Understanding victim group responses to hate crime:

shared identities, perceived similarity and intergroup emotions

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Word count: 6539 (excluding references, table and figure); 7923 (inclusive of everything)

Running head: Victim group response to hate crime

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Abstract

Hate crimes against LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans) individuals have been shown to indirectly impact other members of the community (e.g., Noelle, 2002). However, as the LGBT 'community' is a diverse grouping of individuals with various sexual and gender identities, we examined experimentally whether reactions were enhanced when participants shared specific sub-identities with the victim (N=126). Results indicate that, while sub-group identities may be important, they do not affect the reactions to anti-LGBT hate crimes above and beyond the superordinate LGBT identity. Instead, further correlational analyses revealed that perceived similarity to the targeted characteristic better explains the community impacts of hate crimes. We show that this similarity increases empathy for the victim which, in turn, heightens subsequent emotional reactions and related behavioural responses. The results show the utility of adding intra-group perceptions to Intergroup Emotions Theory (e.g., Mackie & Smith, 2015) to better understand the community impacts of hate crimes.

As a marginalised and often maligned group, the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and trans (LGBT) community continues to endure discrimination, prejudice, and overt violence in the form of anti-LGBT hate crimes (Bachmann & Gooch, 2017; Corcoran & Smith, 2016; Walters, Paterson, Brown, & McDonnell, 2017). Recent research suggests that these crimes, which are perceived to be "motivated by a hostility or prejudice based on a person's sexual orientation" or "a hostility or prejudice against a person who is transgender or perceived to be transgender" (College of Policing, 2014, p. 4), send threatening messages of intolerance throughout the community, instigating a variety of emotional reactions and behavioural responses in other community members (e.g., Paterson, Brown, Walters, & Carrasco, 2017; Walters et al., 2017). This research, however, assumes the shared 'LGBT' superordinate identity is key to explaining the negative community impacts of anti-LGBT hate crime. But, this supposition overlooks the diversity of identity within the LGBT 'community' – including the various sexual orientations and gender identities and combinations thereof that exist within the group. Consequently, by studying the impacts of a general hate crime on an entire superordinate 'LGBT community', previous studies (including our own) may be missing important differences that exist between the various sub-groups.

In this paper, we examine whether sharing a specific identity with a victim of a hate crime (e.g., gay or lesbian) impacts individuals more than if they only share the general and superordinate LGBT identity . Acknowledging that the inclusive term of 'LGBT' may indeed be sufficient to explain the community impacts of hate crime, we also draw on recent research (Cortland et al., 2017) to explore how the perceived similarity to the victim may be better suited to explain the widespread impacts. Furthermore, we use Intergroup Emotions Theory (e.g., Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000; Smith, 1993) to detail the group-based processes and impacts of anti-LGBT hate crimes and show that intra-group perceptions, including empathy and blame, may also help to account for the community impacts.

The impacts of anti-LGBT hate crime

Nearly three decades of social psychological research has documented the substantial impacts of hate crimes against gay men and lesbian women (e.g., Herek, 1989), with more recent interdisciplinary research expanding this scope to include the impacts of biphobic and transphobic hate crimes (e.g., Antjoule, 2016; Walters et al., 2017). Together, this extensive research has revealed that anti-LGBT hate crimes cause significant trauma, including high levels of fear, vulnerability, anger, and even PTSD symptoms (e.g., D'Augelli, Grossman, & Starks, 2006; Iganski & Lagou, 2015; Walters et al., 2017). Notably, Herek and colleagues (1999) found that although these effects were evident in victims of similar non-hate crimes, hate crime victims were more likely to suffer these traumas, therefore suggesting that these incidents may be a particularly harmful type of crime.

These harms of hate crime are not limited to the direct victims. As 'message crimes' that are intended to illustrate the intolerance and hatred towards *entire* groups of people, sociological studies have shown there are significant indirect effects on individuals who share the same targeted characteristic (e.g., Bell & Perry, 2015; Noelle, 2002; Perry & Alvi, 2012). Noelle (2002), for example, found that after hearing about the violent homophobic murder of Matthew Shephard in 1998, some LGB participants reported feeling more anxious and played down their sexuality in an attempt to minimise their risk of victimisation. Other participants became angry and so reacted pro-actively by organising local vigils.

Such diverse, group-level impacts, we believe, can be best understood using Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and Intergroup Emotions Theory (IET: Mackie et al., 2000). According to SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and other related theories (e.g., Social Categorisation Theory:Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), when we share important values, characteristics and beliefs with other people, we form social groups either formally or informally. These social groups, and their respective social identities, can be

powerful determinants of our thoughts, feelings and actions – often overriding individual-level responses.

Building on this theoretical framework, IET (e.g., Mackie & Smith, 2015) describes not only why individuals respond as group members, but how they do so. Central to this proposal is that when group identities are salient, members appraise the situation as an intergroup – rather than interpersonal – event and, depending on the event, feel relevant *group-based* emotions which, in turn, provoke related behavioural reactions. For example, when the group is under threat (e.g., encounters discrimination or prejudice), ingroup members may *feel* angry about the injustice and engage in 'approach' behaviours which may include confrontation (Iyer & Leach, 2008) and collective action (e.g., Leonard, Moons, Mackie, & Smith, 2011). This was aptly illustrated by a participant's angry response and subsequent organisation of a vigil in Noelle's (2002) study. Alternatively, members may feel anxious about the threatening situation, thus prompting avoidant behaviours (Stephan & Stephan, 1985); a suggestion supported by several LGBT participants who attempted to hide their sexuality in response to hearing about a hate crime (e.g., Bell & Perry, 2015; Noelle, 2002).

While anger and anxiety are often studied within the IET framework (e.g., Iyer & Leach, 2008; Mackie & Smith, 2015), it is plausible that ingroup members, especially from minority groups that are marginalised and deemed less powerful, may also feel shame about their group's experiences and inability to prevent or combat their victimisation. As shame is a "dynamic" emotion that elicits both avoidant (e.g., hiding from the source of shame) and approach behaviours (e.g., confronting the source of shame: Sheikh, 2014), it is likely to be linked to a range of group-based responses.

Demonstrating the utility of this theoretical approach, our recent cross-sectional, longitudinal and experimental research has shown the group-level impacts of anti-LGBT hate

crime, and has generally been supportive of IET predictions (Paterson, Brown, & Walters, 2017; Paterson, Brown, Walters, & Carrasco, 2017; Walters et al., 2017). For example, we found that simply knowing of *other* LGBT individuals' victimisation (indirect experience) was associated with individuals feeling more threatened for themselves and for their group. Importantly, this association was significant even when statistically controlling for their own (direct) victimisation experiences, thereby indicating that hate crimes do indeed spread feelings of vulnerability throughout the group (Paterson, Brown, Walters, & Carrasco, 2017).

This feeling of threat was then positively associated with how strongly participants felt towards a (fictitious but authentic looking) news article reporting an anti-LGBT hate crime. In turn, these emotions were associated with how participants thought they would react (behavioural intentions). For example, feeling angry was associated with pro-action (positively) and avoidance (negatively), while anxiety was positively related to avoidance, security-related behaviours and pro-action. The feeling of shame, although not as strongly felt as the other two emotions, was shown to be significantly associated with pro-action, avoidance, security-related behaviours, and, uniquely, related to retaliatory intentions (Paterson, Brown, Walters, & Carrasco, 2017). Together, the findings provide support for IET's predictions that threatening intergroup contexts, such as hate crimes, will elicit emotional reactions that, in turn, provoke behavioural responses.

Despite this support for IET, we believe the theory overlooks some important intragroup aspects that may account for some of the impacts of hate crimes. Notably, as ingroup individuals tend to have more empathy for ingroup members than outgroup members (intergroup empathy bias: Cikara, Bruneau, & Saxe, 2011), we suggest that hate crimes impact other group members not solely because participants share an identity with the victim as IET suggests, but because they are more empathic towards ingroup members (Paterson, Brown, Walters, & Carrasco, 2017). In particular, because empathy is an 'other-orientated

emotion' that provokes emotional reactions that are congruent with others' feelings (Batson et al., 1997), as individuals have stronger empathic ties with ingroup members, it is likely that they will experience heightened emotions towards hate crimes that involve fellow ingroup members. Thus, we believe, empathy helps to explain why hate crimes elicit pronounced emotional reactions throughout targeted communities.

Supporting this mediating role, we found that LGBT individuals who read an article about an anti-LGBT hate crime were found to be more empathic toward the victim than LGBT individuals who read an article about a comparable non-hate crime. This increased empathy was then found to be a significant mediator and explained why the hate crime was perceived to be more threatening than the non-hate crime (Paterson, Brown, Walters, & Carrasco, 2017). Furthermore, a longitudinal study (Paterson, Brown, & Walters, 2017) found empathy to be a strong predictor of anger and anxiety towards a hate crime article. Thus, together these studies add to the IET framework and suggest that while identity-based violence does lead to perceptions of threat and increased emotional reactions as proposed by IET (e.g., Mackie & Smith, 2015), it does so, in part, because group members empathise with one another. Consequently, we propose that it is the empathy that a shared identity promotes that accounts for the group-based reactions to intergroup hostilities, not simply their identities *per se*.

In addition to empathic concern, we also investigated the intra-group phenomenon of victim blaming. Drawing on previous research suggesting that "some LGB people resort to victim blaming in an attempt to negotiate their own sense of safety" (Bell & Perry, 2015, p. 116), we were interested in understanding more about this intriguing phenomenon. On the one hand, one might expect empathic ingroup members to be more understanding and, therefore, less blaming of fellow group members who endure similar abuse. On the other hand, others' victimisation may be a stark reminder of the threat that the group – and

themselves – face. As a way of decreasing this threat, it is conceivable that group members may attribute blame to the victim so as to reassure themselves that they are unlikely to be personally victimised in the future. For example, individuals may increase their sense of safety by suggesting that they would not go to certain venues or act as proactively as certain victims (e.g., Noelle, 2002). Thus, while ingroup members may feel empathy for their fellow ingroup members, those who feel especially vulnerable may also find victims (partially) culpable for their experiences in an effort to increase their own feelings of safety.

Supporting this hypothesis, we found that participants who had both direct and indirect experiences of hate crime engaged in significantly more victim blaming than people who had only indirect experiences, and people who had neither direct nor indirect experiences. Interestingly, this blame was then associated with increased feelings of anxiety and shame about the hate crime, perhaps illustrating that attributing blame inadvertently increases feelings of anxiety *and* makes individuals feel remorseful that such crimes elicits such discomforting thoughts and feelings (Paterson, Brown, & Walters, 2017). These results align with previous qualitative research (e.g., Bell & Perry, 2015; Noelle, 2002) and suggest that group members who feel especially vulnerable or anxious about targeted victimisation may engage in victim blaming as a way of increasing their feelings of security. Moreover, as our research shows that such a distancing technique may elicit shameful and anxious feelings, it further develops our understanding of IET by incorporating the under-examined, but nonetheless, important impacts of intra-group perceptions.

This body of research shows that anti-LGBT hate crimes have significant impacts on both direct and indirect victims within the LGBT community. In line with IET predictions, indirect experiences of these crimes increase threat perceptions which enhance emotional reactions and, subsequently, intended behavioural responses to these group-based hostilities. In addition, our research suggests the importance of intra-group perceptions in predicting

these responses. Notably, empathic concern for the ingroup victim is thought to amplify these indirect effects. Victim blaming may also occur as a strategy to distance oneself from the threat of victimisation but may, inadvertently, lead to greater feelings of anxiety and shame.

LGBT or Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans?

Replicating past research (e.g., Bell & Perry, 2015; Noelle, 2002), we have previously focused on the indirect impacts of hate crimes on individuals who shared the victims' superordinate identity (i.e., 'LGBT'). We have also primarily used stimulus materials that depicted a *gay man* being assaulted in a *homophobic* hate crime to test these indirect effects. We chose this approach for two reasons. First, individuals whose sexuality is not straight/heterosexual and individuals who do not identify as cisgender (i.e., their gender identity does not match their sex as assigned at birth) are frequently grouped together under the umbrella term 'LGBT' both in research (e.g., Moran, 2014) and in practice (e.g., 'LGBT' charities such as Stonewall) and so studying the impacts on LGBT individuals is consistent with this common approach.

Second, the inclusive LGBT term incorporates individuals who are likely to share similar, though not the same, experiences of discrimination and prejudice. For example, while gay men and lesbian women may be verbally abused by different terms (e.g., 'faggot' vs. 'dyke'), their victimisation will be motivated by similar hostilities – i.e., that of homophobia and heterosexism. Such similar experiences of stigmatisation have been shown to lead to intra-minority group positivity (Craig & Richeson, 2012), empathic ties (Cortland et al., 2017), and the endorsement of a common ingroup identity (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993). Craig and Richeson (2012), for example, found that when minority groups (e.g., Asian Americans) were reminded of the racial discrimination they faced, they reported more positive attitudes towards a group that faced similar racial discrimination

(Black Americans) compared to a control group that were not reminded of discrimination. The authors suggested that such priming activated an overarching 'racial minority' identity thereby encouraging participants to recategorise former outgroup members (i.e., Black people) into a more inclusive ingroup (i.e., racial minority). Extrapolating from this research, it seems reasonable to suggest that individuals who identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual, and trans will identify with other individuals who are at risk of experiencing prejudice along a similar dimension (i.e., sexuality/gender-identity), thus they are likely to form a superordinate LGBT identity that promotes empathic concern and positive attitudes toward other LGBT people.

Nevertheless, despite these arguments, there are indications that using such an inclusive LGBT umbrella term may distort some of the impacts that are felt by the different constituent subgroups. Evidently, the LGBT group consists of a variety of people who identify with different sexual orientations and gender identities including, of course, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans individuals. In addition, there are others who identify as Queer, Intersex, Non-binary, Asexual, and Pansexual to name but a few (for further terms and information see Stonewall, 2017). Complicating this issue further, these identities are not mutually exclusive and the sexuality/gender combinations are both extensive and can be fluid (e.g., Rosario, Schrimshaw, Hunter, & Braun, 2006).

As noted earlier, how we identify ourselves and who we identify with has a major impact on our thoughts, feelings and behaviours (e.g., Mackie & Smith, 2015; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). So, grouping multiple distinct sexuality and gender identities together may neglect important differences between these groups. For instance, research has shown that certain groups (Trans) are more likely to experience hate crimes than others and the different groups also vary in their emotional and behavioural reactions to hate crimes (Walters et al., 2017). Moreover, there is evidence to suggest there are notable divisions and tensions within

this supposedly homogenous group. Sociologists, for instance, suggest that due to historical and power differentials within the group, bisexual and trans individuals are routinely ostracised from the larger LGBT community (e.g., McLean, 2008; Weiss, 2004). Furthermore, the relationship between the more 'powerful' groups of lesbian women and gay men is not always positive (Kristiansen, 1990), with some commentators noting that the groups struggle with different issues (e.g., AIDS) and so there remains "some antipathy both ways" (Geoghegan, 2009). Such diversity in identities and experiences, along with some conflictual intra-group attitudes, indicates that the LGBT category may be less homogenous than some commentators have supposed and questions the validity of using the single superordinate group label (LGBT) to investigate the effects of hate crime.

Perceived similarity

Although how individuals identify themselves may be important (e.g., 'gay' vs. 'LGBT'), recent research suggests that it may not necessarily be the terminology that is of utmost importance in predicting the indirect reactions to hate crimes. Instead, it may be the extent to which people feel *similar* to the victim. In studying minority groups' attitudes towards one another, Cortland and colleagues (2017) found that more positive attitudes may be engendered by highlighting similarities in discriminatory experiences. For example, when framing 'gay marriage' as a civil rights issue (the latter being an issue synonymous with Black people in the US), Black straight women were more supportive of same-sex marriage than when the issue was described solely as a 'gay rights issue'. Importantly, they also showed that these more positive intra-minority attitudes were mediated by an increased perception of similarity to the outgroup and suggested a mediating role of empathy (though were unable to provide conclusive statistical evidence for it).

Applying this research to our current research question, then, suggests that when people *feel* similar to the victims of an anti-LGBT hate crime in terms of their shared experiences of targeted victimisation – no matter what their actual subgroup identity – they will be more likely to empathise with the victim. This increased empathy, furthermore, will heighten the emotional reactions to the hate crime (e.g., Paterson, Brown, & Walters, 2017), which in turn will affect the behavioural reactions in line with IET predictions (e.g., anxiety to avoidance: Mackie & Smith, 2015).

Current study

Drawing on this somewhat scattered literature, we sought to examine experimentally whether reactions to hate crimes against a gay man or lesbian women were dependent upon LGBT participants' specific sexual and gender identities. While sharing these identities may be expected to enhance reactions, it is equally plausible that there will be no discernible differences amongst the LGBT participants who share this common ingroup identity (Gaertner et al., 1993). Instead, consistent with Cortland et al.'s (2017) research, perceived similarity to the victim may account for reactions to the hate crime article, as might participants' previous direct and indirect experiences of hate crimes (Paterson, Brown, Walters, & Carrasco, 2017). In addition, we hypothesised that this perceived similarity and their hate crime experiences would positively predict intergroup threat perceptions, empathy for the victim, and would lead to greater victim blaming. In turn, and consistent with IET, threat perceptions were expected to be associated with enhanced emotional reactions (anger, anxiety, shame), while empathy was expected to lead to anxiety and anger, and blame was expected to lead to shame and anxiety as we have previously shown (Paterson, Brown, & Walters, 2017). Lastly, we hypothesised that all three emotions would be positively

associated with the behavioural intentions of pro-action and avoidance (though anger would be negatively associated with avoidance).

Method

Participants. One hundred and ninety-seven participants were recruited at two 'Pride' events in Newcastle (n = 104) and Brighton, UK (n = 93) to a study entitled "Reactions to Street Crime Experiment". As we were interested in the impacts of anti-LGBT hate crimes on the LGBT community, we analysed only the data from respondents who indicated that they identify as 'LGBT' and answered the manipulation checks correctly (N = 126). The sample included a range of genders: female (64), male (53), trans-female (2), intersex (2), genderqueer (1), genderfluid (1), and two who were unsure and one that did not specify. There were also a range of sexual identities: gay (52), lesbian (38), bisexual (13), straight (8), pansexual (8), queer (3), transbian (2), queer-lesbian (1), and asexual (1). The majority of participants were White (121), with four identifying as multiple/mixed ethnicity, and one participant did not respond. The average age was 31.45 years (SD = 12.72, range = 15-72 with 5 missing data).

Design and Procedure. Participants were randomly assigned to read one of two apparently real but actually fictitious newspaper articles with the headline "*LGBT Activist Assaulted in Hate Attack*". The articles were approximately 150 words in length and described an anti-LGBT hate crime in which the victim – a volunteer at a LGBTQ charity – was attacked by a gang who hurled homophobic abuse. The article concluded by stating the police believed it to be a hate motivated assault and that they take such crimes very seriously. The articles were identical in all respects except the victim was referred to as either "Mark Hodgson" (and used related male pronouns) who was a "gay activist" or "Mary Hodgson" (and used related female pronouns) who was a "lesbian activist".

Measures. All measures, unless stated, were measured on a 7 point Likert agreement scale (1 = Strongly disagree to 7 = Strongly agree).

Manipulation checks. To ensure participants had read the article, participants were instructed to identify the name of the victim (*John, Jenny, Mark, Mary, Steven, Stephanie*) and their victim's sexual orientation (*Asexual, Bisexual, Gay, Lesbian, Pansexual, Straight*).

Participants rated how similar they felt to the victim in terms of *age*, *gender*, *sexual orientation*, *participation in LGBTQ charity work*, and *overall similarity* (1 = Extremely dissimilar to 7 = Extremely similar).

Perceptions of the victim were then assessed using a seven point scale (1 = Not at all to 7 = Very much so) and the stem: "Thinking about your feelings towards the victim, to what extent do you...". *Victim empathy* used four items "feel sadness for", "feel sympathy for", "feel respect for" and "empathise with" "the victim" (α = 88); and *Victim blame* used three items: "think the victim was at fault?", "think the victim was irresponsible?", and "think the victim was reckless?" (α = .92).

Emotional reactions towards the crime were assessed with a seven point scale (1 = Not at all to 7 = Extremely) and the following stem "To what extent do the following words describe how the crime in the article made you feel?". *Anger* was measured using four items ('Angry', 'Disgusted', 'Revolted', 'Outraged': α = .76). *Anxiety* used three items ('Anxious', 'Afraid', 'Alarmed': α =.81) as did *Shame* ('Ashamed', 'Embarrassed', 'Guilty': α = .73).

Personal feelings of *vulnerability* were assessed using four items: "I worry about being a victim of such a crime" "I do not feel that such crimes represent an immediate threat to me", "I feel safe from such crimes in the area I live", and "I feel safe from such crimes in the UK in general" (the latter 3 items were reverse-scored so higher scores represent more vulnerability: α = .61).

The perceived *threat* that hate crimes pose to LGBT people in general was assessed using seven items adapted from Cottrell and Neuberg (2005). "I believe the type of crime depicted in the article...." "poses a physical threat to LGBT people", "endangers the safety of LGBT people", "poses a threat to the possessions of LGBT people", "poses a threat to the personal rights of LGBT people", "poses a threat to the culture of LGBT people", "poses a threat to LGBT people's way of life", and "poses a threat to the beliefs and values of LGBT people" ($\alpha = .92$).

Behavioural intentions were next assessed with the following stem "Having read about the crime, I would...". *Avoidance* was measured using three items ("Go out less often", 'See friends less often', 'Avoid certain places and people': $\alpha = .73$) and *Pro-action* was measured with five items ('Join and/or increase my participation in groups and charities that help victims of these types of crimes', 'Join and/or increase my participation in general local community groups', 'Use social media (e.g., Twitter) to raise others' awareness of the crime', 'Tell other people (e.g., family and friends) about the crime': $\alpha = .89$).

Participants indicated how many times in the past three years they had been a victim of a homophobic or transphobic hate crime or incident (*Direct* experiences) and how many victims of homophobic and transphobic hate crimes they had heard or read about in the past three years (*Indirect* experiences). Response options were: 0 times/people, 1-3, 4-6, 7-9, 10-12, 13-15, 16 times/people or more.

Participants indicated their sexual orientation and their identification with this orientation (*SO ID*) was assessed by four items and the instruction: "please answer the following statements by putting your sexual orientation in the dotted lines. For example "I identity with other BISEXUAL people"" "I identify with other _____ people", "I feel good about being _____", "I am like other _____ people", and "Being _____ is an important reflection of who I am" ($\alpha = .79$)

Participants then answered the same identification items as above but the dotted line was replaced by 'LGBT' (e.g., "I identify with other LGBT people") and so this scale measured their *LGBT* identification (*LGBT ID* α = .84).

Results

Shared identities. To examine whether sharing specific gender and sexuality identities with the victim impacted on reactions to the hate crime, we grouped participants into those who shared both (n = 43), one (n = 16) or neither of the victim's sexuality and gender identities (n = 67). Due to unequal ns, we collapsed the groups into those who shared at least one identity (Yes = 59) and those who shared neither identity (No = 67)[1]. These participants were evenly distributed across the conditions ($\chi^2(1) = .12$, $p = .43$).

Manipulation checks and confounds. The nine participants who were dropped from the analysis for incorrectly answering the manipulation checks were evenly distributed between the conditions (both χ^2s(1) > 3.30, ps < .09). Further 2(victim: gay male vs. lesbian female) x 2(shared identities: none vs. at least one) ANOVAs revealed no main effects or interactions on participants' strength of LGBT identity, or their direct or indirect experiences of hate crimes: all Fs < 1.51, all ps > .22. As expected, a 2(victim: gay male vs. lesbian female) x 2(shared identities: none vs. at least one) MANOVA on the similarity items revealed a significant main effect for shared identity (Pilai's Trace = .65, $F(5,113) = 41.91$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .65$) but no main effect of condition or an interaction (ps > .69). The univariate follow ups showed no significant differences between the groups in terms of similarity of age and charity work (ps > .12) but there were significant main effects on perceived similarity of gender, sexual orientation and overall similarity (all Fs(1,120) > 11.92, ps < .001, η_p^2s > .09),

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[1] We also re-ran the analyses excluding the one-identity group but this did not alter any of the findings.

with pairwise comparisons showing more similarity when participants shared at least one identity with the victim.

We next conducted a 2(victim: gay male vs. lesbian female) x 2(shared identities: none vs. at least one) MANOVA on the dependent variables. The multivariate tests revealed no main effects nor an interaction (all Pilai's Trace < .09, all Fs(11,104) < 0.95, ps > .50) thus supporting the assumption that the victims' sub-group identities would not significantly impact on reactions to the anti-LGBT crimes above and beyond the LGBT identity.

Path model

As the null findings from the MANOVA suggest that participants responded similarly to gay male and lesbian female victims, and this was regardless of whether they shared a specific sexuality or gender identity with the victim, we next aggregated the responses to examine whether similarity to the victim's sexuality (the characteristic that was targeted in the attack) impacted *LGBT* participants' reactions to the hate crime in line with our predictions. The means, standard deviations, and correlations of the measures are presented in Table 1.

Using Mplus (Muthén & Muthén, 2011), we conducted a path analysis in which similarity to the victim's sexuality along with participants' direct and indirect experiences of hate crimes were the predictors. These variables were hypothesised to predict perceptions of the victim (blame, empathy), group threat perceptions, and personal feelings of vulnerability. These four variables were then hypothesised to predict the emotional reactions (anger, shame, anxiety) which ultimately predicted behavioural intentions of avoidance and pro-action. Within the path model, variables on the same level were covaried. The fit of the model was adequate: $\chi^2(23) = 36.13$, $p = .04$; CFI = .94, RMSEA = .07 [95%CIs:.02/.11], SRMR = .05 (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Figure 1 shows the significant standardised paths.

Providing partial support for previous research (Paterson, Brown, & Walters, 2017; Paterson, Brown, Walters, & Carrasco, 2017) , direct and indirect experiences of hate crimes positively predicted feelings of vulnerability, while perceived similarity to the victim's sexual orientation significantly predicted feelings of empathy. Contrary to our hypothesis, however, blame was *negatively* associated with indirect experiences and perceptions of group threat were not associated with any of the three proposed predictors. This group-based threat, along with personal feelings of vulnerability, were then associated with anxiety, but not with anger or shame as previous research has found. Nevertheless, empathy was associated with both anger and anxiety and was additionally found to be related with shame. Perceptions of blame were again found to be associated with feelings of shame, but not anxiety in this sample. Avoidant behavioural intentions were associated with both anger (negatively) and anxiety (positively), while pro-action was only predicted by anxiety. Shame was not associated with either behavioural intention.

Discussion

Supporting the assumption that hate crimes reverberate throughout the LGBT community regardless of specific sub-group identities, we found no discernible differences in reactions towards homophobic hate crimes against a gay male or a lesbian female. Reactions were also not dependent upon whether participants shared a sub-group identity with the victim. Instead, experiences of hate crimes and perceived similarity to the targeted characteristic (the victim's sexual orientation) were associated with enhanced group-based outcomes in line with recent research (Cortland et al., 2017) and IET predictions (e.g., Mackie & Smith, 2015). Notably, perceived similarity was associated with greater empathy for the victim which, in turn, was positively associated with all three emotional responses to the hate crime (anger, anxiety, and shame), even when controlling for participants'

perceptions of threat and vulnerability. Such a mediating role suggests that feeling *for* other group members, as well as feeling *as* a group member, is central to understanding why the impacts of hate crimes ripple through the entire LGBT community.

Although research (e.g., McLean, 2008) and anecdotes (e.g., Geoghegan, 2009) suggest tensions and divisions exist within the LGBT community, we found that anti-LGBT hate crimes are acutely felt by other LGBT members regardless of whether they identify with the victim's more specific gender or sexual orientation. Supporting the Common Ingroup Identity Model, such a finding suggests that while categories such as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans may be important identities, their boundaries are malleable and can extend to form an overriding group that includes other related individuals who share common victimisation experiences and empathic ties (i.e., LGBT). This finding also validates previous research which has used the more inclusive identity to examine the impacts of anti-LGBT hate crimes on the broader LGBT community rather than its constituent communities (Paterson, Brown, & Walters, 2017; Paterson, Brown, Walters, & Carrasco, 2017).

While the sub-category identities did not account for any significant differences in the responses to the hate crimes, group members did not react uniformly to the crimes. Consistent with our predictions and previous research, we found that past direct and indirect experiences of hate crime were associated with feeling more vulnerable to hate crimes (Paterson, Brown, Walters, & Carrasco, 2017). Drawing on Noelle's (2002) theoretical argument, this indicates that direct and indirect experiences of victimisation are likely to make individuals feel the world is more unsafe and, as a result, feel that they are personally at risk from further victimisation, thus highlighting the fear that some community members continue to live with on a daily basis (see also Walters et al., 2017).

Moreover, reactions to the hate crimes were enhanced if participants *felt* similar to the victim. This supports previous research which showed that feelings of similarities between

members of distinctly different target groups (e.g., racial vs. sexual orientation groups) increased empathic ties and improved intergroup attitudes (Cortland et al., 2017). Together, then, this suggests that even though individuals may not share the specific categorical identity under threat (e.g., gay or lesbian), their reactions to hate crimes (and other forms of discrimination) are likely to be enhanced if they *feel* similar to the victim's targeted characteristic. In turn, such feelings of similarty account for these enhanced reactions because they increase empathy for the victim. The more similar individuals feel to the victim, the more able they are to empathise with the victim and so their emotions are more congruent with the victim's plight. In turn, those who feel more similar to the victim report heightened feelings of anger, anxiety, and even shame in response to the hate crime. These findings offer clear support of our earlier results that suggested that empathy is a key mediator in explaining the indirect impacts of hate crime on the LGBT community (e.g., Paterson, Brown, Walters, & Carrasco, 2017).

While empathy was a consistent and significant predictor of all the emotions, there was less support for the predictions drawn from IET. Within the literature, group based hostilities, such as hate crimes, are thought to elicit group-based responses including increased anger and anxiety because they are thought to pose a threat to the group (for an overview see Mackie & Smith, 2015). Our path model, however, only found that perceptions of group based threat and feelings of personal vulnerability as a group member were significantly associated with anxiety. Experiences of hate crimes were not associated with perceptions of group based threat nor were these threat perceptions associated with anger or shame as hypothesised.

This lack of support could be attributed to two factors. First, previous research has combined threats to the group and to the self into one measure (Paterson, Brown, Walters, & Carrasco, 2017), though here we separated personal vulnerability from threats to the group.

By doing so, we show that it is personal feelings of vulnerability – and not perceptions of threat to the whole group – that mediate between experiences of hate crime and the feelings of anxiety that hate crimes elicit (though group threats also directly predicted feelings of anxiety). Second, as Table 1 shows, threat and vulnerability are highly correlated with anger towards the hate crime. However, when the variance of empathy is taken into account in the path model (Figure 1), these associations are no longer significant. Consequently, this shows that empathy seemingly nullifies the effects of threats and vulnerability on anger, thus further illustrating the powerful role of empathy in predicting reactions to hate crime.

Our predictions for the role of victim blame also received partial support. Drawing on previous research suggesting that individuals may engage in victim blaming so as to reduce their sense of vulnerability (e.g., Bell & Perry, 2015), we had expected experiences of hate crimes, as well as similarity to the victim to increase victim blaming because such experiences and perceptions may make them feel more vulnerable. However, we were also aware that by engaging in such victim blaming individuals may, inadvertently and subsequently, feel more anxiety and shame (e.g., Paterson, Brown, & Walters, 2017). However, only indirect experiences of hate crimes were associated with victim blame and this was in a *negative* direction. In addition, blame did not lead to heightened anxiety, though it did significantly predict shame as hypothesised. Such mixed support for the role of victim blaming may, however, be an artefact of the generally low reporting of victim blame. The mean score of the scale was 1.27 on a 1-7 scale (Table 1) and, as such, any statistical analyses on this variable may have been hampered by a statistical floor effect Future research including a more ambiguous role of the victim and their culpability may help to increase victim blaming so as to better understand the role that victim blame plays in the responses to hate crimes and other group-based hostilities.

21

In the final part of the model, we again show that feelings of anxiety were positively associated with both pro-action and avoidance, while anger was associated with less avoidance. Lending support to our previous research and IET (e.g., Mackie & Smith, 2015; Paterson, Brown, Walters, & Carrasco, 2017), this suggests that anxiety might be a significant motivator of behaviour for LGBT individuals when faced with hate crimes. In particular, such anxious responses were strongly linked with avoidance, thus illustrating the potentially isolating consequences of hate crimes (e.g., Walters et al., 2017). Nevertheless, anxiety was also related to pro-action, which implies that anxious individuals may also seek out support and safety from LGBT groups and individuals and, thus, hopefully offer some protection from the more negative effects of anxiety induced avoidance.

In addition to the role of anxiety, we found that anger was negatively associated with avoidance, supporting the assertion that anger is often involved in approach behaviours including confrontation (Mackie et al., 2000), rather than avoidant behaviours. We also found that anger and pro-action were significantly correlated with one another ($r = .27, p < .01$) as in previous research (Paterson, Brown, & Walters, 2017; Paterson, Brown, Walters, & Carrasco, 2017: Study 3), though once other sources of variance were accounted for in the path model, their association was no longer significant ($b = .10, p = .31$). Shame, meanwhile, was not found to predict either avoidance or pro-action. This null finding may indicate that shame does not exert a strong influence on behavioural intentions after hearing of a hate crime. However, as previous research has found relatively small effects using much larger sample sizes (e.g., N = 589: Paterson, Brown, Walters, & Carrasco, 2017), the lack of association may be due to lack of power in the current study.

Limitations

In addition to the lack of power to detect statistically weak effects, the correlational nature of our analyses precludes causal inference. Furthermore, while we focussed on two different victims of anti-LGBT hate crimes, both crimes were homophobic in nature. Other anti-LGBT hate attacks, including biphobic and transphobic hate crimes may elicit different reactions, and may do so in individuals with different identities. Nevertheless, this study adds to our knowledge base on the indirect effects of hate crime and demonstrates the utility of adding intra-group perceptions to IET. Furthermore, it provides a strong foundation from which future research can investigate how these intra-group connections (e.g., sympathy and empathy), along with inter-group perceptions (e.g., threats), influence the impact of different types of hate crimes on the diverse yet inclusive LGBT community.

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Table 1

Means, SDs, and correlations of measures

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Condition	-															
2. Share Identity	-.03	-														
3. Direct experiences	-.06	-.01	-													
4. Indirect experiences	-.06	-.02	.26**	-												
5. SO similarity	.04	.40***	-.03	.07	-											
6. Empathy	-.14	.11	.02	-.03	.21*	-										
7. Blame	.16	.04	-.07	-.22*	-.02	-.16†	-									
8. Group threat	.02	.07	-.01	.10	.03	.29***	-.14	-								
9. Vulnerability	-.07	-.01	.24**	.21*	-.03	.20*	-.11	.27**	-							
10. Anger	-.04	.00	.07	.18†	.18*	.51***	-.21*	.30***	.23*	-						
11. Anxiety	-.08	.05	.08	.03	.11	.40***	-.08	.39***	.40***	.48***	-					

29

Table 1.

Continued

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
12. Shame	.11	.01	-.10	-.15	.05	.16†	.30***	.12	.04	.19*	.35***	-				
13. Avoid	.01	.08	.01	-.03	.09	.02	.17†	.18*	.15	.01	.35***	.23*	-			
14.Proaction	.08	.12	.07	.16†	.17†	.20*	.17*	.30***	.27**	.27**	.40***	.14	.18*			
15.SO identification	.00	.00	-.14	-.09	.11	.15	-.06	.06	-.03	.16	.14	-.08	-.09	.22*	-	
16.LGBT identification	.04	.06	-.05	.02	.17†	.24**	.04	.03	.11	.20*	.21*	.02	.12	.34***	.77***	-
Means (SD)	-	-	1.87 (1.23)	4.46 (2.01)	5.39 (1.96)	6.49 (0.80)	1.27 (0.98)	5.19 (1.50)	4.35 (1.24)	5.84 (1.15)	3.92 (1.65)	2.20 (1.51)	1.94 (1.03)	4.15 (1.60)	5.39 (1.36)	5.67 (1.29)

Note. Cond: 1 = lesbian female victim vs. 2 = gay male victim; Share identity: 0 = share neither identity vs. 1 = share at least one identity

†$p < .07$, *$p < .05$, *$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.

Figure 1

Significant paths of tested model
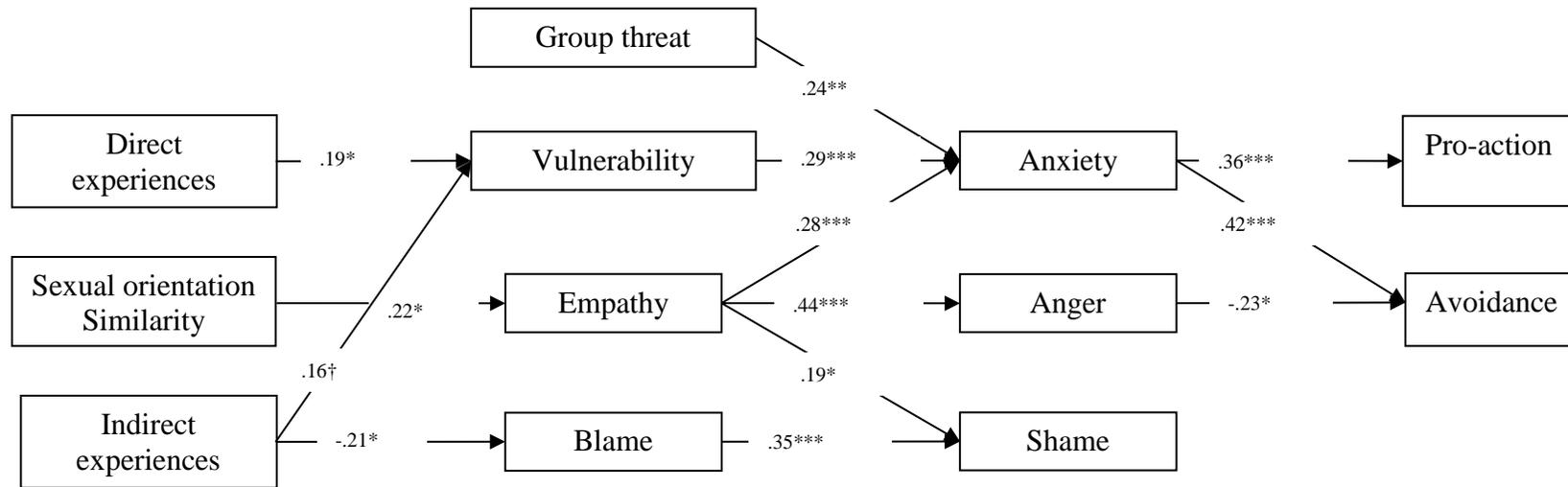
$\chi^2(23) = 36.13$, *p* = .04; CFI = .94, RMSEA = .07[.02/.11], SRMR = .05
†*p* = .07, **p* < .05, ****p* < .001