ○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (7)

Q26 Do you think 'Transgender Awareness' training should be made compulsory for all police officers?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)
- ○ Unsure (3)
- ○ Skip Question (4)
- ○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (5)

Q27 Do you believe the police to be transphobic?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)
- ○ Unsure (3)
- ○ Skip Question (4)
- ○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (5)

Q28 How transphobic do you believe the police to be?

- ○ Slightly (1)
- ○ Moderately (2)
- ○ Very (3)
- ○ Extremely (4)
- ○ Unsure (5)
- ○ Skip Question (6)
- ○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (7)

Q29 Why do you not believe the police to be transphobic?

- ○ (1) _____
- ○ Skip Question (2)
- ○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (3)

Q30 Do you feel at risk of experiencing further discrimination or abuse from police officers should you report an incident of hate crime to them?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)
- ○ Unsure (3)
- ○ Skip Question (4)
- ○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (5)

Q31 Have you ever experienced a hate crime?

- ○ Yes - Just once (1)
- ○ Yes - More than once (2)
- ○ No (3)
- ○ Unsure (4)
- ○ Skip Question (5)
- ○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (6)

Q32 Have you ever experienced a hate crime based on: (Please tick all that apply)

- ❑ Gender Identity (1)
- ❑ Sexuality (2)
- ❑ Age (3)
- ❑ Disability Status (4)
- ❑ Ethnicity (5)
- ❑ Religious Affiliation (6)
- ❑ Other (Please Specify) (7) _____
- ❑ Unsure (8)
- ❑ Skip Question (9)
- ❑ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (10)

Q33 Which form of hate crime have you experienced? (Please tick all that apply)

- ❑ Verbal (1)
- ❑ Physical (2)
- ❑ Property Offence (3)
- ❑ Sexual (4)
- ❑ Online Abuse (5)
- ❑ Other (Please State) (6) _____
- ❑ Skip Question (7)
- ❑ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (8)

Q34 Was this incident reported to the police? (If you have experienced more than one incident, please answer for up to 3 incidents that most represent incidents you experience on a daily basis)

	Yes (1)	No (2)	Not Applicable (3)	Skip Question (4)	Exit survey and proceed to debrief (5)
Incident One (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Incident Two (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Incident Three (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q35 Which police force was this incident reported too?

- ❑ Incident One (1) _____
- ❑ Incident Two (2) _____
- ❑ Incident Three (3) _____
- ❑ No Incidents were reported to the police (4)
- ❑ Skip Question (5)
- ❑ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (6)

Q36 Overall, how satisfied were you with the reporting process?

	Very Satisfied (1)	Satisfied (2)	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied (3)	Dissatisfied (4)	Very Dissatisfied (5)	Not Applicable (6)	Skip Question (7)	Exit survey and proceed to debrief (8)
Incident One (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Incident Two (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Incident Three (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q37 How satisfied were you that the police understood your needs and concerns relating to your gender identity?

	Very Satisfied (1)	Satisfied (2)	Nether satisfied nor dissatisfied (3)	Dissatisfied (4)	Very Dissatisfied (5)	Not Applicable (6)	Skip Question (7)	Exit survey and proceed to debrief (8)
Incident One (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Incident Two (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Incident Three (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q38 What did the police do?

	Incident One (1)	Incident Two (2)	Incident Three (3)
Recorded/Took down details of the incident (1)	❏	❏	❏
Recorded the incident as a hate crime (2)	❏	❏	❏
Recorded/Took down details of the perpetrator (3)	❏	❏	❏
Supported me (4)	❏	❏	❏
Kept me updated on the progress of my complaint (5)	❏	❏	❏
Gave me contact details for Victim Support or other support services (6)	❏	❏	❏
Visited me at home (7)	❏	❏	❏
Contacted me by phone (8)	❏	❏	❏
Told me to attend my local police station (9)	❏	❏	❏
Did not record it as a hate crime (10)	❏	❏	❏
Asked me unnecessary personal questions (11)	❏	❏	❏
Told me to ignore it (12)	❏	❏	❏
Did nothing (13)	❏	❏	❏
Other (Please Specify) (14)	❏	❏	❏
Not Applicable (15)	❏	❏	❏
Skip Question (16)	❏	❏	❏
Exit survey and proceed to debrief (17)	❏	❏	❏

Q39 Did you ever receive support from Victim Support?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (2)
○ Skip Question (3)
○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (4)

Q40 Did your report lead to an arrest?

	Yes (1)	No (2)	Unsure (3)	Not Applicable (4)	Skip Question (5)	Exit survey and proceed to debrief (6)
Incident One (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Incident Two (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Incident Three (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q41 Did the arrest lead to a conviction?

	Yes (1)	No (2)	Unsure (3)	Not Applicable (4)	Skip Question (5)	Exit survey and proceed to debrief (6)
Incident One (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Incident Two (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Incident Three (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q42 What was the sentencing outcome?

❑ Incident One (1) _____
❑ Incident Two (2) _____
❑ Incident Three (3) _____
❑ Skip Question (4)
❑ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (5)

Q43 If these incidents were not reported to the police, what influenced this decision?

- ❑ Concern about personal repercussions (e.g being outed) (1)
- ❑ Concern about repercussions from the perpetrator(s) (2)
- ❑ Concern about experiencing discrimination or prejudice from those you would report it too (3)
- ❑ I have reported similar incidents in the past and have had negative experiences reporting (4)
- ❑ I did not think the police could do anything about this (5)
- ❑ I did not think the police would do anything about this (6)
- ❑ I did not think it was serious enough to report (7)
- ❑ It happens too often to report every time (8)
- ❑ I did not realise it was a hate crime (9)
- ❑ Other (Please Specify) (10) _____
- ❑ Skip Question (11)
- ❑ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (12)

Q44 Were any of these incidents reported to any other official services? (E.g Third Party Reporting)

- ◯ Yes (1)
- ◯ No (2)
- ◯ Skip Question (3)
- ◯ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (4)

Q45 Did you tell anyone else in your life about experiencing a hate crime? (Please tick all that apply)

- ❑ Family Member (1)
- ❑ Partner (2)
- ❑ Friend (3)
- ❑ Co-Worker (4)
- ❑ Online Friend (5)
- ❑ Carer/Keyworker/Youth Worker (6)
- ❑ GP/Nurse (7)
- ❑ Teacher/Lecturer (8)
- ❑ Someone Else (Please Specify) (9) _____
- ❑ I didn't tell anybody else (10)
- ❑ Skip Question (11)
- ❑ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (12)

Q46 If you didn't tell anybody else, what influenced this decision? (Please tick all that apply)

- ❑ Embarrassment (1)
- ❑ Feared experiencing further abuse or discrimination (2)
- ❑ Feared people blaming me (3)
- ❑ Difficulty explaining what had happened (4)
- ❑ It happens too often (5)
- ❑ It is not serious enough to discuss (6)
- ❑ It is just part of 'everyday' life (7)
- ❑ Other (Please Specify) (8) _____
- ❑ Skip Question (9)
- ❑ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (10)

Q47 Have you ever experienced any of the following because of your actual or perceived gender identity?

	Never (1)	Once (2)	Occasionally (3)	Regularly (4)	Skip (5)	Exit survey and proceed to debrief (6)
Having your gender identity 'outed' (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Name Calling/ Verbal Abuse (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Threats / Intimidation (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Harassment (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Stalking (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Blackmail (6)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Theft (7)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Damage to Property (8)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Hate Mail (9)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Online Trolling (10)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Physical Assault (11)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Sexual Assault (12)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Other (Please Specify) (13)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q48 Are you aware of any support services in your local area able to provide support to those who have experienced a hate crime targeting their actual or perceived gender identity?

❍ Yes (1)
❍ No (2)
❍ Unsure (3)
❍ Skip Question (4)
❍ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (5)

Q49 Have you ever used a service able to provide support to those who have experienced a hate crime targeting their actual or perceived gender identity?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (2)
○ I have never experienced a hate crime (3)
○ Skip Question (4)
○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (5)

Q50 Overall, how satisfied were you with the support you received from a support service?

○ Very satisfied (1)
○ Satisfied (2)
○ Neither satisfied or unsatisfied (3)
○ Unsatisfied (4)
○ Very unsatisfied (5)
○ Skip Question (6)
○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (7)

Q51 Can you describe what support you believe a support service for individuals who have experienced a hate crime based on their gender identity should offer?

○ (1) _____
○ Skip Question (2)
○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (3)

Q52 What word or phrase best describes how you felt after experiencing a hate crime?

○ (1) _____
○ I have never experienced a hate crime (2)
○ Skip Question (3)
○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (4)

Q53 Below is a list of difficulties people may experience after experiencing a traumatic event. Considering the 7 days immediately after experiencing a hate crime, indicate how distressing

each difficulty has been for you.*(Rating table taken from: Weiss, D.S. (2007). The Impact of Event Scale-

	Not at all (1)	A little bit (2)	Moderately (3)	Quite a bit (4)	Extremely (5)	Skip (6)	Exit survey and proceed to debrief (7)
Any reminder brought back feelings about it (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I had trouble sleeping (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Other things kept making me think about it (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I felt irritable and angry (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I avoided letting myself get upset when I thought about it (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I thought about it when I didn't mean to (6)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I felt as if it hadn't happened or wasn't real (7)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I stayed away from reminders of it (8)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Pictures about it popped into my head (9)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I was jumpy and easily startled (10)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I tried not to think about it (11)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

I was aware that I still had a lot of feelings about it, but didn't want to deal with them (12)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
My feelings about it were numb (13)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I found myself acting or feeling like I was back at that time (14)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I had trouble falling asleep (15)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I had waves of strong feelings about it (16)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I tried to remove it from my memory (17)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I had trouble concentrating (18)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Reminders of it caused me to have physical reactions (e.g sweating, shaking) (19)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I had dreams about it (20)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I felt watchful and on-guard (21)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I tried not to talk about it (22)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q54 After experiencing a hate crime, did you do any of the following: (Please tick all that apply)

- ❑ I didn't change the way I lived (1)
- ❑ I went out more (2)
- ❑ I sought support (3)
- ❑ I went out less (4)
- ❑ I avoided being out at night (5)
- ❑ I avoided being in the area that the incident occured (6)
- ❑ I moderated or changed the way I dressed, acted or spoke (7)
- ❑ I avoided being out alone (8)
- ❑ Skip Question (9)
- ❑ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (10)

Q55 On a scale of 1-10, how confident were you before experiencing a hate crime?

_____ Not at all confident (1)

Q56 On a scale of 1-10, how confident were you after experiencing a hate crime?

_____ Not at all confident (1)

Q57 Have you ever experienced online abuse or trolling targeting your gender identity?

- ❍ Yes (1)
- ❍ No (2)
- ❍ Skip Question (3)
- ❍ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (4)

Q58 Did you report this abuse?

- ❍ Yes (1)
- ❍ No (2)
- ❍ Skip Question (3)
- ❍ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (4)

Q59 What action was taken against the perpetrator?

- ❍ (1) _____
- ❍ Unsure (2)
- ❍ Skip Question (3)
- ❍ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (4)

Q60 If you did not report the online incidents of abuse, what influenced this decision? (Please tick all that apply)

- ❑ I did not know who to report it to (1)
- ❑ I did not know the perpetrator (2)
- ❑ I did not know I could report it (3)
- ❑ It happens too often to report (4)
- ❑ It is not serious enough to report (5)
- ❑ Other (Please specify) (6) _____
- ❑ Skip Question (7)
- ❑ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (8)

Q61 Do you ever witness abuse online targeting other individuals gender identity?

- ❍ Yes (1)
- ❍ No (2)
- ❍ Skip Question (3)
- ❍ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (4)

Q62 Does witnessing abuse targeting other's gender identity affect you?

- ❍ Yes (1)
- ❍ No (2)
- ❍ Skip Question (3)
- ❍ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (4)

Q63 Do you believe transphobic abuse online is a serious concern?

- ❍ Yes (1)
- ❍ No (2)
- ❍ Unsure (3)
- ❍ Skip Question (4)
- ❍ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (5)

Q64 Do you use the internet to socialise with others?

- ❍ Yes (1)
- ❍ No (2)
- ❍ Skip Question (3)
- ❍ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (4)

Q65 Do you use the internet to build a network of other trans people?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (2)
○ Skip Question (3)
○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (4)

Q66 Do you consider the internet to be a vital way for you to connect with other trans people?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (2)
○ Unsure (3)
○ Skip Question (4)
○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (5)

Q67 Do you experience more abuse online than in person?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (2)
○ I experience the same amount of abuse in person and online (3)
○ Skip Question (4)
○ Exit survey and proceed to debrief (5)

Appendix Two

Pilot Response Feedback

Feedback	Changes Made
If I want to withdraw, how would you identify my response?	First question will now be 'Please enter a username that can be used to identify you should you wish to withdraw at a later date'.
Unsure what hate crime incident they should speak about if they had experienced more than one. (This feedback was by 3 different participants)	Survey changed so participants could answer for up to three experiences.
I had never heard of pansexual.	No change needed. If you identify as 'pansexual' then you will know what it means.
It didn't take me 30-40 minutes to complete.	In Participant Information at the beginning, it will explicitly say that if you have experienced a hate crime the survey may take 30-40 minutes and if you have not experienced a hate crime the survey will take approximately 20 minutes.
Questions around confidence have a scale from 1-10 but the actual scale starts at 0. (This feedback was from 2 participants)	Change scale to start at 1.
Informed consent questions quite long. (This feedback was from 2 participants)	Informed consent document edited to be more accessible to respondents.
One question says 'I tried to remove it from my member'.	Wording of question changed to 'I tried to remove it from my memory'.
I identify as a drag queen so often experience abuse relating to gender presentation, but I don't identify as trans, but when I clicked 'No' it would not allow me to complete the survey.	If participant selects 'No' in response to 'Do you identify as trans?' they will no longer be directed to the end of the survey. Participant information sheet will explicitly state that the survey is looking for participants who identify as 'Trans' along with parameters for inclusion in the survey.
I tried writing in box's but didn't realise I had to click on the button next to it before I could write in the box which took me a while to figure out.	Change format of survey so when participant clicks in text box to write it automatically selects that option, rather than having to select option before participant can write.
The big table about 7 days is quite long.	Review table, see if this can be condensed in any way.

Interview Schedule

Section One: Introductions

- Introduce self
- Explain the background of the research and the aims
- Explain the interview will be audio recorded
- Explain they can withdraw at any time
- Any questions before beginning?

Section 2: Defining Hate Crime

Before we begin, the first question is about defining hate crime and what you consider to be a hate crime.

- Can you tell me a little bit about what you understand the term 'hate crime' to mean?
  - o Verbal abuse?
  - o Online trolling?
- Do you feel at risk of experiencing a hate crime targeting your gender identity?
  - o Could you tell me a little bit about where or who you feel presents a risk to you?
- There has been a lot of debate around public toilets, how do you feel about using public toilets if they are sex segregated?

Section 3: Personal Experiences of Hate Crime

I'm now going to ask some questions about your experiences of hate crime, are you okay for us to move on to these questions?

- Have you ever experienced a hate crime targeting your gender identity? If you have, would you be able to tell me about what happened in as much detail as you can remember?
  - o Perpetrator? Location?
- Did you report this crime?
  - o Where? Satisfaction?
  - o If not, why not?
- Is this the only hate crime you have experienced? If not, could you tell me about any other incidents you have experienced?
- Have you ever experienced low level abuse, such as verbal abuse, harassment or vandalism targeting your transgender identity?
  - o Can you tell me about these incidents? How often?
  - o Did you consider these incidents to be hate crimes at the time?
  - o Do you ever report these offences to the police? Satisfaction?

Section 4: Online Experiences

The next section of the interview will include questions about your online interaction and your experiences of being targeted online because of your gender identity.

- So can you tell me about how often you use the internet and what you primarily use it for?
    - Support? Networking?
- Have you ever experienced online trolling targeting your gender identity? If you have, can you tell me in as much detail as possible what happened?
    - How often? Does this occur more than in person? (Why?)
    - Do you report these incidents? Who to? Satisfaction? Do you know who to report it too?
    - Impact of online trolling?
- How do you think reports of online trolling and abuse could be dealt with effectively?

Section 5: Impact of Hate Crimes

Thank you for sharing your experiences with me, I would like to ask you now a little bit about what the impact of these incidents have been on you?

- Can you tell me about how you felt after having experienced this/these hate crimes?
    - Did the effect change over time?
    - Physical health? Mental health?
    - Consequences of this impact?

Section 6: Intersectionality

The next section of the interview will be about how different personal characteristics interact.

- Do you feel at risk of experiencing a hate crime for any other reason besides your gender identity?
- Have you experienced a hate crime targeting you for more than one reason?
    - Can you tell me in as much detail as possible what happened?
    - Was it reported? Satisfaction?
    - Was one reason taken more seriously than another?
- Do you think that other things about you make you a bigger target for experiencing a hate crime?

Section 7: Knowledge of Support Services

The next few questions will be about support services for those who experience hate crimes and specifically about support services for people who experience hate crimes targeting their gender identity.

- After experiencing a hate crime, did you seek out any support? If so, where did you try to find support?
- Do you know any national services that offer support around hate crime?

- Do you know any local support services for trans communities?
  - Does this organisation provide support around hate crime?
- What kind of support do you think an organisation should offer to people who have experienced a hate crime targeting their gender identity?
- How do you think an online support service would work?

Section 8: Perceptions of Policing

The next section of the interview will be focused on how hate crimes are reported and will explore your opinions on the reporting process.

- Some research suggests that transphobic hate crimes are under reported, is this something you would agree with?
  - Why?
- Do you think particular people within the trans community are more likely than others to report hate crimes?
  - Who? Why?
- Do you think the police have made efforts to build relationships with the trans community?
  - How?
  - Why not?
- What do you think could be done to encourage people who experience hate crimes to report them?

Section Nine: Any Other Opinions & Conclusions

Thank you so much for sharing all of that with me, is there anything else that you think might be useful to know or that you would like to share?

I would like to really thank you for sparing your time to speak with me today. If you have any questions or comments please feel free to contact me, my contact details are on the Participant Information Document you have.

Various questions were asked throughout the survey to collect basic demographic

information that would allow the analysis to be conducted through an intersectional lens

to prevent the conflation of all gender identities and the resulting experiences. The

demographic information related to age, gender, sexuality, disability status, race and

religious affiliation.

Figure 1 - Gender Identity of Participants
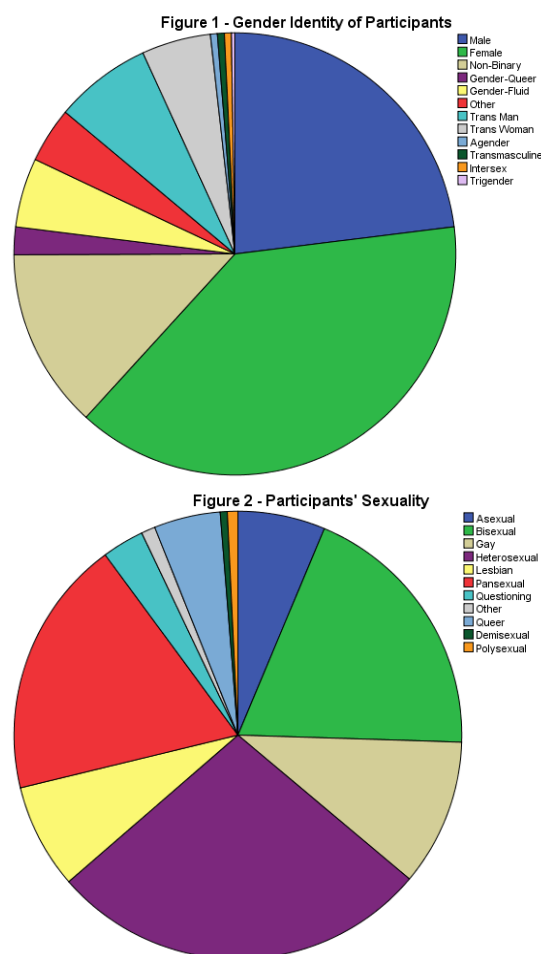

Figure 2 - Participants' Sexuality

Figure 1 illustrates the breakdown of different gender identities as identified by

participants themselves. It was vital for inclusivity to allow participants to self-identify

their gender. 61% of all participants identified within traditional binary categories as

either 'Male' (23%) or 'Female' (38.6%). 'Non-binary' was the third largest response

(13.2%) with all other respondents identifying as something other than these. Interestingly, a total of 12.2% of respondents identified as 'Trans Man' or 'Trans Woman', which fits within the traditional gender binary but felt it was important to highlight their transgender history. Of all 396 responses, 91.9% of respondents identified themselves as transgender whereas a much smaller minority (7.8%) did not consider themselves to be transgender.

Participants were also asked to describe their sexuality and Figure 2 illustrates the breakdown of participant's sexuality as identified by them. As shown above, just over one quarter (27.5%) of participants identified as 'Heterosexual'. 'Bisexual' and 'Pansexual' were the second and third largest response making up 19.2% and 18.7% of the total sample respectively. There was a range of other sexualities that participants identified as that made up smaller percentages of the total sample. Participants were then asked to describe their race. Figure 3 below presents the summary of the participants self-identified race.

Figure 3 - Participants' Ethnicity
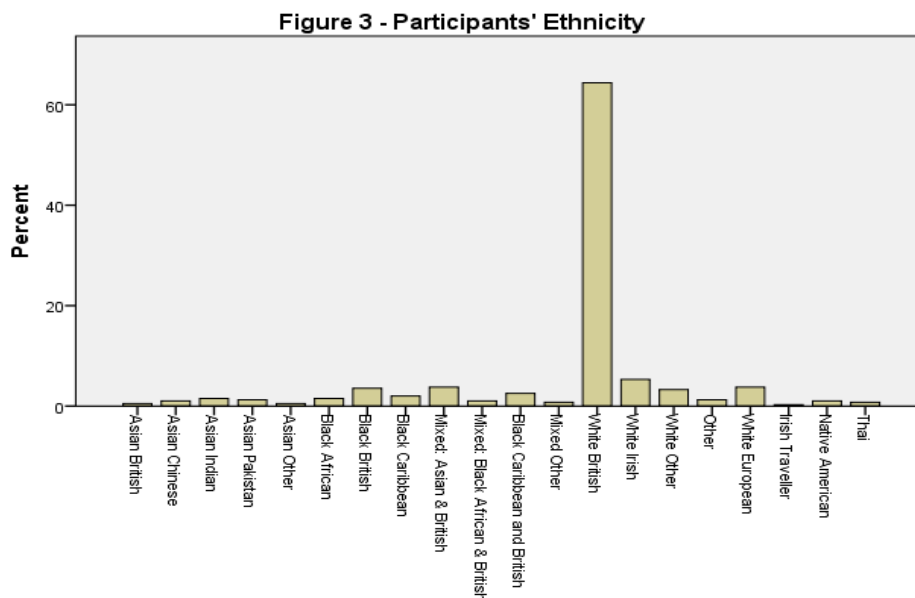
As can be seen in Figure 3, majority of the respondents to the survey identified as 'White British' (64.4%) which is high but is lower than the last UK census which estimates people who identify as White British make up 86% of the UK population (2011). There was no other significantly large ethnic group identified in the survey, but many smaller categories which highlights the diversity of respondents. In the last UK census people who identified as 'Black African', 'Black Caribbean' and 'Black British' made up 3.3% of the UK population. However, these categories made up 7% of the sample population for this study.

Alongside race, participants were asked to identify their religious affiliation. Figure 4 illustrates the breakdown of participants religious affiliation.


Figure 4 - Participants' Religion
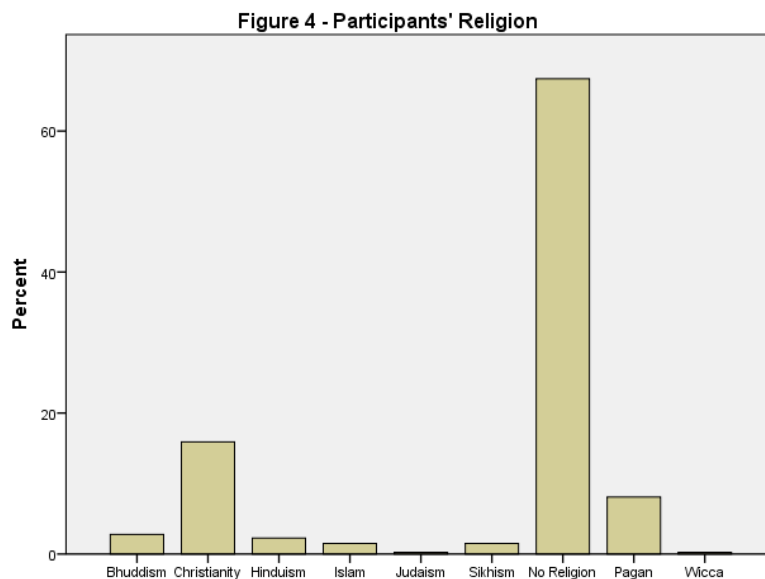
An overwhelming majority (67.4%) of participants identified as not belonging to any religious group. This is much higher than the national average as specified in the UK census (2011) which suggested only 25% of the UK population did not associate with a religious group. Of all religious affiliation's described Christianity was the most common religion (15.9%) selected. Other religions, including non-mainstream religions such as Pagan and Wicca were also selected but made up much smaller percentages of

participants. Despite other religious affiliations making up smaller percentages, it does highlight the diversity of participants.

Participants were also asked whether they considered themselves to have a disability. Figure 5 below presents the results from these findings and 30.3% of participants considered themselves to have a disability.

Figure 5 - Participants' Disability Status

Figure 6 - Participants' Age
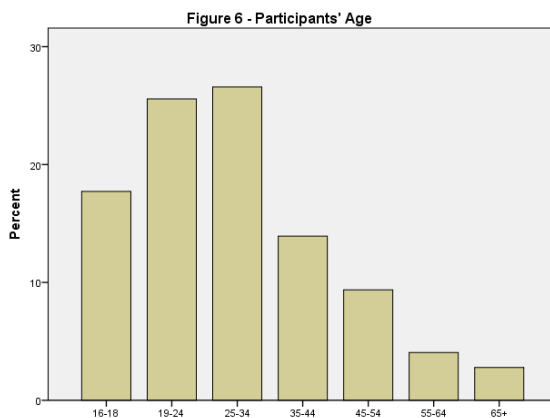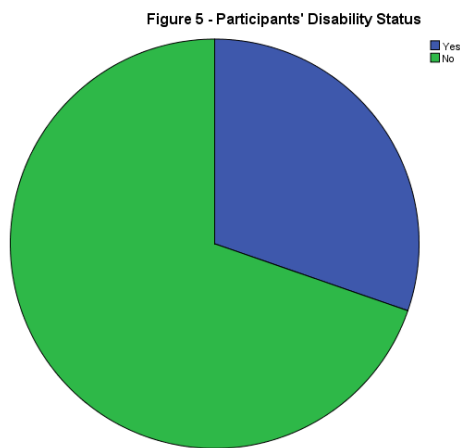
Once this is broken down further, of all participants who considered themselves to have a disability 3.8% of respondents considered this to be a sensory impairment, 6.8% considered it to be a mobility impairment, 12.1% considered it to be a learning difficulty and 19.7% of respondents considered this to be a mental health condition. The final question asked collecting demographic information collected the ages of participants. Figure 6 presents the ages of participants sampled. As can be seen in Figure 6, over half (52%) of participants were aged 19-34. The smallest age

representation of participants are those aged 65 and over who made up 2.8% of the total

sample population.

B – Thank you, so do you have any questions before we begin?

S – No, I understand everything, I'm happy to make a start

B – Okay, so I'd like to start by talking about defining hate crime, so can you tell me a little bit about what you understand the phrase hate crime to mean?

S – Yeah sure, so the legal definition of a hate crime is around a criminal offence being committed that targets someone because of an actual or perceived characteristic. So that could be either someone's gender identity, race, sexuality, disability status or religion. I think there is a big flaw in how this is defined because a lot of it comes down to perception. So there is a perception of a characteristic, so you don't have to be trans to experience a hate crime and then there is the perception of the victim and everyone will have a different perception. Like perception is so subjective, and what I consider to be a hate crime might not be the same for other people and the police's perception of a hate crime might be different from mine. So I think hate crime is a really tricky concept to try and define.

B – Okay, if a crime is motivated by a prejudice, what kind of crimes would you consider to be a hate crime?

S – So things like physical attacks, sexual assaults, hate mail, criminal damage and graffiti and stuff like that you know. These are all things that could be considered a hate crime if they are in the context of some form of prejudice.

B – What about verbal abuse?

S – I would consider verbal abuse to be a hate crime, but I know that it isn't a universal opinion and lots of people don't think verbal abuse is a hate crime. I also think verbal abuse depends on why you are being targeted. Like I think verbal abuse that was racist would maybe be more likely to be considered as a hate crime by the police than transphobic verbal abuse. So I consider all verbal abuse to be a hate crime if it is targeting a characteristic, but I think more generally it would only be considered that if it was racist or maybe against Muslim culture and something around terrorism.

B – Okay thank you, what about online trolling?

S – Yes I think online trolling can be a hate crime if it is targeting someones race, religion or their gender or sexuality. I think it is only more recently that online stuff is being taken more seriously with like the introduction of revenge porn laws and so on but I don't think hate speech online has really got the attention it deserves yet, I think it is still really seen as kind of like a separate thing from actual hate crime.

B – Thank you, do you feel at risk of experiencing a hate crime targeting your gender identity?

S – Yeah definitely, I feel at risk a lot of the time, especially being a trans person of colour I definitely feel at heightened risk, I think that most trans people just feel at risk from non-trans people, but I also feel at risk of experiencing a hate crime from trans

people as well. I am very much an activist within the community so I often receive lots of attention, and lots of it is negative.

B – Who do you feel mainly presents a risk to you in terms of your gender identity and experiencing a hate crime?

S – Mainly people that I work with, or people that I know in some way, sometimes strangers, but I don't think I am visibly trans, I do think that maybe strangers who have seen my YouTube videos or something like that, but I generally don't think many strangers watch my videos. I don't feel like I am at much risk of being physically attacked or verbally attacked in the middle of the street because of my gender because I pass and I don't feel that people can visually just identify me as trans when I am walking down the street you know. That's why I feel it is mainly from people who I know who maybe I have developed a friendship with that maybe then realise I am trans or I disclose that I am trans and I can never be entirely sure how people will react to that. Like in the past I have had good and bad experiences of disclosing my trans history and that has always been with people I know, like I never just tell a random stranger I am trans unless I am like delivering a presentation or something like that.

B – Okay thank you, are there particular places that you feel at risk?

S – Erm, not so much in public, like I don't really feel anxious if I am just walking down the street or whatever, I do get nervous around like where I live because a video got shared of me on YouTube talking about trans issues so I know that everyone where I live know that I am trans and its not like we are friends or ever talk, but they know who I am and I know who they are and I don't know what their opinions are, like I live in quite a rough area and I know that difference isn't exactly high on the list of priorities for accepting, so it does concern me that I will experience a hate crime by people from like where I live you know, but when I am out and I'm in town and stuff I don't really worry too much about being abused.

B – So how do you feel about using public toilets if there are only male and female options?

S – I don't like public toilets, not necessarily so much because they are sex segregated, because like I have facial hair, I have muscles and stuff and I very easily pass as male. But I am also a person of colour and I am a Muslim. What I don't like about public toilets is that they seem very isolated. Like obviously they are supposed to be isolated so that people can have privacy. But, I think having privacy also leads to problems. Like I have been to loads of pubs where fights happen in the toilet, and its almost like because the toilets aren't regulated, like you don't have security in toilets, you don't have bouncers, people almost see like the toilet as the place to start. So I mean they don't really like bother me because of them being sex segregated, I do think gender neutral toilets would be better, but if that doesn't happen it isn't a big deal to me, but I don't like public toilets because I think they are just generally unsafe and even though I don't stick out in a toilet because of my gender, I do stick out for the colour of my skin and my religion which makes me feel unsafe.

B – Thank you. So now I'd like to talk to you about your experiences of hate crime, so have you ever experienced a hate crime targeting your gender identity?

S – I have always experienced hate crime, from when I was a child, beginning with the colour of my skin, to my religion and then from when I was in my late teens it also turned to my gender identity. In terms of hate crime targeting my gender identity, it was primarily from my family and from my local Muslim community, particularly around the Mosque. My life doesn't fit in with mainstream Islam, but if you do not follow mainstream Islam and you take your own interpretations of Islam then you can live a life happily as a trans Muslim. Well no actually, it does fit in with Islam, it doesn't fit in with the Islam that most people like to preach, but if they opened their minds and stopped using Islam as an excuse to be hateful then everyone could live peacefully. But anyway, I first came out to my parents, I had already planned and arranged somewhere to stay because I didn't think it would be received well, but I hadn't expected the violence that actually happened. My dad and my brother viciously attacked me, I mean literally beat me to a pulp, I was left with broken ribs, black eyes, a swollen jaw. I mean, they didn't just punch me and kick me, they hit me with a belt, my back was split open. I stayed in hospital for two days after, so it turned out I didn't need to arrange emergency accommodation because I ended up having a bed. I was visited by the police in hospital, but I refused to speak to them, regardless of what had happened they were my family.

B – Did you consider it to be a hate crime at the time?

S – No, I don't think I did, looking back at it now I have changed my opinion, but at the time, you know, they were just my family, they were my dad and my brother and I had angered and embarrassed them. At the time, I believed I really had gone against Islam, it wasn't until maybe a year later I reconnected with my faith. To me at the time, it just didn't feel like a hate crime, it just felt like a family matter, I had done something and I dealt with the reaction that came with it. It was the same as what I experienced from the community, I was staying with a friend, a non-Muslim friend but it was still in the same area. Whenever I went out I was spat at, I was harassed, I was shouted at, I was shoved and pushed and humiliated. I continued to go out, my friend was like a support, she kept telling me I had to get out, I had to walk with my head held high. So out I continued to go and abuse was all I got. Word spread like wildfire among the community, it was weird, because the first time in my life I felt safer around white people than I did people of colour.

B – Did you ever report these incidents to the police?

S – No, this was my community, I didn't see it as a hate crime, I didn't even see it as a crime to be honest. I just saw it as something I expected to happen because of my culture and faith and the reactions that I knew would come. I was almost prepared for it before I had come out.

B – Okay, have you experienced any other hate crimes that stand out for you that were targeting your gender?

S – Yeah I mean I didn't hang around in Manchester for long after I came out so I moved to Leeds. I was really excited, I was moving to the area where there was a gender identity clinic. I just felt like it would be a brand new start. I had a lovely little flat and I was really excited, I brought my friend down with me the first day and we

spent the day painting and accessorising, we went and got takeaway and was walking back to the flat, there was a group of like teenagers hanging around outside the entrance, I didn't think anything of it at first, my friend is a lesbian, well she refers to herself as a dyke, she has very short hair, lots of tattoos, she very much fits in to a stereotypical image of a lesbian. Well anyway we were walking up to the door and I don't think it was me they noticed at first, it was her, because she was so visually striking. Well anyway as we were walking up they started laughing and talking amongst themselves, then as we got to the door one of them said something like 'dirty dyke'. I turned and looked at them and told them to shut up, I think initially they thought I was a boy, I had short hair, I was wearing a cap, baggy jeans and a hoodie. I then wished I hadn't said anything because it was my voice that gave me away and then they started on me. At firs they started asking if I was a dyke as well and I said no and then one of them was like 'oh shes a tranny shes tranny' and then it turned from that into 'woah hold up shes got a backpack, shes got a backpack' I know they were trying to make a terrorist joke. I tried to get past them to get to door and I was holding a bag with food in, one of them kicked the bag and it split and our food went everywhere. At this point I was so angry and upset I just wanted to get in. I couldn't believe that the first day of my new start was happening like this.

B – Did you report that to the police?

S – No I didn't, it was my first day in a new area, I was exhausted, I didn't know who they were and I was worried that if they lived there and I got the police involved on my first day there I would then become a target for everyone in the area who know them and that it would turn in to a bit of a witch hunt. My friend tried to get me to report it, but she got to go home, she didn't have to live there after the police had come and gone and I did, so I decided not to report it.

(Pause)

The only time I ever reported a hate crime targeting my gender was when someone had been posting abusive notes through my letterbox for about three weeks and then one day I came back and rubbish and what I hope was dog poo had been put through my letterbox as well. I did report that to the police.

B – How was the experience of reporting to the police?

S – I mean the police themselves were okay, I mean, they were polite-ish, they weren't very trans aware and kept calling me she when I asked them several times to use masculine pronouns. They said they would investigate it but basically told me not to expect a good outcome because it was likely there would be no evidence but I could keep a record or a diary of any further incidents. I got the impression they just wanted me to write stuff down so I didn't waste their time. So I mean, it wasn't a great experience for me.

B – Are there any incidents of verbal abuse or harassment that stick out to you?

S – I mean, none of them stick out as such, they are normally all so similar and they tend to follow a similar pattern of getting a feeling of being stared at, then normally laughter and then some disgusting comment. I guess the ones that stick out are the ones

where its not just a comment as they walk past, but a comment and then being followed, or in cases when you can't get away, so things like when you are on public transport and someone says something and it goes on for the entire journey because you just cant get away from them, and it really interferes with your day because you have to get off of the bus or the train before you really want to because it is so embarrassing and it is so humiliating to basically be abused in front of people and not have anyone help.

B – Do you consider these to be hate crimes when they occur?

S – No I don't, I know people who have experienced similar things and reported them to the police and they get recorded as a hate incident so the police don't have the power to do anything about it they just come and they record the details and then leave it at that. So I mean, I don't consider them to be hate crimes because I don't think the police or anyone else does. Even if I did consider them to be hate crimes, what would be the point because I wouldn't get anywhere with it.

B – How often do incidents of verbal abuse targeting your gender identity happen?

S – Much less often now, I am through my surgical journey, I have string facial hair, I have tattoos and fairly muscly arms, I look a little bit like a hipster (laughs). I don't think I stand out as more, I think towards the beginning of my journey I definitely looked my androgynous and I think people didn't understand that and they had a need to know if I was male or female because otherwise they just couldn't quite understand my gender. So I mean, it used to be every time I went out there would be some kind of comment or another. It was just like part of my daily routine, get up, have breakfast, go out, be abused, come home and then start all over again.

B – Okay, I'd now like to talk to you about your online experiences if that is okay?

S – Yeah that's fine.

B – So can you tell me how often you use the internet and what you mainly use it for?

S – Yeah I use the internet every day, I do a lot of stuff online, I am very active on things like Twitter and YouTube, I consider myself an activist and I post a lot about trans issues, about issues facing trans people of colour and people of faith and I try to raise awareness of the differing experiences and oppressions faced by different people. I have quite a big following online and I use the internet to network professionally and personally. I like to think I am quite a relevant figure in the online trans community and I have a professional e-mail address that I use for people to contact me for personal support and people can contact me for bookings to speak at events about my experiences.

B – Have you ever experienced trolling or abuse online targeting your gender identity?

S – Yeah I mean its common, it is just part of being active online. Because I am quite well known in the trans community I am a constant target for TERFs. There is me, Fox and Owl, India Willoughby, Munroe Bergdorf, Talulah-Eve who all speak out about trans issues and we as a result become very public targets for TERFs. I receive direct abuse from probably at least five different TERFs every day and then maybe two hundred other TERFs commenting on their stuff as a result of what they say about me. I

mean, there are people that write abuse online that are just ignorant strangers and they are just stupid, and that is just stupid comments that they clearly haven't thought of like 'tranny' and 'weirdo' and then there are the comments by the TERFs who really put a lof of, erm, effort, definitely not thought, but they put a lot of effort in to what they say and they make up facts and they make up examples and they make absolutely absurd claims like 90% of trans people de-transition later on in life and lots of stuff basically about how the whole trans movement is just to overthrow feminism. I mean the TERFs really are vile, I have been told I don't know how many times by TERFs to hang myself or take an overdose or slit my wrists and that I am not a real man and I am betraying femininity and I am just trying to get power so I must be a sociopath to transition and I mean really disgusting stuff.

B – Does this occur more online than in person?

S – Yeah absolutely it happens non-stop online, I definitely think that TERFs find safety in numbers, if I saw one of them on the street they probably wouldn't say anything but when they are online and have their whole TERF tribe with them they feel like they can say what they want. They definitely feel safe in numbers, like they organise special TERF meetings just to discuss trans people, particularly trans women, I mean who has that much time to put that much energy into hating someone else, I mean people they don't even know. I think the internet provides you with a pass to hate. The internet is completely uncontrolled and unmonitored and so people see other people hating and they think that it gives them a pass, almost permission to then feed in to it. The offline world is much more clearly regulated than the online world so I do think some people feel restricted offline and it is much easier to coordinate a hate group online.

B – Do you report these incidents?

S – No, I mean I used to, when I first became active on social media I used to report everything, everything I saw that was transphobic or racist but I came to realise very very quickly that nobody cares and nobody wants to take responsibility for controlling online hate. I made numerous reports to Facebook and to Twitter and occasionally they would remove stuff, but generally the criteria for breaking their community guidelines are extremely high that almost nothing breaks them. They do quite often respond to overtly racist content, but they don't respond to transphobic hate talk at all, in any way. Maybe its because they understand racism much more than transphobia and so it is more easily identifiable and more easy to respond too.

B – How do you think reports of online abuse could be dealt with more effectively?

S – I do appreciate that it is tricky and that internet regulations are a mind field of issues around the geography of where people are based and that makes it tricky to deal with people who commit abuse online because you never know which country should be dealing with it and what is abusive in the UK might not be abusive in Russia so who deals with it and whose values are more important. I do think that social media providers need to work together and they need to work with governments to devise a clear policy on abusive behaviour and make it easily understandable with clear restrictions and consequences for breaking those. They need to consult with minority communities to actually find out what is offensive and what is abusive. I don't think

they know what is abusive to trans people because it is so recent, whereas everyone knows that things like paki and nigger are offensive so they are easier to deal with. I mean, I don't know what the consequences should be, I do think people should be given a chance to change their behaviour online, but if it is persistent abuse of a particular person or community then it needs to be challenged and they need to have their access to social media restricted.

B – What would you say the impact of online trolling is?

S – Well I think it varies depending on how severe it is and how intense it is. Like there are periods where TERFs are really quiet and its just the occasional comment and then there are times where they become really active, it is usually after some kind of news report about trans children or some other scare tactic. When they become really active and they come together, its almost like a coordinated attack and even though they come for the entire trans community, which I mean is just as devastating to read because when it is the entire community it is also about you, but then because of who I am I also get targeted as an individual and people attack me personally and my identity and my culture and my beliefs. When it comes for the community it makes me angry, I want to write back, I want to defend my brothers and sisters and sometimes it would be so much easier to just turn the computer off, but I do feel in somewhat of a privileged position so I feel like other trans people look to me to engage in the difficult conversations and the difficult abuse to that the trans community has a vocal representative. Then it always ends up turning on me directly and that can be devastating for me. I have had a history of depression and although I have managed to get it under control for the most part, these kind of large coordinated attacks on me can put me back a bit and they can make me withdraw and make my depression much worse. If I wasn't in the position I am, I definitely wouldn't engage, I have taken breaks from social media before but I always feel so guilty when I go back and I have messages from trans people saying how much they have struggled without being able to speak to me and stuff.

B – So if we think back to the incidents that occurred offline, would you say the impact is the same or different?

S – Well I mean the impact from the stuff right at the beginning was much worse, because my whole world turned upside down, I lost where I lived, I lost a family, I lost an entire community. My whole way of life was changed and that was definitely the hardest time of my life, I felt lost and confused and I spent a long time not knowing who I was anymore. We aren't just an individual, our family, our faith, our community make up who we are as a person and I was left with nothing apart from myself. That was really difficult for me, I became very withdrawn, especially after I first moved away and there was the incident on the first day with the teenagers outside, I then spent about two weeks without leaving my flat because I was so scared and so anxious about what would happen and I hoped that if I left it long enough they wouldn't recognise me if they saw me again. Even after I did manage to go out, the constant kind of name calling and questioning of who I was and even what I was.

B – What were the consequences of this impact for you?

S - I mean at times, my depression gets so bad that I cant really function or look after myself, like I don't wash, I cant clean, I don't eat properly, I don't do work that I need to do you know. I couldn't function in what seemed like a natural way, everything seemed artificial because everything had to be so specifically planned. I had to decide what times of day I could go out and be safe, I had to decide where I was likely to encounter people, I had to spend a lot of time observing when teenagers would be hanging around outside and make sure that I was never leaving or arriving home when they were there. I didn't work for a very long time because I just couldn't be reliable enough that I would be able to get myself out of my flat to get to work and I also didn't want to put myself in a position where I had to be around other people, because then I felt extremely vulnerable. Now that I am further on in my transition I am much more confident and the smaller things like planning where to go don't worry me as much, although I still find that to a certain degree I censor myself. The only positive that came out of it was that I ended up focusing on fitness a lot, I found that exercise really helped me take myself away from everything that was happening and I found that I have become much healthier, much fitter physically as a result of it.

B – Okay thank you, I know you have spoke about race and religion a little bit, but now I'd really like to talk a little bit more in depth about this if that's okay?

S – Yeah that's fine.

B – So, you have mentioned race and religion, do you feel at risk of experiencing a hate crime targeting your race or religion, or any other characteristic about you?

S – Yeah, these days I feel much more at risk of being targeted because of my race and religion, I mean we are in a culture of segregation, we have Brexit, we have terrorism and we have lots of stereotypes and racial profiling because of it. I mean, it is so deeply engrained in us, it isn't always that obvious, but I notice small things, like if I am going somewhere and I have a bag and get on a bus, people move away from me, they try to sit as far away as possible, just in case I have a bomb in it. You can see them look at me, they will happily go and sit next to a nice little white lady carrying a bag. I think my race and my religion go hand in hand, people don't always seem to know the difference, they just make the kind of assumption that they are the same thing. There is almost no clear distinction between being a person of colour and being a person of faith. Lots of people of colour do not have a faith and lots of people of faith are white. But they almost just become one in the same. I feel at risk of racism and particularly Islamophobia from most people, most people that aren't of colour. So basically I feel all white people present a risk to me, even trans people who are white, it's not like trans people or LGB people more broadly are exempt from being racist, in fact some of the worse racism I have seen has come from white gay men who seem to think they hold all the rights to discrimination and they have had it worse, when actually they have probably had it easiest.

B – Have you ever experienced a hate crime targeting you for more than one reason?

S – Yeah, like I said, racism and Islamophobia tend to go hand in hand, so it quite often won't just be racist or wont just be Islamophobic. Quite often, the transphobic abuse also has an element of racism and Islamophobia. Like I said earlier, the comments

started as 'tranny' and 'weirdo' and then moved on to 'terrorist'. I think that recently racism and Islamophobia has become much worse, especially since Brexit, I think the Brexit result really shocked a lot of the nation and it was very close, but people almost felt like they were part of a majority and that was clear and that gave them the right to publicly be racist. Like before Brexit it still happened, but it has become much more bold, much more visible since then. Like it was only a few days after Brexit and I had bits of paper thrown in to my front garden all about terrorists and terrorism, then a few days after that I had 'paki scum' written on my front door. Like before this, I had experienced racist abuse, but nothing ever so bold and on my property.

(Pause)

And the amount of people that are now comfortable to make racist remarks when they are walking down the street. Before it might be like whispered conversations you would overhear, but people now have a confidence to kind of brazenly say it to your face. I have been called a 'paki' and a 'terrorist' more times in the last year than I have ever been called in my entire life. So I think that reflects to kind of cultural atmosphere in the UK at the minute.

B – Do you think being a person of colour and a person of faith make you a bigger target for experiencing hate crime?

S – Absolutely, even more so than being trans, I am so visibly Asian and I cant hide that, I cant walk with my head down so people don't see my face, they can see my hands, like I cant disguise my colour and I think it is that visible marker that makes you stand out. I think that's why I experienced so much more transphobia at the beginning of my transition, because I was much more visible as a trans person. What people cant see, they can't attack, but what they can attack is what they see.

B – Have you ever reported racism or Islamophobia to the police?

S – Yes, when I had 'paki scum' written on my door I reported it to the police. The police we round straight away and it was all taken very seriously. I mean they never caught who did it mind, but they were very conscious of wanting to portray the image that they were taking it very seriously. I think accusations of institutional racism have massively impact on the consciousness of police officers when dealing with people of colour, I think they are scared of accusations so portray an especially vigilant attitude when it comes to racism.

B – Do you think they took your report of racism more seriously than your report of transphobia?

S – Oh one hundred per cent. Racism is much higher up on the police's agenda than transphobia. It was dealt with more effectively, they seemed more engaged with me as a victim, they definitely wanted me to know they were taking it seriously which I never got the first time. Maybe it was just down to chance on the officers I got, but I don't believe in coincidences. Transphobia is very low on the social agenda and the polices attitude reflect that.

B – So, after experiencing any of these hate crimes, did you seek out any support?

S – Yes I did, there are a couple of LGBT specific services that I contacted and went through a process of counselling and assessments and then I joined a social group that I found online that was for local LGBT people. Unfortunately, there was no trans specific services, but the other services were trans inclusive, however, I didn't think they were overly inclusive of trans people of colour. Much of the conversation was always targeted towards white people, there was never any support discussions around religion or culture so it was very kind of white dominated and I think that reflected in the other people that accessed the service because they were all predominantly white. I was the only person who was Asian that accessed the service and there were a couple of black people and mixed heritage but I would say at least 90% of the other users were white and even the staff were all white and I think because they were all white and don't have to think about religion or culture in their day to day life, they assume that nobody else does and it gets overlooked.

B – Do you know any national services that offer support around hate crime?

S – I think that the only truly national service is stophate, I think there are other smaller hate crime organisations but they are very restricted in what they can offer by the lack of funding for services like this. I do think that particularly LGBT services are being targeted and having funding revoked, like Broken Rainbow the only LGBT specific domestic violence helpline lost funding and closed down, I think PACE health also lost funding which was an important LGBT support service.

B – What kind of support do you think an organisation should offer to people trans people who have experienced a hate crime?

S – Well I think it is important that they offer a diverse staff team who understand the different experiences of trans people, I would be really put off if I went to another support service and saw only white people working there because it just means there is a lack of understanding of diversity and it is possible that they wont understand the cultural impact on some trans people. So representation of trans people in the staff team and advertising is key to making people feel welcome. I think that a social space where trans people can come together is a really key thing, but I do also think that there needs to be spaces for people of colour to meet as well, we are often overshadowed by our white brothers and sisters and sometimes we need a separate space to have our voices heard. I think there needs to be some emotional and psychological support available, whether that be counselling or psychotherapy or group counselling. There could be financial advice, housing advice, employment advice, there are so many different ways in life that trans people are affected and could use support.

B – How do you think an online support service could work?

S – I think some forms of support can be offered online, like maybe a chat service, they could certainly have their advice and information and guidance available online. However, I don't think an online support service could completely substitute a face to face support service. I think there is something comforting about physical surroundings and a real person to talk to. I do think they could offer some chat service online, maybe just like an advice line, but I do think counselling should be done face to face where possible.

B – So the final set of questions are all about the policing of transphobic hate crime. So some research suggests that transphobic hate crime is under reported, would you agree with this?

S – Yeah I would agree with this, unfortunately I think there is a huge widespread concern about the legitimacy of the police and the way that they police particular crimes. I think people believe that racism is treated much more seriously than any other form of hate crime and I think this has a huge impact on whether people decide to report or not. I think, from trans people I have spoken to, there is definitely a feeling that the police have a certain lack of awareness of issues that face trans people and actually just a lack of awareness of trans people in general and people talk about their experiences of reporting and being misgendered and deadnamed and I think it is those things that non-trans people think are just small things, that are indicative of a much bigger lack of awareness and if they can't get your name or gender right then it doesn't give you much confidence in how they will handle a report of transphobic hate crime. I think there are also huge barriers to trans people reporting including a lack of awareness of hate crime laws because there is an unequal access to education and social opportunities. There are also issues around whether people are out or not and whether they are prepared to publicly disclose that they are trans, I mean if someone is living a particularly stealth lifestyle then disclosing your gender identity can be a huge deal and in some cases can make you feel like you are taking a step back in your journey.

B – Do you think particular people within the trans community are more likely to report than others?

S – Yes I definitely think that, I talk a lot about white privilege and this is very evident in the trans community. People talk about trans people as if they are all one cohesive community that all have the same experiences and lifestyles. People forget that we all have different experiences, I speak about my experiences as a trans person of colour and of a Muslim faith and the struggles that this has presented to me that white people are much less likely to experience. White people are much less likely to be made homeless or abused by family if they come out as trans, things such as honour violence are not as prevalent in white culture than in cultures of faith and colour. I think that particularly people of colour and recently as a result of all of the terrorist scandals particularly Muslim communities have been targeted by the police for no reason and of course this makes it much less likely that people of colour and people faith will have confidence in the police and are therefore less likely to report. I don't think people necessarily understand how peoples race and religion can impact on their experiences.

(Pause)

I think that people assume that trans people have the same experiences and the truth is we all navigate the journey of transition different because we all have different levels of support and different levels of access to resources and quite often trans people who are white, they are much more dominant than any other trans people, particularly trans men and women who identify within the binary. I think people who are non-binary or identify as somewhere outside of the binary are also further kind of oppressed because there is even less understanding of gender identities that don't conform.

B – Do you think the police have made efforts to build good relationships with the trans community?

S – I think some police have, like at Trans Pride in Brighton the police are very accommodating and very understanding, but I think the police in Brighton, because it has always been a diverse community that they have policed have kind of progressed much quicker than everyone else. I think the London Met have also progressed quite a lot in their understanding of trans issues and diverse communities. I have spoken to trans people and people of colour in much smaller parts of the country, particularly in small towns and villages where the police, from what they say, still reflect the attitudes of like the 1940s and 1950s where LGBT people and people of colour are treated as criminals just for being trans or being of colour. I think that much more work could be done around attending community events, engagement on social media and handling reports better would definitely build a better relationship. I think the police also need to be seen to make very public statements about transphobic hate crime to show that they will not accept this kind of behaviour.

B – Okay, what do you think could be done to encourage trans people who experience hate crime to report?

A – Well I don't think there is one approach that would meet the needs of all trans people, I do think that actually seeing more trans representation within the police, and not just middle class white trans police officers, people want to see those who they can identify with in positions of power. Power can so easily be abused and people fear that it is abused, but if they can see themselves in the police, then it builds confidence. I also think that the introduction of an online reporting service in which people can log reports online and they can complete a statement online and then have an officer phone them to discuss it would help encourage people to report. I think people have an apprehension about the reporting process and it can be quite intimidating if you have never reported before and I think that can be a barrier, so if there was a simple, straight forward way to report that was also convenient then it would encourage reporting. Like we discussed earlier, with a lot of the incidents of verbal abuse and harassment people don't report because it happens too often and it would waste too much time to continually go to the police station, but if you could do it online then it would be much more convenient and time-efficient for people.

B – Thank you so much for taking time out of your day to speak with me, it has been helpful for me. I just want to ask if there is anything else you think we haven't covered that would be good to cover?

S – I think it is something that we have covered, but I really want to raise how important it is to acknowledge how different we all are as trans individuals and when we were talking about multiple forms of victimisation, people don't realise the privilege they have and how very different the experiences can be for trans people of colour compared to our white brothers and sisters and it is so nice to see someone looking in to trans issues and really highlighting it as an important point, so thank you for that.

Appendix Six

E-Mail of Favourable Opinion from Kingston University Ethics Committee
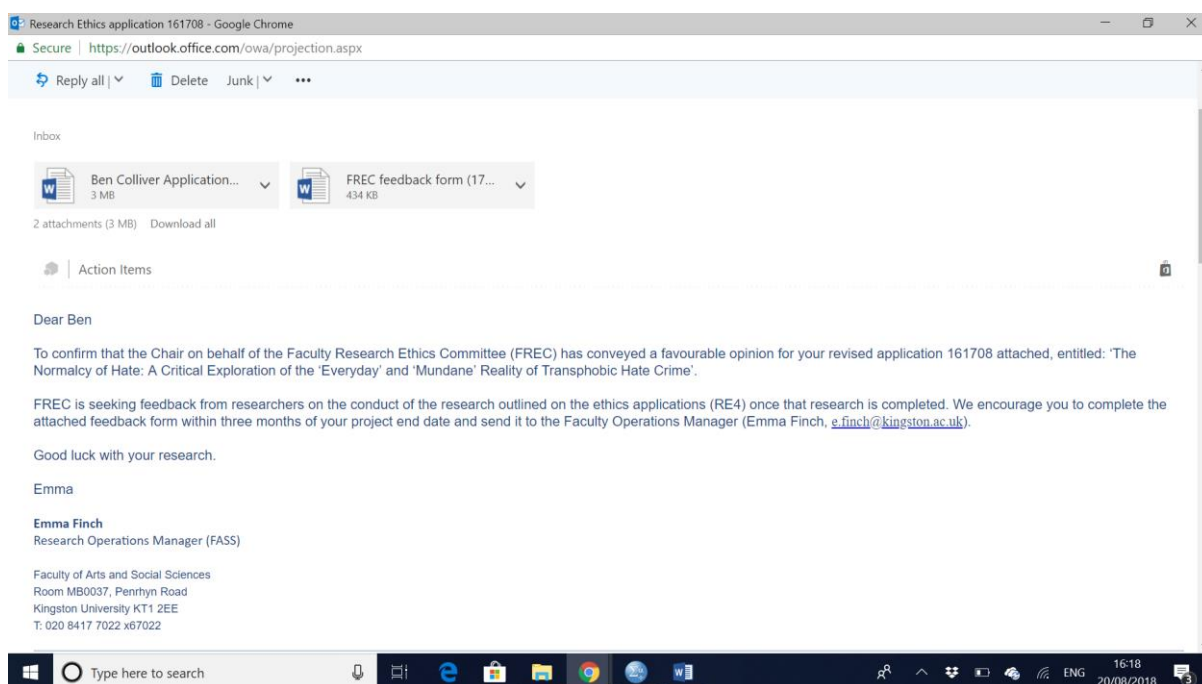
Participant Information Sheet: Online Survey

The Normalcy of Hate: A Critical Exploration of the 'Everyday' and 'Mundane' Reality of Transphobic Hate Crime

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide if you would like to take part it is important to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Please ask questions if anything you read is not clear or you would like more information.

Section A: The Research Project

1. **Title of Project:** The Normalcy of Hate: A Critical Exploration of the 'Everyday' and 'Mundane' Reality of Transphobic Hate Crime

2. **Summary of PhD Research.**
   This research project will form part of my PhD. This research will explore trans individuals' experiences of 'everyday' and low-level hate crime. A hate crime is any criminal offence perceived by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by a hostility or prejudice based on a personal characteristic. Although this project is interested in all experiences of hate crime there will be a particular focus on low level incidents including verbal abuse, harassment, property crimes and online abuse.

   This paper will obtain data by conducting online questionnaire's, face to face interviews and online participant observation to explore the everyday experiences of transgender individuals who encounter abuse and hate crime.

   By using 'trans' it is recognised that this may refer to a broad range of gender identities, including, but not exclusively, those that may identify as a different gender to how they were described at birth, those that are undertaking or have undertaken hormones or surgery to change their gender from the gender they were described at birth and those that may identity outside a gender binary of male and female.

3. **How many people will be asked to participate?**
   This research project is seeking approximately 400 responses to the survey.

4. **Has this study received ethical approval?**
   Yes, this study has received ethical approval from the Kingston University Ethics Committee.

5. **What will happen to the results of this study?**
   Data from these questionnaires will be analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively to explore a range of experiences. Personal information will be analysed to produce statistics about who has taken part in this questionnaire. Other data will be analysed to establish prevalence, types of crimes experienced and knowledge of support services. The results from this questionnaire will then

be used as discussion points for further interviews that will be conducted. The data from these questionnaires will form part of my doctoral thesis. Information from these surveys may also appear in journal articles and presented at conferences.

All transcripts will be anonymised before publication and all personal identifiable information will be removed or given a pseudonym. The data from this study will be kept securely on password protected files and encrypted if held on removable devices. Only members of the research team will have access to this data.

6. **Contact details for further information.**
   If you have any questions please e-mail <u>k1544506@kingston.ac.uk</u>

7. **Supervisors:** Dr Marisa Silvestri (M.Silvestri@kingston.ac.uk), Dr Joanna Jamel (J.Jamel@kingston.ac.uk) and Dr Adrian Coyle (A.Coyle@kingston.ac.uk)

Section B: Your participation in the Research Project

1. **Why have I been asked to participate?**
   You have been invited to take part in this research because you self-identify as 'trans' or non-binary.

2. **What will I be asked to do?**
   You will be asked to fill in an online questionnaire. The questionnaire will ask personal questions to create a picture of those who participated and will include questions regarding age, gender, ethnicity, disability status and religious affiliation. Other questions will ask for opinions on experiences of hate crime, police responses and knowledge of support services available to those who experience hate crime.

3. **How much of my time will this take?**
   It is expected that completing the survey will take approximately 30-40 minutes.

4. **Will my participation in the study be kept confidential?**
   All information which is collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. You will not be asked for any information that would lead to you being identified. Participant data will remain completely confidential within a dedicated research team. Any data, accessed by the research team will be in anonymised format.

   Data from the survey will be used in the final thesis which will also be anonymised and any identifiable information removed. Participants will be given a pseudonym in place of their real name. However, it is still potentially possible that participants may be identified by their colleagues or peers if not by the general public. Extracts from the data could also appear written up in journal articles and presented at conferences. Participants' personal data or

sensitive personal information will not be used in the dissemination of results.

5. **What are the likely benefits of taking part?**
The information collected from the study will help to increase the understanding of how low level, everyday abuse is experienced and it is hoped that this information will help to inform policy and practice.

6. **What are the potential risks of taking part?**
The questionnaire will require you to answer questions relating to your gender identity, experiences of hate crime and knowledge of support services. The nature of the topic you will be asked to speak about may be potentially distressing and sensitive. The researcher can also provide a list of local support services should you require further support at any point.

7. **Do I have to take part?**
No, your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You can refuse to take part without giving any reason. Furthermore, should you consent to participating and later decide you no longer wish too, you can withdraw from the study at any time, without giving a reason. If you choose to withdraw, your data will be destroyed. To withdraw, please e-mail: k1544506@kingston.ac.uk
.

8. **Contact details for complaints.**
If you have any complaints about the study or how it is handled please speak to the researcher (k1544506@kingston.ac.uk) or their supervisor in the first instance.

Kingston University has a complaints procedure. Please send any complaints to:
E-mail address: S.Morganwortham@kingston.ac.uk
Postal address: Simon Morgan Wortham, **Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,** Kingston University, Penrhyn Road, Kingston upon Thames, Surrey, KT1 2EE

Thank you for taking the time to read this form.

You will be given a copy of this to keep, together with a copy of your consent form upon request.

<u>**Appendix Eight**</u>

<u>**Participant Information Sheet: Semi-Structured Interviews**</u>

The Normalcy of Hate: A Critical Exploration of the 'Everyday' and 'Mundane' Reality of Transphobic Hate Crime

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide if you would like to take part it is important to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Please ask questions if anything you read is not clear or you would like more information.

Section A: The Research Project

8. **Title of Project:** The Normalcy of Hate: A Critical Exploration of the 'Everyday' and 'Mundane' Reality of Transphobic Hate Crime

9. **Summary of PhD Research.**
   This research project will form part of my PhD. This research will explore trans individuals' experiences of 'everyday' and low level hate crime. A hate crime is any criminal offence perceived by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by a hostility or prejudice based on a personal characteristic. Although this project is interested in all experiences of hate crime there will be a particular focus on low level incidents including verbal abuse, harassment, property crimes and online abuse.

   This paper will obtain data by conducting online questionnaires, face to face interviews and online participant observation to explore the everyday experiences of transgender individuals who encounter abuse and hate crime.

   By using 'trans' it is recognised that this may refer to a broad range of gender identities, including, but not exclusively, those that may identify as a different gender to how they were described at birth, those that are undertaking or have undertaken hormones or surgery to change their gender from the gender they were described at birth and those that may identity outside a gender binary of male and female.

10. **How many people will be asked to participate?**
    I am seeking between 30-40 participants to agree to be interviewed.

11. **Has this study received ethical approval?**
    Yes, this study has received ethical approval from the Kingston University Ethics Committee.

12. **What will happen to the results of this study?**
    Data from these interviews will be analysed qualitatively to identify key themes that are consistent across participants' experiences and will form part of my doctoral thesis. The data from the study will be transcribed and (anonymised) extracts from the transcripts will appear in the final thesis. Extracts from the data could also appear in journal articles and presented at conferences.

All transcripts will be anonymised before publication and all personal identifiable information will be removed or given a pseudonym. The data from this study will be kept securely on password protected files and encrypted if held on removable devices. Only members of the research team will have access to this data.

13. **Contact details for further information.**
    If you have any questions please e-mail <u>k1544506@kingston.ac.uk</u>

14. **Supervisors:** Dr Marisa Silvestri (M.Silvestri@kingston.ac.uk), Dr Joanna Jamel (J.Jamel@kingston.ac.uk) and Dr Adrian Coyle (A.Coyle@kingston.ac.uk)

Section B: Your participation in the Research Project

9. **Why have I been asked to participate?**
   You have been invited to take part in this research because you self-identify as 'trans' or non-binary and self-declare as having experienced low-level abuse targeting your gender identity.

10. **What will I be asked to do?**
    You will be asked to take part in a semi-structured interview. You will be asked a number of questions relating to your gender identity and experiences of low level abuse within an everyday context. Some questions will focus on the experiences of abuse, relationship with the perpetrators and some questions regarding your experiences of abuse in an online setting. Interviews can take place in person or alternatively online via a secure video messaging application.

11. **How much of my time will this take?**
    Interviews are expected to last approximately 60 minutes.

12. **Will my participation in the study be kept confidential?**
    All information which is collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. Interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed. Participant data will remain completely confidential within a dedicated research team. Any data, such as transcripts accessed by the research team will be in anonymised format. The research team will be involved in overviewing analysis of the data to improve the validity of results.

    Extracts from the transcripts presented in the final these will also be anonymised and any identifiable information removed. Participants will be given a pseudonym in place of their real name. However, it is still potentially possible that participants may be identified by their colleagues or peers if not by the general public. Extracts from the data could also appear written up in journal articles and presented at conferences. Participants' personal data or sensitive personal information will not be used in the dissemination of results.

Please be aware that confidentiality may be broken in the event that illegal activity is disclosed to the researcher. Furthermore, your safety and well-being is paramount to the researcher and therefore confidentiality may be broken in the event that disclosures of ongoing abuse or other situations in which your safety is at risk are discussed.

13. **What are the likely benefits of taking part?**
    The information collected from the study will help to increase the understanding of how low level, everyday abuse is experienced and it is hoped that this information will help to inform policy and practice.

14. **What are the potential risks of taking part?**
    The nature of the topic you will be asked to speak about may be potentially distressing and sensitive experiences of abuse. A detailed list of topics will be provided before the interview takes place for you to consider whether you would still like to participate in this study. The researcher can also provide a list of local support services should you require further support at any point.

15. **Do I have to take part?**
    No, your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You can refuse to take part without giving any reason. Furthermore, should you consent to participating and later decide you no longer wish too, you can withdraw from the study at any time, without giving a reason. If you choose to withdraw, your data will be destroyed. To withdraw, please e-mail: k1544506@kingston.ac.uk
    .

16. **Contact details for complaints.**
    If you have any complaints about the study or how it is handled please speak to the researcher (k1544506@kingston.ac.uk) or their supervisor in the first instance.

    Kingston University has a complaints procedure. Please send any complaints to:
    E-mail address: S.Morganwortham@kingston.ac.uk
    Postal address: Simon Morgan Wortham, **Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,** Kingston University, Penrhyn Road, Kingston upon Thames, Surrey, KT1 2EE

    Thank you for taking the time to read this form.

    You will be given a copy of this to keep, together with a copy of your consent form upon request.

<div align="center">**Appendix Nine**</div>

<div align="center">**Participant Debrief Sheet: Online Surveys**</div>

The Normalcy of Hate: A Critical Exploration of the 'Everyday' and 'Mundane' Reality of Transphobic Hate Crime

I would like to thank you for volunteering your time and participating in this research study.

This research project will form part of my PhD. This research project aims to explore trans individuals' experiences of 'everyday' and low level hate crime. A hate crime is any criminal offence perceived by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by a hostility or prejudice based on a personal characteristic. This paper will obtain data by conducting online questionnaire's, face to face interviews and online participant observation to explore the everyday experiences of transgender individuals who encounter abuse and hate crime.

All information that has just been collected about you will be kept strictly confidential. Your data will remain completely confidential within a dedicated research team. Any data accessed by the research team will be in anonymised format. Data from this research project will be used in the final thesis which will also be anonymised and any identifiable information removed. Participants will be given a pseudonym in place of their real name. However, it is still potentially possible that participants may be identified by their colleagues or peers if not by the general public. Extracts from the data could also appear written up in journal articles and presented at conferences.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. If at a later date, you decide that you would prefer your data not to be used, you have the right to withdraw. If you choose to withdraw, your data will be destroyed. To withdraw, please e-mail: k1544506@kingston.ac.uk. You can withdraw up until May 30th 2017.

If you feel that following today you would like further support, please see the next page for a list of online, telephone and face to face support services.

Supervisors: Dr Marisa Silvestri (M.Silvestri@kingston.ac.uk), Dr Joanna Jamel (J.Jamel@kingston.ac.uk) and Dr Adrian Coyle (A.Coyle@kingston.ac.uk)

Telephone Support		
Organisation	**Contact Details**	**Services**
Samaritans	08457 90 90 90	24 Hour Helpline
LGBT Switchboard	0300 330 0630	Helpline 10am-10pm
National LGBT Domestic Abuse	0800 999 5428	Domestic Abuse Helpline 10am-5pm
Online Support		
LGBT Switchboard	http://switchboard.lgbt/	Online support
London Friend	http://londonfriend.org.uk/	Online support
Counselling Directory	http://www.counselling-directory.org.uk/	Find a local counselling service

UK LGBT Immigration Group	http://www.uklgig.org.uk/	Support around immigration issues.
Regard	http://www.regard.org.uk	Supporting LGBTQ people living with a disability.
GALOP	http://www.galop.org.uk/	Support around hate crime and domestic abuse
LGBT Foundation	http://lgbt.foundation/get-support/	Online support
METRO	www.metrocentreonline.org	
Stonewall Housing	http://www.stonewallhousing.org/	Support around housing
GALOP	http://www.galop.org.uk/	Support around hate crime and domestic abuse
Elop	http://elop.org/	LGBT Health and well-being services
PACE Health	http://www.pacehealth.org.uk/	LGBT Health and well-being services

To find specific support in your local area please visit
http://www.stonewall.org.uk/help-advice/whats-my-area **for details of local organisations.**

Participant Debrief Sheet: Semi-Structured Interviews

The Normalcy of Hate: A Critical Exploration of the 'Everyday' and 'Mundane' Reality of Transphobic Hate Crime

I would like to thank you for volunteering your time and participating in this research study.

This research project will form part of my PhD. This research project aims to explore trans individuals' experiences of 'everyday' and low level hate crime. A hate crime is any criminal offence perceived by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by a hostility or prejudice based on a personal characteristic. This paper will obtain data by conducting online questionnaire's, face to face interviews and online participant observation to explore the everyday experiences of transgender individuals who encounter abuse and hate crime.

All information that has just been collected about you will be kept strictly confidential. Your data will remain completely confidential within a dedicated research team. Any data accessed by the research team will be in anonymised format. Data from this research project will be used in the final thesis which will also be anonymised and any identifiable information removed. Participants will be given a pseudonym in place of their real name. However, it is still potentially possible that participants may be identified by their colleagues or peers if not by the general public. Extracts from the data could also appear written up in journal articles and presented at conferences.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. If at a later date, you decide that you would prefer your data not to be used, you have the right to withdraw. If you choose to withdraw, your data will be destroyed. To withdraw, please e-mail: k1544506@kingston.ac.uk. You can withdraw up until May 30th 2017.

If you feel that following today you would like further support, please see the next page for a list of online, telephone and face to face support services.

Supervisors: Dr Marisa Silvestri (M.Silvestri@kingston.ac.uk), Dr Joanna Jamel (J.Jamel@kingston.ac.uk) and Dr Adrian Coyle (A.Coyle@kingston.ac.uk)

Telephone Support		
Organisation	**Contact Details**	**Services**
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LGBT Switchboard	0300 330 0630	Helpline 10am-10pm
National LGBT Domestic Abuse	0800 999 5428	Domestic Abuse Helpline 10am-5pm
Online Support		
LGBT Switchboard	http://switchboard.lgbt/	Online support
London Friend	http://londonfriend.org.uk/	Online support
Counselling Directory	http://www.counselling-directory.org.uk/	Find a local counselling service

UK LGBT Immigration Group	http://www.uklgig.org.uk/	Support around immigration issues.
Regard	http://www.regard.org.uk	Supporting LGBTQ people living with a disability.
GALOP	http://www.galop.org.uk/	Support around hate crime and domestic abuse
LGBT Foundation	http://lgbt.foundation/get-support/	Online support
METRO	www.metrocentreonline.org	
Stonewall Housing	http://www.stonewallhousing.org/	Support around housing
GALOP	http://www.galop.org.uk/	Support around hate crime and domestic abuse
Elop	http://elop.org/	LGBT Health and well-being services
PACE Health	http://www.pacehealth.org.uk/	LGBT Health and well-being services

To find specific support in your local area please visit
http://www.stonewall.org.uk/help-advice/whats-my-area **for details of local organisations.**

Appendix Eleven

Informed Consent Document: Online Surveys

The Normalcy of Hate: A Critical Exploration of the 'Everyday' and 'Mundane' Reality of Transphobic Hate Crime

I, the undersigned, confirm that (please tick box as appropriate):

1.	I have read and understood the information about the project, as provided in the Information Sheet dated _____.	☐
2.	I have been informed of the purpose, risks, and benefits of taking part.	☐
3.	I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and my participation.	☐
4.	I voluntarily agree to participate in the project.	☐
5.	I understand I can withdraw at any time without giving reasons and that I will not be penalised for withdrawing nor will I be questioned on why I have withdrawn.	☐
6.	I understand that I can refuse to answer any question that I do not want too without giving a reason.	☐
7.	The procedures regarding confidentiality have been clearly explained (e.g. use of names, pseudonyms, anonymisation of data, etc.) to me.	☐
8.	I understand that this research has received ethical approval from Kingston Ethics Board.	☐
9.	The use of the data in research, publications, sharing and archiving has been explained to me. I agree that research data gathered for the study may be published provided that I cannot be identified as a subject.	☐
10.	I understand that other researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the data and if they agree to the terms I have specified in this form.	☐
11.	Contact information has been provided should I (a) wish to seek further information from the investigator at any time for purposes of clarification (b) wish to make a complaint.	☐
11.	I have received a copy of this consent form.	☐
12.	I, along with the Researcher, agree to sign and date this informed consent form.	☐

Participant:

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant   Signature   Date

Statement by researcher
I have explained this project and the implications of participation in it to this participant without bias and I believe that the consent is informed and that they understand the implications of participation. I will abide by The British Society of Criminology's Statement of Ethics.

Name of investigator --

Signature of investigator --

Date ---

Appendix Twelve

Informed Consent Document: Semi-Structured Interviews

The Normalcy of Hate: A Critical Exploration of the 'Everyday' and 'Mundane' Reality of Transphobic Hate Crime

I, the undersigned, confirm that (please tick box as appropriate):

1.	I have read and understood the information about the project, as provided in the Information Sheet dated _____.	☐
2.	I have been informed of the purpose, risks, and benefits of taking part.	☐
3.	I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and my participation.	☐
4.	I voluntarily agree to participate in the project.	☐
5.	I understand I can withdraw at any time without giving reasons and that I will not be penalised for withdrawing nor will I be questioned on why I have withdrawn.	☐
6.	I understand that I can refuse to answer any question that I do not want too without giving a reason.	☐
7.	The procedures regarding confidentiality have been clearly explained (e.g. use of names, pseudonyms, anonymisation of data, etc.) to me.	☐
8.	I understand that this research has received ethical approval from Kingston Ethics Board.	☐
9.	The use of the data in research, publications, sharing and archiving has been explained to me. I agree that research data gathered for the study may be published provided that I cannot be identified as a subject.	☐
10.	I understand that other researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the data and if they agree to the terms I have specified in this form.	☐
11.	Contact information has been provided should I (a) wish to seek further information from the investigator at any time for purposes of clarification (b) wish to make a complaint.	☐
11.	I have received a copy of this consent form.	☐
12.	I, along with the Researcher, agree to sign and date this informed consent form.	☐

Participant:

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant   Signature   Date

Statement by researcher
I have explained this project and the implications of participation in it to this participant without bias and I believe that the consent is informed and that they understand the implications of participation. I will abide by The British Society of Criminology's Statement of Ethics.

Name of investigator --

Signature of investigator --

Date ---