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## Hatred is a mindset triggered by stressful external events, negative personal or group interpretations and unhealthy social environments

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### Abstract

**Objectives:** Hatred may affect the mental health of oneself or of others. This article aims to explore what information can be obtained from the medical literature to understand the reasons regarding the generation of hatred in human beings.

**Methods:** Systematic search of medical literature was carried out on the PubMed medical library to identify articles that deal with the subject matter of hatred. Articles included were those added to the PubMed library in 2015 and onwards till the date of data collection. Included articles were divided into ten categories according to the aspect of hatred discussed. Full text search of those articles was carried out that were identified under the category of 'generation of hatred' was carried out. Data was collected to understand the generation of hatred by carrying out a thematic analysis.

**Results:** The word hatred is used in a variety of meanings in medical literature. Medical researchers utilise a variety of methods and take several different kinds of approaches to understand various aspects of development of hatred.

Hatred is a mindset that people can develop for several reasons. Hatred can take a focus towards one's own self, towards inanimate objects or towards other people. Stressful events, personal interpretations, group interpretations and real or virtual life environmental factors are some of the major reasons that may contribute towards the generation of hatred.

**Conclusion:** Findings from this literature search suggest that there is no single pattern or theory that can fully explain the development of hatred in humans: hateful mindsets can manifest in numerous ways. Each manifestation can be understood in its unique context and background. There seem to be some common external and internal factors that are recurrently identified across the studies that tend to play a role towards its generation. Some of the internal reasons that may lead to development of hatred include personal attitudes, negative cognitions, negative feelings, and individual motivations of the hater etc. Some of the external reasons may include suffering sexual abuse, negative life experiences and exposure to online hateful activities on social media etc.

### Keywords

*Hate, Hatred, Hating, Hateful, Hatred Development, Hatred Generation, Hatred Mindset, Hatred In Humans, Terrorist Attacks*

## INTRODUCTION

### Human emotions

Understanding and studying human emotions has attracted experts throughout the history of mankind. Freud refers to the pivotal role of human emotions as an integral part of a growing baby's experience in some of the most fundamental concepts that he described. Oedipal Complex and Ambivalence both include interplays of emotions (Freud, 1924). Darwin studied emotions across various cultures of the world, not only in humans but in animals too. His book on this subject is titled 'The expression of the emotions in man

and animals' (Darwin, 1872). Ekman who is a psychologist and anthropologist developed an atlas of human emotions. He identified 10,000 facial expressions that can express up to 3,000 different kinds of emotions (Ekman, 2018). He states that words are representations of emotions, but not the emotions themselves. According to him, 'Emotion is a process, a particular kind of automatic appraisal influenced by our evolutionary and personal past, in which we sense that something important to our welfare is occurring, and a set of physiological changes and emotional behaviours begin to deal with the situation' (Ekman, 2004). Ekman identified six basic emotions including fear, anger, joy, sadness, disgust, and surprise. Hatred is not

one of them.

### ***Definition of hatred***

Merriam-Webster online dictionary defines hatred as 'extreme dislike or disgust, ill will or resentment that is usually mutual and as prejudiced hostility or animosity'. The word is well-known to speakers of the English language. It is commonly used in day-to-day interactions and in a variety of informal meanings. For example, hatred may be used interchangeably to express negative emotions such as disgust or resentment or dislike or disrespect etc. Expressions like love-hate are well known both in verbal and written communications. Few hate-related terms have started receiving importance following some significant events around the globe. For example, hate-crime, hate-group, group-hate, hatemonger, hate-speech, hate-mail, hate-rally, racial-hate, hate-campaign, or collective-hate etc. Hatred is used as noun. Hate is used as both verb and noun. Hateful is adjective. Hating is verb.

### ***Hatred in Philosophy***

Brogaard (2020) describes in her book, titled 'Hatred, Understanding Our Most Dangerous Emotion' that all emotions have some characteristic attached to them sometimes also called their valence. Hatred is one with a negative valence. She describes some other important concepts to elaborate on hatred. 'Intentionality' is the outward directedness of our mental state. 'Intentionality' separates emotions from moods, the latter are not about any particular thing or event. For example, depression may be experienced by those suffering from mood disorders without any reason. Emotions have a focus of concern (or simply called 'focus'), i.e., something that has triggered the emotion. For example, it can be triggered in response to an action or verbal expression. Emotions may also have a target though this may not always be the case. However, hatred has both. 'Emotional blaming' involves accusing others, holding them responsible for their actions or foreseeable consequences of their actions. However, in the case of hatred, blame is above and beyond the observer's perception of someone's guilt. How an observer's mind perceives something then leads to a relationship impairing attitude in them. In the case of hatred, the generation of relationship impairment is also accompanied with a kind of inner protest. The blame, thus, may manifest as 'disrespect' for the one

who is hated because they performed the act that is disapproved.

Brogaard identifies three further types of disrespect including critical disrespect, dehumanising disrespect, and hubris. When blame involves dehumanising disrespect, it tends to focus on who one is, rather than what one has done. She calls this human tendency of dehumanising blame for their flawed character as condemnation. To condemn someone for their flawed character is to disrespect them for cultivating or failing to unlearn the corresponding bad habits. Contempt creates an irreparable power imbalance and hate is also tied to fear or reprehension. Hate is a complex emotion, built out of negative emotions: resentment, condemnation, and reprehension. Disrespect is the component that unites antagonistic emotions such as anger, resentment, indignation, envy, blame, contempt and hate.

### ***Hatred in Neurology***

There are several attempts done to understand the neurological aspects of hatred. For example, Zeki and Romaya carried out functional MRI studies to examine the neurological reactions inside the brains of the participants when they viewed the images of the people who they hated (Zeki and Romaya, 2008). The authors reported that certain parts of the brain including the amygdala and the premotor cortex showed increased activity when people watched these images. The authors concluded that, there is a unique pattern of activity in the brain in the context of hate, distinct from the pattern of activity that correlates with romantic love.

### ***Hatred in Neurodevelopment***

From the neurodevelopmental perspective when we encounter a stimulus then the hippocampal system usually is the first responder that may draw information from neocortical system to help us understand the meaning of the stimulus. If the stimulus is repeated, then it may become part of general knowledge based neocortical system permanently (Bodenhausen et al., 2003). This system enables us to navigate through reality quickly without paying much attention to each stimulus repeatedly. He describes that these schemas help us make sense of unspecified and unknown aspects of stimuli or situations. Although this system offers some flexibility, it is not perfect and is prone to errors

whilst analysing information. For example, how a person appreciates stereotypes can be considered as an error in interpretation of social information in these schemas. The stereotypes get embedded into the neocortical system and are highly resistant to change. Once the stereotypes get incorporated into a person's world view then several cognitive errors can make it persistent. Errors in judgment can sometimes happen just by automatic activation of schemas.

### ***Hatred in Sociology***

Culture is sometimes called 'the personality of a society'. Society teaches its norms to individuals living within them and these differ across cultures. Social identity theory emanates from social cognition tradition (Tversky and Kahneman, 1973). Social cognition approaches rely on the observations that the human mind is not a perfect information processing unit. The human mind has an innate tendency to utilize shortcuts to categorize information quickly and efficiently from our social worlds and draw conclusions from what we perceive. These shortcuts, or mental heuristics, allow for faster processing of information, but they also make us susceptible to a wide array of poor judgments. Some authorities believe that social categorisation of individuals, such as gender and ethnicity, would not gain importance unless they are internalised (Tajfel et al., 1979). An individual may internalise a variety of social identities that may manifest in different kind of encounters that a person comes across in life. Availability heuristic as described by Tversky and Kahneman also influences people's tendency to overestimate certain classes of events. When memory of certain events is available readily, its prevalence is overestimated (Tversky and Kahneman, 1973). Some of the social influences that may contribute to development of hatred include prejudice (Taylor and Moghaddam 1994), intergroup aggression (Sherif, 1937), construction of social norms (Sherif, 1937), the power of social roles (Zimbardo et al, 1974), bystander apathy (Latan and Darley, 1968), obedience to authority (Milgram, 1965) and conformity (Asch, 1951). 'In-group' is a term used to describe a social group to which a person psychologically identifies with. On the contrary, 'out-group' is a social group with which an individual does not identify with. According to Harrington, the social scientists consider intergroup hostility, aggressive behaviour, prejudice, and ethnocentrism as the major factors

that lead to the development of hatred in a group (Harrington, 2004).

### ***Hatred in Psychology***

Staub (2005) defines hatred as a strong negative feeling against the object that is hated. The hater sees the object of their hatred as bad, immoral, dangerous, or all this together. According to him, a triangle of three components leads to development of hatred. They include negation of intimacy (distancing from object of hatred), presence of passions (for example intense anger) and the cognitions of diminution and devaluation through contempt for targeted group. The hater considers contempt towards target group and considers them barely human or even may consider them inhuman. Hatred then leads to acts of intense violence, for example, terrorism, massacres, and genocides (Sternberg, 2005). Based on this model Sternberg outlined seven types of hatred that consist of components of these three factors in various combinations. 'Accepted hatred' is one in which intimacy is denied but no harm is done. 'Hot hatred' is dominated by intense feeling of hatred that may result in escape or attack. 'Cold hatred' is dominated by feelings of devaluation. 'Burning hatred' is one in which a group is inferiorised and it is felt that something needs to be done about this group. In 'simmering hatred' an individual is disliked forever, intimacy is denied, and commitment is devalued. In 'furious hatred' passion and devaluation of commitment is observed. And 'all-embracing hatred' is dominated by denial of intimacy, devaluation of commitment and passion often resulting in a need to annihilate the one that is hated.

Navarro et al (2013) reported that the victim of hatred is devaluated intentionally with increasing intensity to a degree that they loses all human or moral considerations in the eyes of the hater. As the feeling of hatred is intensified the hater can take steps to harm or even eliminate the object that is hated. To support the ideology of hatred, relevant situations are created, and even facts are distorted to spread and promote hatred.

In the cognitive behavioural model, it is understood that thoughts influence feelings and emotions that in turn influence behaviours (Beck, 1991). The following cognitions are reported to contribute to the generation of hatred including: overgeneralisation i.e., generalising a small event

or information to the entirety; arbitrary inference or assumption i.e., unrealistic, or false conclusions drawn from common appraisal or observation of a situation; emotional reasoning, i.e., the tendency of an individual to assume that their feelings always bring them the correct information; selective abstraction i.e., the ability of an individual to selectively pick and choose the negative from the greater picture ignoring all the positives; maximisation or magnification i.e., minor flaws or shortcomings of an individual or group are blown out of proportion; minimisation i.e., contributions and capabilities are minimised or ignored as if those aspects related to them are irrelevant; catastrophic thinking, i.e. the ability to jump on to the worst-case scenario triggered by a minor stimulus; and dichotomous thinking i.e., dividing individuals into absolute discrete categories (Navarro et al., 2013).

### ***Rationale for this study***

When medical professionals come across hatred, it generates several questions: where does it come from; does the word hatred always refer to the same meanings; are we born with it; is it manufactured or synthesised or created; and what reasons or factors contribute to its generation. Medical professionals, particularly mental health and forensic professionals, seek to explore the answers to questions like this. They are sometimes dealing with the client groups that require psychological formulations aimed at understanding the predisposition, presentation, precipitation, and perpetuation of various hateful activities and behaviours. They are expected to identify protective factors that can help understand and stop development of hatred. Hatred can manifest in the form of signs and symptoms of certain psychiatric conditions too, like depression, psychosis, phobias, or PTSD. Reverse causality also plays a role between hatred and mental health problems: is it hatred that leads to mental health problems or vice versa? Consider the example of hatred exhibited by those who are involved in terrorist activities. Mental health professionals are keen to understand whether terrorists are mentally unwell, thus, get involved in such activities, or they get involved in such activities and as a result become unwell.

This study seeks to find answers to these questions by systematically reviewing the medical literature. One purpose of this study is to test the observation

whether the word hatred is used with a variety of meanings in medical literature or not. Another is to combine the knowledge that is acquired from the data regarding the generation of hatred.

## **AIMS AND OBJECTIVES**

To carry out systematic literature search on an international medical database to find what the emerging categories in which the word hatred is used in medical literature are, and to gather information regarding the generation of the emotion of hatred in human beings by thematically analysing the relevant collected data.

## **METHODS**

To identify the information on hatred relevant for mental health professionals, we performed a systematic review using the following approach and criteria. We used the following strategies for literature identification and selection.

### ***Literature search strategy***

Research was carried out on PubMed database on National Library of Medicine (NCIB), to identify the studies containing words 'hate', 'hatred', 'hateful' or 'hating' within the title or abstract of the articles. We used the following search terms: hate [Title/Abstract]) OR (hatred [Title/Abstract])) OR (hateful [Title/Abstract]) OR (hating [Title/Abstract]).

### ***Eligibility criteria***

All relevant medical studies that were available on Pub Med medical database on 14th Nov 2021.

### ***Inclusion criteria***

The included articles contained either of the words hate/hatred/hating/hateful in either title or abstract.

### ***Exclusion criteria***

There were no exclusion criteria.

### ***Paper selection strategy***

A total of 1193 studies were identified on 14th Nov 2021 utilising the above search terms. To keep the focus on the current relevance of generation of hatred, papers from 2015 to 2021 (as appearing on PubMed library on 14th November 2021)



containing any of the four words (Hate, Hatred, Hateful, Hating) either in the title or the abstract were selected for the review. This led to the selection of 500 of the most recent studies on PubMed as appearing on NCIB (National Center for Biotechnology Information) library.

### **Data extraction**

Titles and abstracts of the identified five hundred studies were reviewed by the author and imported to NVivo (qualitative data analysis software) version-10 for data interpretation and an endnote diary of references was kept. After removing duplicates, 470 studies were included in the review. They were categorized, and selected papers were submitted to thematic analyses.

### **Data items and synthesis of results**

Following the title and abstract review, each study out of the 470 was categorised according the 10 content themes to understand different aspects of the use of word 'hatred' in medical literature. Data was then extracted from 113 studies that qualified for the emerging category of 'generation of hatred' after full text review. With the intention to carry out a thematic analysis aimed at understanding the generation of hatred, each of the 113 studies was given a code with the aim to understand the generation of hatred. The common codes were combined under one theme. The details of emerging themes are discussed within the results sections of this paper.

### **Thematic analysis**

Thematic analysis is a method of interpreting qualitative data. According to Braun and Clarke (2006) thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organizes and describes the data set in rich detail. Sometimes it may go deeper and attempt to interpret multiple aspects of the topic being researched (Boyatzis et al, 1998). According to Braun and Clarke, a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within a data set. Overall, the thematic analysis aims to find the repeated pattern of themes that can be clustered together, and the final product must contain an account of what was

done and why.

## **RESULTS**

### ***Outcome of Literature search and eligibility assessment***

To organise the papers we followed the Prisma flow diagram. The diagram shows our selection process.

To find that in which context the words hate/hatred/hateful/hating were used and what medical researchers were aiming to explore, the following ten categories emerged (table 1).

In all ten identified categories, a record was kept of the titles of the studies with relevant references and of the context in which the word/s were used within the title or abstract.

The table provides the results of the eligibility assessment for the subject generation of hatred. Only those 113 studies that focused on the generation of hatred were used for further analysis and discussion. The sum total of studies in this table is 488. This is due to some studies being included under more than one category.

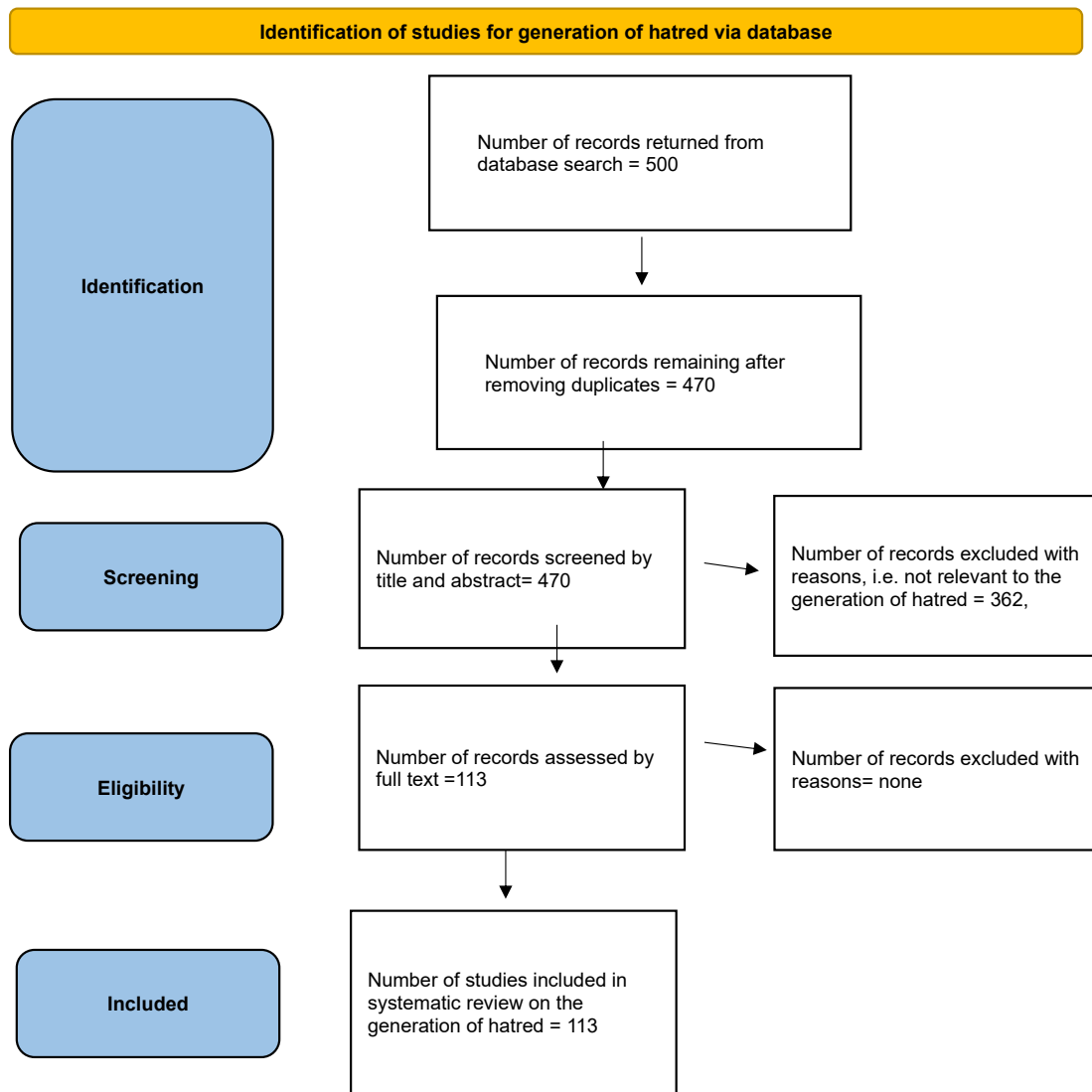
The following paragraph indicates the categories in papers used and not used in further thematic analysis. According to the eligibility assessment, the following categories were not included in the main analyses of the generation of hatred. The categories are explained to reveal their differences from the main subject of the study i.e. generation of hatred.

### ***Literal meaning of the word***

79 studies were identified as using the word hate or hatred in literal meaning. For example, as used in the title of the study, "Salmonella and Reactive Oxygen Species~ A Love-Hate Relationship" (Rhen, 2019).

### ***In context of medical or psychiatric conditions***

20 studies were identified as using the word hate or hatred as a symptom of a medical or psychiatric condition. For example, as used in the title of the study, "Confinement and the Hatred of Sound in Times of COVID-19: A Molotov Cocktail for People with Misophonia" (Ferrer-Torres and Giménez-Llort, 2021).



**Figure 1. PRISMA FLOW DIAGRAM**

**Table 1.** Categories emerging from initial categorial analysis and number of studies discussing each category.

No	Categories	Number of studies
1	Generation of hatred	113
2	In context of Medical and Psychiatric conditions described as a symptom	20
3	Unique meanings	7
4	Used but not relevant to current investigation	6
5	Used in keywords but not in title or abstract	25
6	Topic of a piece of writing	2
7	Literal meaning of the word	79
8	Manifestation and impact of hatred	52
9	Detection and assessment of hatred	130
10	Addressing hatred	54

***Unique meanings***

7 studies were identified as using the words hate/hatred in some unique sense that couldn't be coded elsewhere. For example, in the abstract of the study, 'Image-based Analysis of Emotional Facial Expressions in Full Face Transplants', the authors described that they studied 6 emotional expressions in patient who underwent face transplant and one of them included hate (Bedeloglu et al., 2018).

***Word is used but not relevant to current investigation***

6 studies were identified in which the words hate/hatred was used in a context considered to be irrelevant to the overall aim of the study. For example, the study titled, 'Is there an association between surgeon hat type and 30-day wound events following ventral hernia repair?' (Haskins et al., 2017). The abstract contained the statement: Our findings suggest that surgical *hate* type may be chosen at the discretion of operating room personnel without fear of detriment to their patients. The word hate is a typo/misspelling here.

***Used in keywords but not in title or abstract***

25 studies were identified that contained one of the four words within the 'keywords' section but not in title or abstract of the study. They were not included in the overall interpretation.

***Topic of a piece of writing***

Two studies were identified in which authors discussed hate/hatred as commenting/discussing on someone else's writings. For example, the title of one of the studies was, For 'Physicians of the Soule': The Roles of 'Flight' and 'Hatred of Abomination' in Thomas Wright's The Passions of the Minde in Generall". (Firth-Godbehere, 2015).

***Detection/assessment of hatred***

130 studies were identified that discussed assessment and detection of hatred by various means. For example, in one study authors integrate social neuroscience findings with classic social psychology theories offering a framework to better understand how intergroup threat can lead to violence. The role of moral disengagement, dehumanization, and intergroup schadenfreude in this process are discussed, together with their underlying neural

mechanisms (Lantos and Molenberghs, 2021).

***Addressing hatred***

54 studies were identified that discussed the subject of addressing hatred. For example, in one study the author argued that within the Filipino psyche, the notion of 'Kapwa' or "shared self" can be an equivalent socio-normative ideal that can be utilized towards not just countering the ill-effects of social discrimination but also fostering deep communal and group solidarity among people, regardless of race, colour and ethnicity (Macaraan, 2021).

***Manifestation of hatred***

52 studies qualified for the category of 'manifestation of hatred'. For example, Nagy et al (2021) reported that individuals who self-injure often report doing so in order to punish the self or express self-hatred and self-criticism is associated with NSSI (Non suicidal self-injury). Choi (2021) reported that hatred can manifest as hate crime including anti-Asian/anti-Chinese sentiments and increased discrimination due to the COVID-19 Pandemic. Choi's paper is titled 'People look at me like I AM the virus': Fear, stigma, and discrimination during the COVID-19 pandemic'. Mendes and Silva, (2020) reported that hatred may manifest as homicide of lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transvestites, transexuals, and transgender people.

Further discussion below contains the details of the findings and of the emerging themes from thematic analysis that was carried out to understand the reasons for generation/development of hatred, the primary aim of this systematic review.

***Generation of hatred***

113 studies were identified that focused on exploring the generation of hatred. On reading the title and abstract it was noted that the authors in these studies primarily focused on understanding the reasons that lead to development of the hatred are. Whether the reasons are internal, to the hater, or external, that one is exposed to. What focus the hateful mind-set may take i.e. whether the focus is towards oneself, towards an object, towards an event or towards another person or group. To understand the pertinent information, full text reading of each article was carried out and the required information was collected in the form of a table that is available at the end of this article (table 2).



**Table 2.** Studies that discuss the generation of hatred and the information acquired from individual studies.

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Álvarez and Fabian (2020)	Natural and a laboratory-in-the-field (lab-in-the-field) experiment	N=139 before attacks N=135 after attacks  German residents recruited via a crowdsourcing internet marketplace  Total 2133 comments (Construction of a hate score to measure change before and after the terrorist attacks and across the different conditions)	Hate towards refugees, but not towards other minority groups, increased as a result of the attacks only in the absence of a strong norm. These results imply that attitudinal changes due to terrorist attacks are more likely to be voiced if norms erode.	Hate toward refugees, but not toward other minority groups, increased as a result of the terrorist attacks.	Participants were chosen randomly, interacted only once, and were anonymous  The study does not explore difference in reactions of individuals	Specific focus and cause of hating others online: Terrorist attacks
Amato et al. (2021)	Cross sectional survey	N=1000 youth aged 13 to 17.  N= 1000 adults aged 18-24  Enrolled in a text message cessation program  (Data collected from a text message cessation program)	Young people trying to quit e-cigarettes are motivated by a diversity of reasons including health, financial, social, and academic. The range of impacts should be considered in discussions of policies intended to protect young people and incorporated into cessation programs designed to serve them.	A person can develop hatred towards their addiction to a substance, in this case 'vaping'	Not generalizable to all young e-cigarette users who want to quit.  Reasons for quitting may also change rapidly over time.  Beliefs and behaviours related to tobacco cessation are not static but changeable over time in response to social context and environmental events.	Specific cause of self-hatred: Addictions
Atkinson, et al (2016)	Qualitative study utilising interpretative phenomenological analysis	N=15 women with BMI > 30, conducted on the postnatal wards of a maternity hospital in the Republic of Ireland	Findings highlight a lack of information received by participants from healthcare professionals regarding increased BMI or weight management. Also, healthcare professionals appeared to collude with women to avoid challenging discussions regarding obesity.	One of the behaviours related to unconscious collusion incorporated in the subordinate themes included 'I hate that word obesity.'	The sample was recruited from one maternity care setting, therefore reducing the ability to infer the study's findings to another population	Specific cause of self-hatred: in context of receiving maternity care by obese women

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Atteraya and Madhu (2021)	Cross sectional survey	N=174 Nepalese Students enrolled at 36 Universities in South Korea (Self-administered questionnaire)	Addressing acculturation stressors among international students may yield higher levels of personal satisfaction, enhance a productive academic life, and increase performance among international students living and studying in South Korea.	Immigrant students (Nepalese) can perceive hate and rejection in the new host culture (South Korea) that can lead to acculturation stress, impacting their academic performance. Students can develop a self-perception of themselves being rejected or hated.	Only employed Nepalese international students in the South Korean cultural context.	Self-perceived hatred: Acculturation related issues
Babvey, et al (2021)	Cross-sectional survey of testimonial-based and conversational-based data collected from social media users.	Conversations on Twitter were reviewed to measure increases in abusive or hateful content, and cyberbullying, while testimonials from Reddit forums were examined to monitor changes in references to family violence before and after the start of the stay-at-home restrictions.	The collective experience of the COVID-19 pandemic and related containment measures offers insights into the wide-ranging risks that children are exposed to in times of crisis. As societies shift towards a new normal which places emerging technology, remote working, and online learning at its centre, and in anticipation of similar future threats, governments and other stakeholders need to put in place measures to protect children from violence.	COVID-19 pandemic led to increase in family violence especially during stay-at-home restrictions. A significant increase in abusive content generated during the stay-at-home restrictions was also noticed on Twitter.	Study could not be restricted to children only. The growth in violence-related testimonials on Reddit cannot be interpreted as conclusive of increases in family violence, as this may be due to the extended online presence and lack of other venues where users can talk about their experiences. Analysis was carried out on 15 countries only, so the results cannot be generalised.	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Pandemic
Bauer, et al (2018)	Cross sectional survey utilising incentivised tasks	Study one N=327 peers from 13 schools  Study two N=204 adolescents from the same region (Eastern Slovakia)  (Data collected regarding performance of tasks in each study)	The findings may illuminate why ethnic hostilities can spread quickly, even in societies with few visible signs of interethnic hatred.	Authors explore social contagion of ethnic hostility and found that destructive behaviour more than doubled when targeted against an ethnic minority.	The paper studies behaviour toward one ethnic group (Roma) among Slavic adolescents in one country. Should consider whether patterns of spreading of hostility would be similar in an environment in which the subjects receive information about the choices of anonymous individuals from own ethnic group's personal experiences.	Social cognitions that can lead to development of hatred: targeting ethnic minorities

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Bélange r, (2021)	Scholarly discussion	Not applicable	Not applicable	Ideologically obsessed individuals are easily threatened by information that criticises their ideology, which in turn leads to hatred and violent retaliation.	Not applicable	Cognitions that can lead to development of hatred: Ideological obsession
Bensuss an, (2017)	Scholarly discussion	Not applicable	Not applicable	Parental alienation can occur in the context of child psychological abuse following 'pathological divorces. The psychopathology permeates systemic relations, inextricably linked to hatred or disgust.	Not applicable	Specific cause of hating others: Parents following pathological divorce
Bianchi (2018)	Cross sectional survey comprising of four different studies	Study 1: N=30,189 Self-Identified as White  Study 2: N= Varied	During economic downturns, Whites felt less warmly about Blacks during downturns, Black musicians (Study 3) and Black politicians (Study 4) were less likely to secure a musical hit or win a congressional election.	During economic downturns Whites felt less warmly about Blacks, held more negative explicit and implicit attitudes about Blacks, were more likely to condone the use of stereotypes, and were more willing to regard inequality between groups as natural and acceptable.	All analyses are correlational. No surety that the worse professional outcomes, were driven by the attitudinal shifts among Whites The analyses were limited to perceptions of Blacks among Whites Cyclical changes in racial attitudes among both majority- and minority-group members need to be explored.	Specific focus and cause of hating others: in context of racism related issues
Bisagni (2020)	Theoretical analysis of the script	Not applicable	Adolescents always go back to their original object relations, re-living them in the most exasperating fashion and re-working them in the most dramatic way.	Bion's theory of links suggests that, L, H, K (Love, Hate and Knowledge) and their minus counterparts, -L, -H, -K (absence of them) relate to hate and love.	Not applicable	Object relations theory explaining hatred
Blanco, et al (2020)	Qualitative study utilising in-depth interview and content analysis	N=18 demobilized members of the Self-Defence Forces of Colombia	This analysis led to the verification in the narratives of the participants of the use of all the mechanisms of moral disengagement described by Bandura aiming to justify their behaviour within the armed group.	The most noteworthy mechanisms were those that minimized participation (especially, attributing behaviour to obeying orders: displacement of responsibility) and moral justification, especially in the context of confrontation, leading to hatred.	Small sample size. Most participants had belonged to the AUC. The number of females in the sample was very much below the number of males Information collected from the interviews was after the fact.	Specific focus and cause for development of collective hatred: in context of violence related issues

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Borentai n, et al (2020)	Real-world data analysis using PatientsLikeMe platform	N=12,229 PatientsLikeMe Users	This analysis utilized patient-reported data to better understand symptoms, experiences, and characteristics of patients with MDSI (Major depressive disorder with suicidal-intent) compared to patients with MDD (Major depressive disorder). The results identified various risk factors correlated with suicidal ideation that may help guide clinical judgement for patients with MDD who may not voluntarily report suicidal ideation.	Self-hating thoughts are more frequent in those suffering from major depressive disorder with suicidal intent compared to those with Major Depressive Disorder without Self Injury.	<p>Unable to collect spontaneous patient perception data</p> <p>Uncertainty regarding the data's validity and reliability</p> <p>Cross-sectional nature</p> <p>Requirement for internet access as well as technical competency to engage with the platform may have also given rise to bias</p> <p>Only ~ 1% of members create content, 9% contribute sparingly, and 90% merely observe</p> <p>The sample may represent members who differ from the general population.</p>	Specific cause of self-hatred: major depressive disorder
Camparo et al (2021)	Cross sectional questionnaire-based survey	<p>Study 1: N=105 Liberal Arts undergraduates.</p> <p>Study 2: N=153 Liberal Arts undergraduates.</p>	Given research indicating that ambivalence is associated with delayed decision making and decisions based on "in the moment" contextual information, our findings are suggestive: if political opinion pollsters do not assess ambivalence, they may be missing information on a fair-sized demographic that could influence an election based on negative information.	If political opinion pollsters do not assess ambivalence, they may be missing information on a fair-sized demographic that could influence an election based on negative information (real or fictitious) surfacing only days before an election.	None Reported	Specific focus and cause of hating others: in context of politics and politicians related issue
Carter, et al (2021)	Cross sectional survey utilising series of online measures	<p>N=1695 aged 18 to 75 years old.</p> <p>(Series of online measures)</p>	Study indicates that it is perceived that body weight is more important at predicting body weight shame compared to actual body weight. However, people with higher BMI rely more on the self-hatred form of self-criticism compared to those in the lower BMI range.	Self-hatred can develop in relation to those experiencing body weight shame and self-criticism.	Cross-sectional design Sample was predominately women, thus not allowing for exploration of differences between men and women in terms of social rank and self-to-self relating style and mental health.	Specific cause of self-hatred: weight shame
Chakraborti, et al (2018)	Scholarly discussion	Not applicable	Not applicable	Victims of arsenic exposure in Ganges River face critical social challenges in the form of social isolation and hatred by their respective communities.	Not applicable	Specific cause of hating others: Exposure to arsenic contaminated water in Ganges River
Chang, et al (2021)	Qualitative study utilising focused group	<p>N=10</p> <p>(Two focused groups)</p>	The study concludes that the visually impaired have fewer opportunities for receiving diabetes self-management education than general diabetic patients.	Diabetes self-management experience of visually impaired people with diabetes include love-hate relationship with family as one out of seven categories of experiences identified.	None reported	Specific cause of hating others: Physical disabilities

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Cichocka, et al (2017)	Four different cross-sectional surveys in three different socio-political contexts	UK (Study 1, N = 422 undergrad students), the US (Studies 2 and 3, Ns = 471 and 289, MTurk workers respectively), and Poland (Study 4, N = 775 adults).  Tools used: Narcissistic Personality Inventory, Rosenberg's (1965) self-esteem scale, 12 items of Duckitt, Bizumic, Krauss, and Heled's (2010) scale, 16-item social dominance scale	The studies indicate that narcissistic self-evaluations were indirectly and positively associated with prejudice through higher SDO (accounting for RWA), yet indirectly and negatively associated with prejudice through lower RWA (accounting for SDO).	Title of the paper is, "On Self-Love and Outgroup Hate: Opposite Effects of Narcissism on Prejudice via Social Dominance Orientation and Right-Wing Authoritarianism".  After controlling for self-esteem, narcissistic self-evaluation was positively associated with social dominance orientation (SDO) (accounting for right-wing authoritarianism (RWA), yet negatively associated with RWA (accounting for SDO).	Relying on partial led variables comes with certain challenges to reliability and interpretability  The results of these exploratory analyses should, however, be treated with caution given the poor measurement quality of the entitlement component in the NPI. Future research might consider employing other measures of narcissism and different dimension of narcissistic personality. Future research should examine these possibilities empirically.  The current set of studies relied on cross-sectional designs, we cannot make causal claims.	Attitudes for development of hatred: Prejudice
Collin-Vézina, et al (2021)	Qualitative study utilising a thematic analysis	N=21 ethnically diverse youth aged 19 to 25  (Long Interview Method, based on a branch of phenomenology, was used to guide research design and data collection)	This study showed complex connections between CSA (Childhood sexual abuse) experiences, disclosure and non-suicidal and suicidal SITB (self-injurious thoughts and behaviours).  Understanding the reciprocal influences between SITB, CSA disclosure and help-seeking could better equip mental health professionals and caregivers to provide support and foster healing and recovery in CSA victims.	Those adults who suffered from psychosis and had a history of childhood physical abuse tend to attack themselves with hate.	Excluded people who have never disclosed abuse to anyone. Causality cannot be established based on perceptions of the victims.  Unable to distinguish between suicidal and non-suicidal thoughts based on quotes provided.  Initial study did not include questions about suicide and self-harm.	Specific cause of hating self in children: Childhood sexual abuse
Dale et al (2016)	Cross sectional survey	N=162 African-American HIV-positive men  (The 30-item Multiple Discrimination Scale (MDS) was used to capture perceived discrimination in the past year)	For HIV-positive African-American MSM (Men having sex with men), higher neighbourhood poverty and related stressors are associated with experiencing more discrimination and hate crimes.	HIV-positive African American MSM provided information on neighbourhood-related stressors and discrimination experiences related to being Black, HIV-positive, or perceived as gay. Regressions, controlling for socio-demographics, indicated that higher neighbourhood poverty was significantly related to more frequent experiences with hate crimes.	This study is a cross-sectional design that prevents the ability to draw causal conclusions.  Sample limited by geography.  U.S. Census data collection and estimates (used to derive poverty rates) have methodological weaknesses.  The study used one quantitative measure to assess discrimination across all three identities together.	Specific cause of hating others: HIV/AIDS

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Dalle, et al (2020)	Cross sectional survey	Data analysis related to 1,391 people of different ethnicities who were assaulted between 1 January 2014 and 31 December 2018.	Study concludes that Brexit may have played a substantial role in increasing the incidence of violence and hate crime specifically targeted against ethnic minorities.	Brexit referendum "may have played an important role in increasing violence and hate crime against specific ethnic minorities".	Further multi-centre studies are advised for a more comprehensive review.	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Brexit
Densley, et al (2017)	Theoretical Review	Not applicable	Not applicable	Most influential theoretical frameworks from the field of intergroup relations, namely realistic conflict theory, relative deprivation theory, social identity theory, social dominance theory, and deindividuation theory are related with empirical findings re hate groups.	Not applicable	Specific cause of development of hatred: Collective hatred
Dubey and Akash (2020)	Cross sectional survey of online material	16,000 tweets having the keywords #ChineseVirus, #ChineseVirusCorona, and #WuhanVirus from April 11-16, 2020, were analysed to determine their associated sentiments and emotions.	This study provides insight into the rise in cyber racism seen on Twitter. Based on the findings, it can be concluded that a substantial number of users are tweeting with mostly negative sentiments toward ethnic Asians, China, and the World Health Organization.	COVID-19 pandemic led to hateful acts around the world and hateful comments online.	None reported	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Pandemic
Erasmus , (2020)	Scholarly discussion	Not applicable	Not applicable	The author concludes that professionals carrying out critical care triage can possibly develop hate towards elderly patients when work stresses are increased due to extra work generated by a pandemic.	Not applicable	Specific cause of hating others: Age discrimination
Fanani, et al (2020)	Discourse analysis utilising a qualitative approach	64 clauses analyzed from "Rumiyah Magazine"	Based on the findings and discussion, the study concludes that in this text the declarative mood is mainly used to convince the readers that mushrikin (non-Muslims) deserve to be hated and killed (analytical exposition) and that the readers (Muslims) should hate and kill them (hortatory exposition)	Author examines an article by religious extremists according to which Muslims are persuaded to hate non-Muslims utilising six persuasion strategies including using grounds of, 'nature of situation', the 'authority appeal', the 'duty', the 'logical empirical' and the 'moral appeal'.	None Reported.	Specific focus and cause of hating others: in context of religion related issues



Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Farrell, et al (2020)	Mixed-methods study of abusive and antagonistic responses to UK politicians on a social media platform.	A large tweet collection (replies to serving MPs) was utilised on which natural language processing analysis was performed to identify abusive language	This work contributes to the wider understanding of abusive language online directed at public officials.	British MPs have received abuse and hate on social media during the COVID-19 pandemic. Criticising authorities appeared to attract higher levels of abuse during the COVID-19 pandemic.	Other MPs may be discussing inequality and not receiving abuse (which this work did not cover)	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Pandemic
Ferrara, et al (2020)	Special issue to collect contributions proposing models, methods, empirical findings, and intervention strategies to investigate and tackle the abuse of social media	Information collection along several dimensions that include (but are not limited to) infodemics, misinformation, automation, online harassment, false information, and conspiracy theories about the COVID-19 outbreak	The COVID-19 pandemic has been plagued by the pervasive spread of a large number of rumors and conspiracy theories, which even led to dramatic real-world consequences.	COVID-19 pandemic represented an unprecedented setting for the spread of online misinformation, manipulation, and abuse, with the potential to cause dramatic real-world consequences.	None reported	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Conspiracy theories during Pandemic
Floyd et al (2021)	Cross sectional survey utilising online questionnaire.	N=116 Self-Identified Black, aged 18 to 41  Social media platforms and word of mouth were the main methods used to recruit participants.	Findings emphasize the complexity of Black racial identity and suggest that the current assessment tools may not adequately detect PPDS in Black mothers.	Postpartum depression can lead to self-hatred.	Mothers with a history of any mental illness diagnosis or treatment were not eligible to participate in the study due to their increased risk for experiencing PPD (Postpartum depression).  Demographic characteristics, age, and geographic location of participants may limit the generalizability of the findings.  Mothers who may be experiencing PPDS or have more interest in the subject matter of the study were more inclined to participate.  Those who may dissociate from the Black race may have been less inclined to participate in the study since Black racial identity was explored.  The study's findings may have been influenced by the killing of an unarmed Black man, Ahmaud Arbery, by two White men in Coastal Georgia.	Specific focus and cause of hating others: in context of racism related issues

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Gadotti, et al (2021)	Scholarly discussion	Not applicable	Not applicable	Brazil's Historical roots, which have not only engendered deep class differences but, also, social psychopathologies such as dissociation and perversion led to development of hatred during COVID-19 pandemic.	Not applicable	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Pandemic
Gervais, et al (2017)	Theoretical analysis aimed at development of a model	Develop the Attitude-Scenario-Emotion (ASE) model of sentiments	The rapprochement between psychological anthropology and evolutionary psychology contributes both methodological and empirical insights, with broad implications for understanding the functional and cultural organization of social affect.	Sentiments are functional networks of attitudes and emotions. Distinct sentiments, including hate serve both bookkeeping and commitment functions within relationships.	Limitations of ASE model of sentiments reported, with future directions.	Sentiments that can lead to development of hatred
Gheorghiu, et al (2021)	Cross sectional survey and a pilot study	Pilot study (n = 245) and cross-sectional survey (n = 490)	Immigrants from low-status or poorer countries (Poland, India) are more likely to be perceived as encroaching on the majority group's entitlements than those from high-status or richer countries (Germany, Australia).  There is a need to unpack the generic 'immigrant' category and study anti-immigration sentiment in terms of group status and moral devaluation.	To understand current anti-immigration opinion, authors proposed that moral devaluation (dehumanization and distrust) as a novel mechanism (over and above prejudice) underlying the conditional effects of relative deprivation on support for formal (anti-immigration policies) and informal (hate crime) are means of immigrant exclusion.	None reported	Specific cause of hating others: Immigration
Gijzen, et al (2021)	Cross sectional survey utilising an inventory	N= 5888 aged 11-16 years (Children's Depression Inventory (CDI-2))	Loneliness was a central factor for depression networks and also the most contributing factor of suicide ideation. Preventative efforts should consider taking experiences of loneliness into account as these are especially prevalent in adolescents. Suicide ideation seems more representative of depression symptom severity in adolescents.	Most central symptoms reported in the depression network were loneliness, sadness, and self-hatred.	The use of cross-sectional data indicates that only undirected networks and results based on between-subject data could be estimated.	Specific cause of hating self in children: Childhood depression

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Hackett, et al (2020)	Cross sectional survey	N=406 participants recruited from MTurk (Mechanical Turk)	For Southerners who strongly identified with "the South", the endorsement of values related to a general resistance to change led to greater anti-Muslim attitudes. Anti-Muslim bias may lie in perceptions of threat: for strongly identified Southerners, the Muslim faith is viewed as a societal threat.	Regional identification is predictive of anti-Muslim attitudes in US for example identification with American Southern regions. Muslim faith is viewed as a societal threat.	The data was collected through MTurk, which limited control over who could complete the study. The data was collected during the 2016 Presidential primaries in which discussions around race relations and "American identity" were frequent.	Specific focus and cause of hating others: in context of religion related issues.
Hall, et al (2021)	Qualitative study utilising interviews	N= 32 majority straight, Black, cis-gendered female-identifying people	These results can be used to better understand the perspectives of PLWH (Primary level health workers) during the COVID-19 pandemic and have important implications for potential COVID-19 vaccine hesitancy and future health crises.	Experience of those who tested positive for COVID-19, the majority regarded their HIV diagnosis as having a more profound impact on their lives but found similarities between COVID-19 stigma and HIV-related stigma. Many participants also expressed mistrust.	The findings may not reflect the experience of patients who receive HIV care at smaller or rural healthcare clinics. The interviews were conducted during the relatively early stages of the pandemic, without accounting for how their perspectives may have changed over time. The comparison of COVID-19 and HIV diagnoses may have been affected by the COVID-19 testing status of participants Various sources of inevitable bias associated with qualitative research may have impacted study findings	Specific focus and cause of hating others: HIV/AIDS
Harriman, et al (2020)	Cross sectional study utilising a questionnaire	N= 320 students, aged between 14 and 19 years (Paper based quantitative questionnaire) Cross sectional design. Non-Random Convenience sample.	Results revealed an association between exposure to hate messages in the online space and time spent online, academic performance, communicating with a stranger on social media, and benign online disinhibition.	In young people, time spent online, academic performance, communicating with a stranger on social media, and benign online disinhibition all are associated with exposure to hateful online material.	Relatively small size of the sample. Influence of individual platforms on exposure to hate online not considered. Measurement of online disinhibition within the sample due to the lack of variance explained by the scale and the fact that toxic disinhibition could not be reliably measured.	Specific focus and cause of hating others: in online and social media related issues
He, et al (2021)	Cross sectional survey	N=1767 ethnically Chinese residents living outside China (at the time of study) in 65 different countries. 6-minute online survey through Wechat over the internet.	The results show that greater openness to trade increases the likelihood of reported xenophobic behaviours, while openness to migration decreases it. On the other hand, stronger trade or immigration relationships with China are associated with less reported discrimination.	For Chinese people living overseas during COVID-19 pandemic, greater openness to trade increased the likelihood of reported xenophobic behaviours, while openness to migration decreased it.	More open societies may see more varieties of speech and opinions. Local responses may drive the reported discriminatory responses to the virus outbreak, such as information provided on the outbreak, as opposed to the underlying xenophobia. Linear probability specification of the model Sampling framework and the specific context of study. Response data is drawn from a non-random sampling framework.	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Pandemic

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Hoover (2021)	Study 1= Geospatial analysis  Study 2-5= Psychological experiments	Geospatial analysis of 3108 US counties  Psychological experiments on over 2200 participants	Authors investigated the role of group-based morality in extreme behavioural expressions of prejudice. Their results, from these U.S. based studies, suggest that moral values oriented around group preservation are predictive of the county-level prevalence of hate groups and associated with the belief that extreme behavioural expressions of prejudice against marginalized groups are justified.	Propagation of moral values oriented around group preservation (prejudice) contributes towards development of hatred.	None reported by authors	Attitudes for development of hatred: Prejudice
Horta and Ana (2016)	Focused group study	N=87 relatives of addicts  Aged 24 to 82 (Focused group discussion)	This study allowed the amplification of a dependent person's family perspective, showing the need for inclusion of relatives in the caring process by all the health team members, supporting public policies on drugs, and amplifying family health focused actions. a part of care, and considering the knowledge that relatives have on the matter as well as the several possibilities made by them to deal with such an event. Paper also showed the struggle experienced by them and the strategies adopted to confront the situation.	Relatives of the addicts can develop hatred towards addicts.	A limitation of this study was having only one family member as a respondent, given the complexity in getting in contact with the entire dependent person's family.	Specific cause of hating others: Addictions
Hoskin and Rhea (2020)	Qualitative study utilising in-depth interviews and thematic analysis.	N=38 sexual and gender minorities	As it is with gender, femmephobia is discursively produced through language and ideology.	Sources of oppression underlying many forms of violence today (e.g., anti-LGBTQ+ hate crimes, Incel attacks, sexual violence, transgender murders) are all symptoms of the same underlying social prejudice: femmephobia.	The current paper was not able to illuminate the experiences of femmephobia among those whose gender expressions might be classified as marginalized masculinity.  Future research should consider in greater detail the impact of class and race/ethnicity on experiences of femmephobia. Should consider Urban/Rural contexts and different social settings.  Not generalizable.  Additional work is needed to understand the Venn diagram that is sexism/ misogyny and femmephobia.	Specific cause of hating others: Femmephobia

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Husnain, et al (2021)	Cross sectional survey utilising multi-wave time-lagged research design	N=338 individuals working in educational institutes of northern Punjab, Pakistan  (All the selected items were measured on a five-point Likert scale)	By utilizing the Sternberg (2003) duplex theory of hate framework, the study provides sufficient support for similarity with competitor's offer as an important predictor of brand hate and brand equity for narcissistic individuals in the context of a developing country. The study concludes that implications that emerged from the empirical investigation of this study are fruitful for marketers as well as consumers of dairy products.	Consumers could develop brand-hate when they are sold substandard products and that social media related negative stereotypy of the products can generate brand-hate among consumers.	Targeted a specific industry.  Time-lagged research design.  Sample cannot be generalized.  Cultural impact not studied.  Individual Personality traits not studied.	Specific focus and cause for hating inanimate objects: Business products brands
Iorga, et al (2020)	Cross sectional survey	N= 265 International medical students at a Romanian medical institute  Aged 17 to 50 151:114 Male to Female Ratio (Acculturation Stress Scale for International Students)  Convenience sample from a single medical university.	The existence of risk factors for acculturative stress demands institutional, social, and psychological support for international students.	Immigrant students (International students enrolled in Romanian Universities) can perceive hate and rejection in the new host culture that can lead to acculturation stress. Studies can develop a self-perception of themselves being rejected or hated.	The research did not evaluate the mental health of students.  Study was correlational. The use of English language is always a concern with international populations, and it raises the question of whether participants' language skills are adequate to appropriately answer the survey.	Self-perceived hatred: Acculturation related issues
Jaccard, and Giorgia (2021)	Analysis of interviews data	N= 10 male prisoners aged 18 to 30	The radicalization process seems to come to fill this emptiness, and hence to avoid the risk of the collapsing of the self. However, this "solution" is only a lure, leading to destruction, while at the same time, the person is aiming to restore its identity.	Aimed to find the answer to the question: which part does Islamist radicalization play on the psychic level of the self?  Authors selected several theoretical concepts, to guide us in this research, that became operative concepts, such as, hatred, drive, melancholy and symptom. These have a converging point that is linked with the clinic of boredom and emptiness, or named otherwise, "off language".	None reported	Specific focus and cause of hating others: radicalization

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Jalali-Farahani, et al (2021)	Qualitative study using a grounded theory approach	N=84 Iranian adolescents including 42 boys and 42 girls aged 15 to 18 years  (13 semi-structured focused group discussions)	Not applicable	The authors found that self-hatred can develop in relation to distorted body image in healthy, non-help seeking subjects	Not applicable	Specific cause of self-hatred: Body image
Janin and Claude (2015)	Scholarly discussion	Not applicable	Not applicable	Drawing on a number of clinical vignettes, the author seeks to highlight the relations between shame, hatred and pornography in contemporary clinical practice, and to explore certain meta-psychological avenues that can help us understand how these relations are established.	Not applicable	Specific focus and cause of hating others: in context of pornography related issues
Jin, et al (2017)	Vignette based cross sectional survey	N=59 college students (Investigation whether similarity within romantic partners was associated with greater feelings of love in the absence of betrayal, and greater hate induced in the presence of betrayal by using vignettes)	The results supported the idea that “the deeper the love, the deeper the hate,” and suggested similarity as a crucial factor influencing feelings of love and hate.	Stronger feelings of love were associated with greater hate after the relationship was broken, suggesting a link between romantic love and hate.	This manipulation could not guarantee that participants could generate independent feelings of love for the three target persons.  The study did not control for participants’ current relationship status.  The findings of the current study were also limited by the manipulation of similarity between the participants and the three targets	Degree of Emotionality that can lead to development of hatred
Jordan and Jillian, et al (2017)	Multimethod five studies	Study 1: N=619 Study2: N=803 Study 3: N=451 Study 4: N=452 Study 5: N=612	The results support a false-signalling theory of hypocrisy.	Hypocrites are hated because their condemnation sends a false signal about their personal conduct, deceptively suggesting that they behave morally.	Cross culture study required.  Sample limited to MTurk users.	Specific cause of hating others: in context of hatred of hypocrisy



Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Kaakinen, et al (2020)	Cross sectional online survey utilising integrative social psychological framework.	Study one N=1200 Finnish adolescents and young adults  Study two N=160 Finnish adolescents and young adults  (Online hate offending measure, Eysenck Impulsivity Scale, General Health Questionnaire, online social identification scale, social media homophily scale)	Both personal risk factors and group behaviour are related to online hate, but they have different implications for reducing hateful communication in social media.	Both personal risk factors and online group behaviour are associated with online hate offending. Impulsivity and internalizing symptoms were positively associated with online hate offending. Online hate offenders were more likely than others to rely on in-group stereotypes (i.e., self-stereotype) in anonymous online interaction and, therefore, follow perceived group norms.	Self-Reports.  Samples were not based on probability sampling.  The convenience sample used in Study 2 was relatively small.  Cross-sectional data  Vignette scenarios only involved minimalistic interaction with the group.	Specific focus and cause of hating others online: Ingroup stereotypy
Kadam and Sachin (2020)	Scholarly discussion	Not applicable	Not applicable	During COVID-19 pandemic social media was misused for spreading fake news, hatred and creating racism in India at the time of this civil unrest.	Not Applicable	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Pandemic
Katzir, et al (2018)	Study one: Questionnaire based survey  Study two: questionnaire based survey  Study three: questionnaire based survey  Study four: Email based survey	Study one: One hundred one participants (50 men, 51 women, ages 18 – 73, M 41.87, SD 17.00)  Study two: One hundred participants (52 men, 48 women, ages 20 – 63, M 41.07, SD 12.49)  Study three: Three hundred four participants (151 men, 153 women, ages 20 – 30, M 24.51, SD 2.98)  Study four: Forty-three participants (20 men, 23 women, ages 21–30, M 24.40, SD 1.79) r	Examined disgust as an essentialist emotion that signals nonviolent out grouping with potentially low social costs. In three out of four studies, authors found that an expression of disgust (vs. anger, hate) towards homosexuals and Arabs was perceived as conveying a negative and essentializing attitude toward that group and a perception of this group as impure and immoral.	Expressions of disgust conveyed more avoidant yet less violent and less prejudiced (and therefore more legitimate) attitude than expressions of hate.	None reported by authors in article	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Arabs and homosexuals
Kotera, et al (2021)	Cross sectional scales utilising scales	N=119 Undergraduates	Findings indicate that clinical treatment may benefit from targeting the feelings of inadequacy to prevent stress progressing to psychopathology	Depression, anxiety, and stress were positively associated with inadequate-self and hated-self.	The participants were recruited through opportunity sampling at one university.  Self-report scales might limit their accuracy due to response biases.  The causal direction of these effects has not been appraised.	Specific cause of self-hatred: depression, anxiety and stress

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Kramer, et al (2021)	Individual and group psychological intervention followed by studying outcome	N=607 across three studies  Study 1: 181 children and adults  Study 2: 214 undergraduate students  Study 3: 212 undergraduate students  (Participants completed the social categorization task prior to the uncharacterized group task)	Indicate the presence of a dichotomizing heuristic with broad implications for how people make social group inferences.	Dichotomizing heuristic can lead to hatred i.e., characteristics belonging to one group do not apply to another group-when making judgments about novel social groups.	The current studies only tested the dichotomizing heuristic using an experimental paradigm featuring novel groups  The paradigm oversimplified social group membership: exploring sources of individual differences in use of the dichotomizing heuristic as well as potential connections between dichotomizing and other outcomes.  The study discontinued investigation of children's use of the heuristic in Studies 2 and 3 given the need to more strongly establish the triggers, scope, and boundaries of the phenomenon in adults.	Cognitions that can lead to development of hatred: dehumanisation
Kravis and Nathan (2017)	Scholarly discussion	Not applicable	Not applicable	Kierkegaard's concept of levelling is applied to the dynamics of envy, particularly as they come into play among psychoanalysts doing clinical analytic work. The "digital reality principle" is introduced as a way of conceptualizing an aspect of the hatred of thinking and certain envious responses to distinction.	Not applicable	Psychoanalytic approaches towards understanding development of hatred.
Kumar and Raman (2019)	Scholarly discussion	Not applicable	Not applicable	A permanent scar and hatred that would not heal even after a century was created by the British empire when the colonial rule ended in Indian in 1947.	Not applicable	Specific cause for hating inanimate objects: Historical events in the world
Kumar, et al (2021)	Cross sectional data collection and analysis from an online resource	Collection of 931,363 public tweets (original posts and replies) over a period of 1 month that mentioned at least one of 101 influential women in India.	In the social media age, online and offline public spheres overlap and intertwine, requiring improved regulatory approaches, policies, and moderation tools of "capable" guardianship that empower women to actively participate in public life.	Analysis of "hateful" tweets, we identified three broad types of violence experienced by women of influence on Twitter: dismissive insults, ethnoreligious slurs, and gendered sexual harassment. The analysis also revealed different types of individually motivated offenders: "news junkies," "Bollywood fanatics," and "lone-wolves", who do not characteristically engage in direct targeted attacks against a single person.	The current study contributes an empirical analysis of online VAW (violence against women) in the Indian context on Twitter. The results presented in the research did not include any harassing messages that were retweeted (reposted), as the focus was on the original and reply messages.  In addition, because the study period began in November 2017, the Twitter data collected was limited to 140 characters (Twitter has since doubled the allowance of characters to 280 per post).	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Women of influence

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Kupeli, et al (2017)	Community-based prospective, longitudinal online study	N=1465 university students in London and South of England  Four assessments over 18 months using multiple questionnaires.	Increases in stress are associated with decreases in BMI and that self-perceived low social status and HS predict increases in stress.	Self-hatred can develop in relation to distorted body image in those experiencing changes in body mass index, undergoing disordered eating, and experiencing stress.	Self-Report Small Male Sample Cannot be generalized to women with ED because other factors such as physical activity, smoking, alcohol consumption in non-clinical sample was not recorded.	Specific cause of self-hatred: Body image
Lammers, et al (2021)	Data analysis of five studies	Study 1: N=261 MTurk Users Study 2: N=262 MTurk Users Study 3: N=1953 MTurk Users Study 4: N=604 MTurk Users Study 5: N=619 MTurk Users	Five studies found that unrelated negative political information decreases attitudes toward political categories such as U.S. governors but has no effect on attitudes of familiar, individual politician.  This effect generalizes to all U.S. regions and is not moderated by political ideology.	Unrelated negative political information decreases attitudes toward political categories such as U.S. governors but has no effect on attitudes of familiar, individual politicians (e.g., one's own governor).	None Reported	Specific focus and cause of hating others: in context of politics and politicians related issue
Lau, et al (2017)	Cross sectional survey	N=199 female injection drug users who are also sex workers in China	In multivariate analyses, hatred towards oneself, perception of dying within 2-3 years, perceived nonavailability of HIV-related treatment, inability to cope with HIV-related trauma, and inclination to leave one's family if one contracted HIV were significant factors related to anticipated suicidal ideation under the hypothetical situation of HIV infection.	Hatred towards oneself was identified in drug users who are also sex workers (IDUSFW) under the hypothetical situation of HIV infection.	Random sampling was not feasible. Cross-sectional design The study outcome was anticipated which might be different from what would happen. Self-reported data was collected. Most of the indicators used in this study were constructed by the research team. Considerable time gap occurred between completion of data collection and analysis of data and publication.	Specific cause of self-hatred: Drug usage and sex working
Leak, et al (2017)	Intervention followed by recording behaviour	N=39 Low-income caregiver/child (aged 9-12 years)  (Caregivers were assigned six of nine strategies and implemented one new strategy per week (i.e., 6 weeks) during three dinner meals. Caregivers recorded child dinner vegetable intake)	Behavioural economics-informed strategies are feasible to implement during dinner meals, with some strategies differing by how much they influence vegetable intake among low-income children in the home.	In one study children in low-income families reported a rating for seventeen types of vegetables on a labelled hedonic scale, including the choice 'I hate it' that many of them picked.	Baseline and follow-up child dinner vegetable intake record data were not collected. Measurement error when caregivers reported child dinner vegetable intake No within-group control. Strategy: Guidebook allowed for caregivers to implement the strategies in various ways, which could have influenced the resulting vegetable intake	Specific cause for hating inanimate objects: Vegetables

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Li, et al (2021)	Cross sectional analysis of data set	N=7255 children and adolescents aged 7 to 17	More attention should be paid to self-hatred, sadness, and fatigue in the treatment of depression in left-behind children.	The most central symptoms in the Child Depression Inventory (CDI) among the left-behind children included self-hatred, crying, fatigue, and sadness.	The study which was conducted based on cross-sectional data shows that network analysis can only make undirected estimation, but not causal inferences.	Specific cause of self-hatred: Depression in left behind children
Li, Yao and Harvey (2021)	Scholarly discussion	Not applicable	Not applicable	COVID-19 pandemic led to increase in "othering practices", for example deep-seated stereotypes of Asians. Politicians and media played a role in activating or exacerbating anti-Asian hatred.	Not Applicable	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Pandemic
Lomash, et al (2019)	Qualitative study	N=90 (Direct reporting of microaggression s)	Not applicable	Microaggressions are common towards LGBT communities especially from their religious and spiritual communities.	Not applicable	Specific focus of hating others: LGBTQ Plus communities
Lu and Donna (2020)	Scholarly discussion	Not Applicable	Not applicable	COVID-19 pandemic infected the internet with misinformation including online hate.	Not applicable	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Pandemic
Malouf, et al (2017)	Qualitative study	N=9 In-depth semi structured interviews	With support from family and services, learning disabled women can become confident and successful parents. Maternity services should make reasonable adjustments when providing care to this group	To explore the lived experiences of pregnancy, childbirth, prenatal and postnatal care and services. Women with varying levels of cognitive impairment took part. Four super-ordinate themes were identified: 'I hate being treated differently' was one of them.	A convenience sample was used as gaining access to this group of participants, this was not easy and support organisations and family members acted as gatekeepers.	Specific cause of hating others: Learning disabilities
Malta, et al (2019)	Cross sectional analysis of policy documents and governmental strategies addressing SGM rights	88 documents were analysed within a timeline framework by three major Latin America and Caribbean sub-regions: the Caribbean, Mesoamerica and South America.	In the Caribbean and Mesoamerica the overall discriminatory legislation exacerbates violence against SGM (sexual and gender minority) within a social and cultural context of strong sexist, gender stereotypes and widespread violence.	In the Caribbean and Mesoamerica the overall discriminatory legislation exacerbates violence against SGM within a social and cultural context of strong sexist, gender stereotypes and widespread violence.	None reported.	Specific focus of hating others: LGBTQ Plus communities
Mantilla, and Andreas (2015)	Questionnaire based cross sectional survey	Healthy N=388, Non-Help Seeking N=227, Clinical N=6384 Swedish population. Age groups 16 to 18 and 19 to 25 (Eating Disorders Examination Questionnaire (EDE-Q))	Paper establishes strong associations between certain aspects of self-image and ED symptoms in healthy and clinical girls. In order to decrease self-criticism and increase self-acceptance, these individuals should be met with openness, patience, empathy and acceptance rather than negative control, criticism and blame. As acceptance/love and/or criticism are associated with ED symptoms in all groups, these aspects need attention not only in ED treatment, but also in prevention efforts.	Self-hatred can develop in relation to distorted body image in those suffering from eating disorders.	Cross Sectional Design Self-Report Nature Low Response Rate 3 of the 8 SASB clusters did not yield acceptable Cronbach's alphas.	Specific cause of self-hatred: Body image

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Markowski and Kelly (2018)	Qualitative study utilising focused group	N=5 Focus groups consisting of undergraduate students in US Analysis of data from a series of 5 focus groups	The study results are important because they can be used to improve the efficacy of public health initiatives focused on encouraging plant-based diet adoption and meat consumption reduction.	Fear of being hated by the family members expressed in focused group participants, in case they become vegans in future.	Focus groups were largely white, female. Small sample size. Could not link responses to speakers' characteristics.	Specific cause of hating others: Dietary preferences
Martin and Julia (2020)	Cross sectional online survey	N=788 majorly white, heterosexual females (Online survey)	In general, it can be concluded from these data that issues of gender equality were of great concern to many of the marchers issues related to economic and social equity, including salary.	Authors witnessed within some of their classrooms a more empowered hostility and intolerance to conversations pertaining to social justice. Authors agree that this phenomenon is pedagogical because this language usage not only teaches, but also legitimizes hate speech.	None reported	Specific cause of development of hatred: Social injustice
Martinez-Cola, et al (2018)	Scholarly discussion	Not applicable	Not applicable	In US, from news reports of police brutality to highly publicized acts of racial aggression, students are inundated with examples of intolerance, hatred, and racial inequality.	Not applicable	Specific cause for development of hatred: in context of pedagogy related issues
McMahon and Richard (2020)	Scholarly discussion	Not applicable	Not applicable	Raised concerns that genetic constructions of human difference might revive a politics of hate, division and hierarchy.	Not applicable	Specific focus and cause of hating others: in context of racism related issues
McNeeley, et al (2018)	Cross sectional survey utilising multilevel models	N=3700 (Nested within 123 neighbourhoods)	Not applicable	Examined whether lifestyles and neighbourhood context contribute to ethnic hate crime victimization (HCV)? Results identify several measures of lifestyle that are associated with HCV supporting lifestyle-routine activities theory and social disorganization theory.	Not applicable	Specific cause of hating others: Lifestyle related issues
Mendelsohn, et al (2021)	Linguistic analysis	Analysis of discussions of LGBTQ people in the <i>New York Times</i> from 1986 to 2015	The proposed framework and techniques to quantify salient components of dehumanization can shed light on linguistic variation and change in discourses surrounding marginalized groups.	Dehumanization is a pernicious psychological process that often leads to extreme intergroup bias and hate speech.	Journalist's personal point of view. Use of contextualized embedding-based methods have great potential. Should include more insights from dehumanization theory. Using linguistic features beyond lexicon. Only investigates one data source.	Cognitions that can lead to development of hatred: Dehumanisation

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Milling s, et al (2016)	Cross sectional survey	Sample 1 N = 623 Aged 18 to 81, Sample 2 N = 781 (256 undergrads and 525 volunteers; aged 16 to 65) (Adult Crying Inventory)	While high-avoidant individuals reported believing that crying was both unhealthy and controllable, high-anxious individuals reported believing that crying was a healthy behaviour, but one that they could not control. For individuals high on either attachment dimensions, these beliefs played a pivotal role in their crying proneness and most recent crying experiences.	"Hatred of crying" is one of four attitudes identified by Adult Crying Inventory.	Cross-Sectional Design  Self-Report Nature	Specific focus of hating a behaviour: Crying
Mou, et al (2018)	Cross sectional survey using smartphones for data collection	N=35 psychiatric inpatients	Results revealed that the association between negative affective states (e.g., abandonment, desperation, guilt, hopelessness, loneliness, rage, self-hatred, and upset), and severity of suicidal thinking was stronger among those with BPD (Borderline Personality Disorder) than among those without BPD	Association between negative affective states including self-hatred, and severity of suicidal thinking was stronger among those with BPD than among those without BPD.	BPD diagnoses were extracted from the clinical notes.  All data relied on participant self-report.  The sample size was relatively small.	Specific cause of self-hatred: BPD
Nadal and Kevin (2018)	Special issue aimed to further Microaggression Theory	Using an interdisciplinary approach, articles range in topic from intersectional identities to health and psychological outcomes, to advancing research methods.	Not applicable	Multiple types of microaggressions experienced by LGBTQ plus communities	Not applicable	Specific focus of hating others: LGBTQ Plus communities
Nishimura, et al (2021)	Cross sectional survey	N=30 healthcare workers  Measured burnout with the Japanese translation of the Maslach Burnout Inventory–Human Services Survey (MBI-HSS)	Given the prolonged pandemic causing stigmatization and hatred against HCWs, which led to increased prevalence of burnout.  High-level interventions and supports are warranted.	Prolonged COVID-19 pandemic caused stigmatization and hatred against HCWs.	The study was comprised of three cross-sectional surveys at a single centre with small sample sizes  Unable to perform follow-up surveys for the same individuals.  The response rates of surveys were between 25.4–34.6%	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Pandemic
Orozco - Núñez, et al (2015)	Qualitative study utilising semi structured interviews	Political mapping was conducted in six Mexican states.	Homophobia and discrimination associated to HIV are still considered problematic in Mexico.	Following information is provided Authors found that discriminatory and homophobic practices in the public domain occurred, damaging people 's integrity via insults, derision and hate crimes.	None reported	Specific cause of hating others: HIV/AIDS



Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Pace, et al (2018)	Exploratory study utilising a questionnaire	N=402 Caucasian adolescent attending third class of high school  Mean age 14.9 (Hating Adolescents Test, The Penn State Worry Questionnaire, and the How I Think Questionnaire)	The study suggests how the tendency towards pathological worry influences hatred among adolescents, but a relevant component is represented by the tendency to distort information and to consider ambiguous situations as hostile.	Cognitive distortions of 'pathological worrying' relates to hating behaviours.	Small Sample Size, cannot be generalised.  Same variable over different time frame should be studied (longitudinal study)	Cognitions that can lead to development of hatred
Pantano and Eleonora (2021)	Cross sectional online survey	N=653 Posts  Data analysis (All the posts including the hashtag #DGTTheGreatShow generated by users on Instagram and their automatic content analysis)	Informed by recent studies into social media marketing with emphasis on luxury brand management and the information diffusion on social media similar to the diffusion of an infectious disease the study develops a novel perspective (burst model) of the way the negative stereotypes exert negative influence on brand image in the context of a luxury brand aiming to massively increase the sales in a growing market.	As mentioned on the left	The study only focused on a negative burst.  The research only evaluated the diffusion among users across time, without considering the geographical diffusion of the information, which is also considered in the epidemic models.  The proposed model does not consider the characteristics of information such as linguistics, the presence of videos, and the narrative styles of the original posts that might have contributed to the virality of the posts	Specific focus and cause for hating inanimate objects: Business products brands
Perelberg and Rosine (2016)	Scholarly discussion focusing on analysis of a clinical example	Not applicable	Not applicable	Through a detailed analysis of a clinical example the author examines Bion's distinction between hysterical hallucinations and psychotic hallucinations and formulates her own hypothesis about the distinctions between the two. The paper suggests that whilst psychotic hallucinations express a conflict between life and death, in the hysterical hallucination it is between love and hate.	Not applicable	Psychoanalytic approaches towards understanding development of hatred
Rhodes, et al (2017)	Qualitative study	N=8 ethnically diverse aged 23 to 53 patients with psychosis and history of childhood abuse.  (Qualitative interviews interpretative phenomenological analysis)	The study points to the importance of therapy for interpersonal difficulties and the long-term effects of trauma.	Depression causes self-hatred in children.	Small Sample Size with only one type of abuse considered.  Researcher Bias  Difficulties facing victims in articulating the challenging experiences.	Specific cause of hating self in children: Childhood physical abuse

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Sakki, et al (2021)	Cross sectional analysis of comments on a social media platform	N=1 video (When the data were collected in February 2020, the video had received 13,000 likes, 4,800 dislikes, and 2,599 comments)	We believe the FP's humorous entanglement with images of threat and injustice and its call for a violent response normalizes and mainstreams the out-group's hostility, mobilizing collective hatred and polarizing public sphere.	Spread of populist rhetoric through humour that led to mobilization of collective hatred encouraging a sense of moral superiority in groups.	Finnish Context; Not Generalizable	Cause for development of collective hatred: populist rhetoric
Salminen, et al (2020)	Cross sectional survey	Classification of topics of 63,886 online news videos from Al Jazeera's website and. Scoring of 320,246 user comments on from those videos on YouTube	Findings suggest that news comment toxicity can be characterized as topic-driven toxicity that targets topics rather than as vindictive toxicity that targets users or groups. Practical implications suggest that humanistic framing of the news story (i.e., reporting stories through real everyday people) can reduce toxicity in the comments of an otherwise toxic topic.	Hateful commenting, also known as 'toxicity', frequently takes place within news stories in social media when sensitive topics are discussed. Average toxicity of comments varies by topic.	The research assumes that the topics whose comments are more toxic are also more provocative topics. The study assumes that the topic of the comment equals the topic of the video from where it was collected. Comment Authenticity (Some comments may be bot comments) Analysis omits factors, such as time and user characteristics, that could contribute to toxicity. Toxic commenting may differ across news organizations and geographical locations	Specific focus and cause of hating others online: Topic driven toxicity
Salvatore, et al (2017)	Two studies, one using a longitudinal method and the other an experimental method	Study 1: N=37 women, ethnically diverse university students  Study 2: N=117 women, non-Hispanic university students	The paper observed in two methodologically divergent studies a pattern of attraction to outgroup men that increased with increased fertility across the menstrual cycle.	Attraction to outgroup men increases as fertility increases across the menstrual cycle and hatred decreases.	Study 1: Lacked control over the different race men who women envisioned dating on the different days of their cycle The study did not assess fear of rape. Study 2: The current empirical distinction between short-term and long-term attraction is far from definitive support for the conversion strategy	Specific cause of hating others: Fluctuating fertility during menstrual cycle

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Schwartz, 2021	Cross section survey using a self-reported questionnaire	336 Israeli combat veterans	PMIE-Self was positively associated with SI, and trauma-related shame mediated this association. Moreover, collective hatred moderated both their direct potentially morally injurious events-suicide ideation(PMIE-SI) and indirect (PMIE-Shame-SI) association.	Morally injurious events can contribute to development of hatred	First, as noted, given the cross-sectional nature of the data, the directionality and causality of the associations found among the variables remain undetermined. Second, the study did not examine prior exposure to trauma, and thus it could not be controlled as a covariate. Third, as the data were derived from self-report measures, a well-acknowledged range of biases may have been introduced, caused by factors such as mood-dependent recall, forgetting, and social desirability. Fourth, we capitalized on a nonrepresentative, volunteer sample that may not accurately represent the study variables' rates of occurrence among combat veterans.	Specific cause of hating others: Morally injurious event
Selkie, et al (2016)	Cross sectional online survey	N=249 female undergraduate students from 4 colleges (Participants completed online surveys assessing involvement in 11 specific cyberbullying behaviours in any of the following roles: bully, victim, or witness)	Cyberbullying is common among college women, with more people witnessing behaviours than participating. Given the large proportion of witnesses, mobilizing bystanders is a potential target for cyberbullying in the college population.	Most witnessed behaviours that lead to or manifest as cyberbullying included "posting degrading comments or hate speech" and "posting explicit or unwanted pictures."	Sample was largely ethnically homogenous. Sample size was relatively small	Specific focus and cause of hating others: online, Witnessing online hatred
Shah, et al (2021)	Cross sectional survey	N=1249 college students. Questionnaire based	This study adds critical scientific evidence about variation in the perception of bias and hatred that should draw policy attention to race-related issues experienced by college students in the United States.	Univariate statistics revealed substantial differences in race-related bias and hatred by race, experienced during students' lifetime as well as since the onset of COVID-19	None reported	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Pandemic

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Shan, et al (2020)	Mixed method cross sectional online study	N=203 Pakistani Students enrolled in Chinese universities 152:51 Male to Female Ratio (Acculturation Stress Scale for International Students) Qualitative segment utilised semi structured interviews N-4)	Findings of the present study could be used for and guide the support mechanism at universities for international students in Chinese higher education institutions.	Immigrant students (Pakistani) can perceive hate and rejection in the new host culture (China) that can lead to acculturation stress for them impacting their academic performance. Studies can develop a self- perception of themselves being rejected or hated.	Home culture of Pakistan may not be similar to many other countries. Covered only 5 provinces with the sample of 203. Can be further studied covering more provinces and large sample based on different demographic characteristics like marital status, country of origin, religion and personality type.	Self-perceived hatred: Acculturation
Sidi and Leah (2021)	Review of theoretical reports	This article examines the reaction to the passing of the NHS and the Community Care Act in two major tabloid presses, <i>The Sun</i> and <i>The Daily Mirror</i> in the UK.	The generation of 'objects of feeling' in the tabloid media is dependent on the availability of recognisable and stable symbols. Tabloid reporting of mental illness before 1990 reveals the dominance of the image of the asylum in popular understandings of mental illness	The generation of 'objects of feeling' in the tabloid media is dependent on the availability of recognisable and stable symbols. Here the word asylum is used to generate objects of hatred and disgust for the reader, even as it performs a straightforward othering and distancing function. Asylums were also called mad houses.	None reported	Specific focus of hating inanimate objects: Mental health asylums
Simpson and Robert (2015)	Theoretical analysis of a theory	Not applicable	The intention is not to endorse the idea that in general hate speech does not contribute significantly to dehumanization, it is to say we do not know to what extent hate speech is involved here, and that where there are milieus in which it is a driving causal force, we know little about what it is within those milieus that facilitates the uptake of the dehumanizing attitudes being promulgated in hate speech.	The role played by dehumanisation in Identity-based hate speech bears responsibility for dehumanization.	Not applicable	Cognitions that can lead to development of hatred: Dehumanisation
Speed, et al (2017)	Scholarly discussion	Not applicable	Not applicable	Post-truth politics which is using social media as a mouthpiece for 'fake news' and 'alternative facts' with the intention of inciting fear and hatred of 'the other' and thereby helping to justify discriminatory health policies for marginalised groups.	Not applicable	Specific focus and cause of hating others: In context of politics and politicians related issue

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Stern and Alexandra (2021)	Scholarly discussion	Not applicable	Not applicable	There is a relationship between racism and medicalized dehumanization as observed during Holocaust.	Not applicable	Cognitions that can lead to development of hatred: Dehumanisation
Steven s, et al (2019)	Thematic analysis of posts from a social media platform	5210 Posts on "Virtuous Pedophiles" Forum.	Self-hatred/Self-harm/Suicide accounted for almost a third of discussed mental ill-health. These results highlight the severity of mental ill-health amongst this population and the coping mechanisms employed to remain offense-free.	Non-offending pedophiles' or 'minor attracted persons' are individuals who suppress an attraction to children. A thematic analysis of coping mechanisms and mental illness was conducted. Self-hatred/Self-harm/Suicide accounted for almost a third of discussed mental ill-health.	Unable to identify the efficacy of these coping mechanisms and at present cannot know the degree to which these represent protective factors.	Specific cause of self-hatred: Non offending paedophilia
Taghizadeh, et al (2021)	Qualitative study using in depth interviews	N= 26 women with childbirth violence experience who had given birth in hospitals of Ilam, Iran	This study broke the silence of abused mothers during childbirth. Findings of this study can be a warning for maternity health system, monitoring and support structures as well as health policymakers to seriously plan to prevent and eliminate this problem.	Hatred can develop because of childbirth violence experienced by a mother.	Non-generalizability and dependence of research results on conditions, especially place.	Specific focus and cause of hating others: in context of perinatal health of women
Tamir, et al (2017)	Cross sectional survey	N=2324 from 8 countries around the world (Assessment of experienced emotions, desired emotions, and indices of well-being and depressive symptoms)	The authors aim to find the answer to the question: which emotional experiences should people pursue to optimize happiness?	Happier people were those who more often experienced emotions they wanted to experience, whether these were pleasant (e.g., love) or unpleasant (e.g., hatred).	None reported	Attitudes that can lead to development of hatred: ability to express emotions
Tao, et al (2016)	Cross sectional survey utilising questionnaire	N=827 between 7 and 15 years old from five towns in Xiji County of the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region Measures included age- and sex-specific height and body mass index (kg/m <sup>2</sup> ), a food preference questionnaire, the Revised Junior Eysenck Personality Questionnaire, and the Egna Minnen av Barndoms Uppfostran-My Memories of Upbringing (EMBU).	The health status of LBC is problematic. Food preferences, personality type and parenting styles should be taken into account when measures are developed to improve the health of these children.	In other study authors reported that malnutrition rates were higher in Left Behind Children (LBC) compared to non-LBC. More LBC reported hating vegetables and fruits.	The study focused on the differences between LBC and non-LBC, not between being left behind by one parent or both. The study was based on being left behind for half a year or more and did not consider the child's age when first left behind or the total length of parental absence. The study did not consider the difference in ethnics and the target population of Han children.	Specific focus and cause for hating: inanimate objects in context of hatred of vegetables

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Tener and Dafna (2021)	Qualitative study utilising thematic analysis of semi structured interviews	N=15 Sibling Sexual Abuse Survivors	Findings reveal that regardless of how the relationships were perceived in childhood, most participants chose to distance themselves from their perpetrating siblings as adults. Thus, even in cases where the relationships were considered mutual during childhood, reconceptualization of the abuse in adulthood led to renewed understanding of its meanings and implications for the survivors' personal lives.	Adult survivors of sexual abuse develop hatred towards perpetrating siblings.	<p>The study did not address contextual factors that may deeply affect survivors' experiences.</p> <p>The study was based on retrospective experiences of adult survivors of SSA.</p> <p>The findings have limited generalizability.</p>	Specific cause of self-hatred: in the context of sexual abuse by sibling
Tessler, et al (2020)	Essay	Not applicable	Not applicable	COVID-19 pandemic elevated the risks of Asian Americans to hate crimes and Asian American businesses to vandalism.	Not applicable	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Pandemic
Tobore and Tobore (2021)	Scholarly discussion aimed at introducing a new theory	Not applicable	Not applicable	Because of the brain's energy efficiency evolutionary adaptations, all learning following memory consolidation, reconsolidation, and repeated reinforcements or strengthening over time, results in a phenomenon called MRB. The implications of this block include cognitive biases and hatred including homophobia, and transphobia.	Not applicable	Cognitions that can lead to development of hatred: Mental representation block
Tonetto, et al (2016)	Cross sectional survey utilising natural and domain specific language	N=710 Brazilians (In-depth interviews were conducted with drivers inside their cars)	The survey investigates appraisals that tend to evoke positive experiences, which can be useful to the industry.	People can develop hatred towards their cars as a part of appraisal of their cars.	<p>General theory-based surveys continue to be more convenient when researchers have limited time.</p> <p>Research instrument is specific to evaluate user experience with a single product (category)</p> <p>The approach is not suitable to develop a single survey version to be used with extremely distinct research populations</p> <p>The participants were not asked how recently they have been in their cars.</p>	Specific focus of hating inanimate objects: Feelings towards machines



Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Torkmannejad et al (2021)	Data analysis of the content generated by semi-structured interviews	N=10 mothers with a MNM (Maternal Near Miss) experience	According to the results, the mothers were faced with multiple problems, including fears and concerns, failure to adapt to the problem, and numerous physical and psychological issues after an MNM experience.	A MNM is an event in which a pregnant woman comes close to maternal death, but does not die. MNM can lead to outcome of hatred towards the medical team looking after the woman.	Data collection via interviewing 10 participants using a qualitative approach.	Specific focus and cause of hating others: in context of perinatal health of women
Tranchese, and Lisa (2021)	Corpus Linguistics analysis of Reddit forum data, research into digital behaviours	Comparison of two datasets (IncelCorpus and RedditCorpus)	The study demonstrates how both pornography and Incels are different manifestations of the same misogyny. The findings of this study highlight the normalization of violence against women (VAW), which continues to be endemic in society, enabled and exacerbated by contemporary technologies.	Violence against women (VAW), continues to be endemic in society, enabled and exacerbated by contemporary technologies.	None Reported	Specific focus and cause of hating others: in context of pornography related issues
Tynes, et al (2016)	Cross sectional survey	N=627 adolescents from 12 Midwestern US Schools. (Online surveys were administered to sixth through twelfth graders in K-8, middle and high schools)	This study highlights the need for clinicians, educational professionals, and researchers to attend to race-related experiences online as well as in traditional environments.	To explore reasons for online hate activity the authors found that amount of time spent online, traditional and online racial discrimination and adolescent adjustment (including depressive symptoms, anxiety and externalizing behaviours) contribute to it.	The study is cross-sectional.  Relationship for adolescents of colour, not examined  Overlap between online and offline discriminatory experiences over time needs more work.	Specific focus and cause of hating others: in online and social media related issues
Uyheng, and Kathleen (2020)	Cross sectional study using a combination of machine learning and network science tools	Online conversations around the COVID-19 pandemic were collected using Twitter's REST application programming interface (API) updated daily over a 75-day period from March 5 to May 19 of 2020	The integrated analysis reveals idiosyncratic relationships between bots and hate speech across datasets, highlighting different network dynamics of racially charged toxicity in the US and political conflicts in the Philippines	Bot activity is linked to higher hate in US and Philippines during COVID-19 pandemic especially in communities which are denser and more isolated from others.	Reliance on machine learning algorithms assumes comparability in the distributions of quantities. More drill-down analysis may be warranted to deepen understanding of online hate and disinformation as complex sociotechnical phenomena. Generalizability issues	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Pandemic
Wachs, et al (2019)	Cross sectional online survey	N=6289 adolescents (Self-report questionnaires on witnessing and committing online hate and assertive and technical coping)	The results showed that increases in witnessing online hate were positively related to being a perpetrator of online hate.	Increases in witnessing online hate is positively related to being a perpetrator of online hate.	Cross sectional nature. Single-item measures were used for being a bystander to and perpetrator of online hate.  The sample cannot be considered representative of adolescents from the participating eight countries.  Diverse sample and different forms of online hate should be considered.  The data relied exclusively on self-reports	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Online hate witnessing

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Wachs, et al (2018)	Cross sectional online survey	N=1480 students aged 12 to 17, from seven middle schools from the federal states of Bremen, Berlin, and Brandenburg in Germany  (Toxic Online Disinhibition. The four-item Toxic Online Disinhibition Scale)	Results revealed positive associations between being online hate bystanders and perpetrators, regardless of whether adolescents had or had not been victims of online hate themselves.	There are positive associations between being online hate bystanders and perpetrators, regardless of whether adolescents had or had not been victims of online hate themselves. Toxic online disinhibition and online hate perpetration is also associated.	Cross sectional nature limits the ability to draw causal relations.  The data was exclusively collected through self-reports  The study did not control for involvement in other forms of cyber aggressions (i.e., cyberbullying, trolling), ICT access, time spent online, or online activities, all of which may have an impact on online hate perpetration	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Online Disinhibition
Wachs, et al (2018)	Cross sectional online survey	N=1480	Positive associations between online hate victimization and perpetration. Victims of online hate reported online hate perpetration when they reported exposure to higher levels of toxic online disinhibition.	Positive associations between online hate victimization and perpetration. Victims of online hate reported online hate perpetration when they reported exposure to higher levels of toxic online disinhibition.	None reported	Specific focus and cause of hating others online: Online victimisation
Wahid et al (2021)	Qualitative study utilising a thematic analysis	N=30 females aged 10 to 18  Researchers studied the secondary data and extracted relevant information from case records.	Child sexual abuse dramatically affects the victim and society; it cannot be ignored, and prevention and intervention programs must be implemented. School-based awareness and educational programs should be promoted in Malaysia to keep children informed of the potential risks. There is a need to evaluate further the effects of child sexual abuse on survivors' conversations with their children about sex to determine whether these mothers could benefit from a parenting intervention to help them engage in healthy discussions with their children.	Children can develop a love hate relationship with the perpetrator of their sexual abuse.	Recall bias  The study excluded children with disabilities	Specific cause of hating others in children: Sexual abuse
Wang, et al (2016)	Scholarly discussion	Not applicable	Not applicable	According to authors 'Oedipal-like hatred' of a parent culture could be one of the factors that may explain historical and contemporary military tensions between Japan and China.	Not applicable	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Historical relations between nations

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Weisel, et al (2015)	Two cross sectional surveys	N= 395 football fans (Online study using EFS survey by Questback) N=1550 sorted by political affiliations. (Online questionnaire) Authors report investigating the motivations ("ingroup love" and "outgroup hate") underlying individual participation in intergroup conflict between natural groups (fans of football clubs, supporters of political parties), by employing the Intergroup Prisoner's Dilemma Maximizing-Difference (IPD-MD) game.	The study demonstrates that outgroup hate can also play an important role, depending on the degree of enmity between the groups, whether it involves imposing negative externalities or denying positive externalities, and whether conflict is morality-based.	Results show an overall reluctance to display outgroup hate by actively harming outgroup members, except when the outgroup was morality-based. More enmity between groups induced more outgroup-hate only when it was operationalized as refraining from help.	None reported by the author.	Specific cause for development of hatred: Collective hatred
Williams, et al (2021)	Cross sectional survey	N=7 Americans self-identified as incels  (exploration of demographic, cognitive, and other characteristics of seven self-identified incels who have attempted and/or successfully completed homicide)	The online incel subculture is a more recent group that appears to be growing, with their hateful ideology being associated with offline violent homicidal attacks. The specific motivations, such as revenge, typically targeted at females, but also society more generally, that drive some incels to attempt or successfully carry out well-planned acts of violence are unique to this deviant cybercommunity. However, many of the cognitive features of violent incels were found to be similar to those of other violent mass offenders, including motivations of revenge, power, and hate	Violence and hate speech within the incel community are both common, there exists a notable subset of incels who have been willing to act on those violent beliefs through the commission of acts of multiple murders.	Retrospective study  Small Sample Size	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Celibacy

Author/s	Study type	Sample	Conclusions	Information offered on generation of hatred	Limitations	Codes
Xavier, et al (2016)	Cross sectional survey utilising self-report measures	N=854 Portuguese, aged 12 to 18	The study suggests that negative experiences with parents and peer victimization, as well as the absence of positive memories with family, have a negative impact on NSSI when these experiences are linked with a sense of self-hatred and depressive symptoms	Negative experiences with parents and peer victimization, as well as the absence of positive memories with family, have a negative impact on non-suicidal self-injury when these experiences are linked with a sense of self-hatred and depressive symptoms.	Cross-sectional design Questionnaire protocol was composed of self-report measures The sample was collected from the community, replicating these results in a clinical sample of adolescent is necessary.	Specific cause of self-hatred: negative life experiences
Xu, et al (2021)	Special issue	The first three papers show examples of cyberbullying through different social media towards different groups of people. The second group of papers deals with linguistic aspects of cyberbullying in China.	Hate-speech is a form of cyberbullying In early stage of the COVID-19 pandemic, stigma was inflicted by some non-Hubei Chinese population onto Wuhan and Hubei residents, by some Hong Kong and Taiwan residents onto mainland Chinese, and by some Westerners towards overseas Chinese.	Hate-speech is a form of cyberbullying In early stage of the COVID-19 pandemic, stigma was inflicted by some non-Hubei Chinese population onto Wuhan and Hubei residents, by some Hong Kong and Taiwan residents onto mainland Chinese, and by some Westerners towards overseas Chinese.	None reported	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Pandemic
Yang, et al (2020)	Cross sectional survey	N=242 Asian-Americans residing in the United States. Questionnaire based online survey	Both social media private messaging and posting/commenting were associated with more perceived social support, which contributed to better subjective well-being. Social media posting/commenting was also related to better subjective well-being through lower worry about discrimination. In contrast, social media browsing was associated with poorer subjective well-being through more worry about discrimination.	Traditional news, social media use, and biased news exposure cultivate racial attitudes leading to anti-Asian hatred.	Longitudinal data is needed to determine directionality.  Content of users' social media activities was not analysed  Addresses only one specific challenge faced by self-identified Asian/Americans.	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Pandemic
Yang, et al (2020)	Scholarly discussion	Not applicable	Not applicable	COVID-19 pandemic led to Asians being subjected to racist behaviour and hate crimes across the world.	Not applicable	Specific focus and cause of hating others: Pandemic

## ***Generation of Hatred***

According to the information gained from analysis of these studies hatred is focused on some object/s. The victims of hatred may include the hater's own self or that of others. The studies also throw light on the reasons that may lead to development of hatred. These reasons can be internal i.e., how a hater interprets the information/stimuli that may lead to the generation of hatred, or, external i.e., how factors influencing/interacting with the hater may lead to hatred. Below we present the themes under the respective headings.

### ***Targets of Hatred***

Hatred can be directed inwards (self-hatred). It can be directed outwards for example directed towards other humans or towards inanimate objects.

#### ***Sele-hatred***

We found that people can develop hatred towards their own selves due to the following reasons. The themes reported by medical researchers are mentioned in alphabetical order below.

#### ***Attraction towards minors***

It can develop due to being attracted towards children ['non-offending paedophiles' or 'minor attracted persons'] (Stevens et al., 2019).

#### ***Drugs use and sex working***

It can develop due to being in the hypothetical scenario of being infected with HIV/AIDS in future by sex workers who use drugs (Lau et al., 2017).

#### ***Left behind children***

Self-hatred, sadness, and fatigue can develop as part of depression in left-behind children (Li et al., 2021).

#### ***Mental illness***

It can develop due to depression, anxiety or stress (Kotera et al., 2021).

It can develop due to depression with suicidal intent (Borentain et al., 2020).

It can develop in those suffering from borderline

personality disorder (Mou et al., 2018)

### ***Negative life experiences***

It can develop in those who are exposed to negative experiences with parents and peer victimization (Xavier et al., 2016)

#### ***Sexual abuse***

It can develop due to being a victim of sexual abuse as a child (Collin-Vézina et al., 2021).

#### ***Sexual abuse by sibling***

It can develop in the victims of sexual abuse by their siblings (Tener and Dafna, 2021).

#### ***Towards self-image***

It can develop due to a distorted self-image (Jalali-Farahani, 2021) that itself can have multiple causes, for example, eating disorder and self-criticism (Mantilla, 2015) or bodyweight shame (Carter et al., 2021).

#### ***Towards some aspect of self***

Self-Hatred may be limited to one aspect of the self, for example, this may include hatred towards the habit of smoking (Amato, 2021), proneness to crying (Millings, 2016) or the word 'obesity' if the subject is obese (Atkinson, 2016).

#### ***Sele-perceived hatred***

Victims may perceive being hated, for example, experiencing self-perceived hatred due to acculturation stress (Atteraya and Madhu, 2021, Iorga et al. 2020 and Shan et al., 2020).

### ***Hatred towards inanimate objects***

According to these studies haters can develop hatred towards inanimate objects or events for several reasons. They are mentioned in alphabetical order below.

#### ***Brand***

Hatred can develop towards business brands and market products (Husnain, 2021), (Pantano and Eleonora, 2021).

***Buildings***

It can develop towards asylums [mad houses] (Sidi and Leah, 2021).

***Historic event***

Kumar and Raman (2019) report that a permanent scar and hatred was created by the British empire when British colonial rule ended in India in 1947.

***Machines***

It can develop towards cars (Tonetto et al, 2016).

***Political bodies***

It can develop towards political bodies (Camparo et al., 2021).

***Vegetables***

It can develop towards vegetables as a dietary option (Leak et al., 2017), (Tao et al, 2016).

***Reasons for hating other humans***

The studies highlight several reasons why haters develop hatred towards other people. The emerging themes are organised below in alphabetical order.

***Academic performance***

People may hate others on the basis of their academic performance (Shan et al., 2020).

***Addictions***

People may be hated If they are addicted to a substance (Horta and Ana, 2016).

***Age***

People may be hated if they belong to a certain age group (Amato et al., 2021).

***Care needs***

People may be hated if they have specific care needs (Atkinson et al., 2016).

***Childhood related issues and events***

Children may develop hatred towards others if they

are left-behind in childhood by their parents (Li et al., 2021). If they have negative experiences with parents in childhood (Xavier et al., 2016). Due to peer victimization in childhood (Xavier et al., 2016). Due to absence of positive memories with family in childhood (Xavier et al., 2016). If they are sexually abused by a sibling (Tener and Dafna, 2021). If they are born in an area where hate crime rate is high (McNeeley et at., 2018). If their parents underwent a pathological divorce (Bensussan, 2017).

***Difference including class differences***

People may be hated if they are different [prejudice towards difference] (Cichocka et al., 2017). If there is a history of class differences in a country (Gadotti et al., 2021).

***Gender, gender identity and sexual preference***

People may be hated if they are females (Hoskin and Rhea ,2020). If they are of a sexual or gender minority (Lomash et al., 2019), (Malta et al., 2019), (Mendelsohn et al., 2021), (Nadal and Kevin L, 2018). If they have specific sexual preferences (Hoskin and Rhea, 2020). If they have their normal sexual preferences and practices but incels cannot find sexual partners for themselves (Williams et al., 2021).

***Immigration***

Hating of others because they are immigrants (Gheorghiu et al., 2021). Or they are refugees (Álvarez and Fabian, 2020).

***Medical conditions***

People may be hated if they are HIV positive (Lau et al., 2017). If they are family members of someone with chronic medical conditions (Chang et al., 2021). If they are a medical team who is looking after a patient who underwent a maternal near miss experience (Torkmannejad et al., 2021).

***Mothering and childbirth related***

Mothers may develop hatred towards others if they are exposed to childbirth violence (Taghizadeh et al., 2021). If they experienced a maternal near miss experience (Torkmannejad et al., 2021).

***Online activity***

People may develop hatred towards others if they

are exposed to sensitive news stories on social media (Salminen et al., 2020). If they are exposed to cyberbullying (Selkie et al., 2016). If they spend extended durations of time online (Tynes et al., 2016). If they practice traditional and online racial discrimination (Tynes et al., 2016). When people observe hostility and intolerance to conversations that are related to social injustice (Martin et al., 2020). When online bot activity leads to the generation of hatred (Uyheng and Carley, 2020). If people are exposed to social psychopathologies such as dissociation and perversion (Gadotti et al., 2021). If people are observers of benign online disinhibition (Harriman et al., 2020). If people have access to irrelevant online negative information about politicians or political bodies (Lammers et al., 2021). Due to the spread of negative information online [real or fictitious] (Camparo et al., 2021). If people are exposed to post-truth politics, fake news, and alternative facts (Speed et al., 2017). By Spread of fake news on social media (Speed and Russell, 2017). By misuse of social media in general (Kadam et al., 2020) and by misuse of contemporary technologies on social media (Tranchese et al., 2021). When people get exposed to narratives online that fuel conspiracy theories (Ferrara et al., 2020) due to social bot interference (Uyheng et al., 2020). If they are online hate bystanders for online hate perpetration (Selkie et al., 2016). If they witness online hate or they are exposed to toxic online disinhibition for online hate perpetration (Wachs et al., 2018). If they are communicating with a stranger on social media (Harriman et al., 2020).

### ***Pandemic***

Other people may be hated if they live in Wuhan (Hubei) where the COVID-19 pandemic emerged or if they live elsewhere in China, again for the same reason that COVID-19 pandemic emerged from there (Xu et al., 2021).

If they are children or adult family members subjected to 'stay at home restrictions' due to the pandemic (Babvey et al., 2021). If they are communities that are denser and more isolated from others during a pandemic (Uyheng, and Kathleen, 2020). If they already suffer from AIDS and develop COVID-19 (Hall et al., 2021). If haters are exposed to diffusion patterns of COVID-19 misinformation (Lu and Donna, 2020). If prolonged pandemic caused stigmatization/hatred against health care workers who are caring for patients (Nishimura et al., 2021).

### ***Race and ethnicity***

People may be hated if they are a racial minority in the UK when it is undergoing a decision whether to remain part of the European Union or not (Dalle et al., 2020). If they are an ethnic minority in an area (Bauer et al., 2018). If they are Black or Asian or multiple races or another non-White race (Bianchi, 2018). If they are Arabs (Katzir et al., 2018). If they belong to a different race compared to majority in an area (Tynes et al., 2016). Because of their regional identification (Hackett et al., 2020). If they are exposed to racial aggression (Martinez-Cola et al., 2018).

### ***Religion, faith, and ideology***

People may be hated if If they differ in ideology from the majority (Bélanger, 2021). If they are Muslims (Hackett et al., 2020). If they are non-Muslims (Fanani et al., 2020). If they are exposed to arsenic in the Ganges River (Chakraborti et al., 2018). If one's faith is seen as societal threat (Hackett et al., 2020).

If they are persuaded to hatred using grounds of ['nature of situation', the 'authority appeal', the 'duty', the 'logical empirical' and the 'moral appeal'] (Fanani et al., 2020). If they are exposed to morally injurious events (Schwartz, 2021).

### ***Social issues***

People may develop hatred if they are exposed to social prejudice (Hoskin and Rhea, 2020). If they are exposed to the practice of propagation of moral values oriented around group preservation [Prejudice] (Hoover, 2021).

### ***Others***

Other people may be hated if they were perpetrators of childhood physical or sexual abuse or both towards victim (Collin-Vézina et al., 2021). If they are considered an outgroup for any reason (Weisel et al., 2015). If they have certain types of lifestyles or routine activities (McNeeley et al., 2018). If they exhibit social disorganisation (McNeeley et al., 2018). If they are hypocrites (Jordan et al., 2017). If they are part of a community that carried out terrorist attacks (Álvarez and Fabian, 2020). If they have been discussed in sensitive topics (Racism, Israel-Palestine or War and Conflict) on social media news stories (Salminen et al., 2020). If they are politicians, influential or authority figures (Camparo et al., 2021).



If they are related to pornography (Janin and Claude, 2015). If they are a nation that historically has conflicts with another nation (Wang et al., 2016). If they have specific dietary preferences (Markowski and Kelly, 2018).

If they are violent (Blanco et al., 2020). People may develop hatred if they are exposed to spread of populist rhetoric through humour (Sakki and Jari, 2021). If they are exposed to police brutality (Martinez-Cola et al., 2018). If they are exposed to violence (Babvey et al., 2021). If they are exposed to economic downturn [recession] (Bianchi et al., 2018). If they are exposed to “othering practices” for example, deep-seated stereotyping of a group of people (Li et al., 2021). If they are exposed to hate speech for any reason (Mendelsohn et al., 2021). If they are being physically or sexually abused by someone (Tener and Dafna, 2021). If they are stigmatised for any reason (Xu et al., 2021).

### ***Internal reasons for development of hatred***

The medical researchers found the following internal psychological, emotional and other relevant reasons that lead to development of hatred. They are described in alphabetical order below.

#### ***Attitudes***

Ability to express emotions (Tamir et al., 2017)

Prejudice (Hoover, 2021)

#### ***Cognitions***

Ideological obsession and perceived social injustice (Bélanger and Jocelyn, 2021).

Dehumanisation the other person or group (Kramer et al., 2021), (Mendelsohn et al., 2021), (Simpson and Robert, 2015), (Stern and Alexandra, 2021)

Pathological worrying (Pace et al., 2018).

Learning following memory consolidation, reconsolidation, and repeated reinforcements or strengthening over time, resulting in a phenomenon called mental representation block (Tobore and Tobore, 2021).

Constant appraisal of body image or body weight (Mantilla, and Andreas, 2015).

#### ***Emotions***

Because people want to experience it as a part of their emotions (Tamir et al., 2017).

Because someone/something generates disgust in hater. (Matsumoto et al., 2017)

Impulsivity and internalizing symptoms in case of online hate offending (Kaakinen, 2020).

Reliance on in-group stereotypes [i.e., self-stereotype] (Kaakinen et al., 2020).

Development of combination of emotions of anger, contempt, and disgust [ANCODI] (Matsumoto et al., 2017).

#### ***Feelings***

Complete absence of love for someone or something (Bisagni, 2020).

Having mixed feelings of love and hatred towards someone (Perelberg and Rosine, 2016).

Having stronger feelings of love in the past towards the one who is hated (Jin et al., 2017).

Feeling emptiness inside (Jaccard et al., 2021).

Because hate serves bookkeeping and commitment functions within relationships (Matthew and Daniel, 2017).

Depression (Kotera et al., 2021).

#### ***Heuristics***

Access to dichotomising heuristics (Kramer et al., 2021).

#### ***Individual motivation***

Individually motivated offenders including “news junkies,” “Bollywood fanatics,” and “lone-wolves” who do not characteristically engage in direct targeted attacks against a single person but express hatred towards women of influence on social media for example doing hateful Tweets [through the online platform called Twitter] (Kumar, et al 2021).

#### ***Perceptions***

Perception of someone (whether self or others) as an

excessive load/burden due to the care-needs that one has (Horta and Ana, 2016).

Because someone sends false signals to hater's brain due to their hypocrisy. (Jordan et al., 2017)

### **Others**

Oedipal-like hatred (Wang et al., 2016).

Identity saving (Jaccard et al., 2021).

Development of a digital reality that is different from true reality (Kravis and Nathan, 2017).

Experiencing moral disengagement (Blanco et al., 2020).

## **DISCUSSION**

I learnt that it is difficult to categorise the reasons for development of hatred in the form of any simplified categories. The above described organisation of results is data driven and it is one of the pragmatic ways in which I was able to present the findings. The major themes that were identified on thematic analysis of 113 studies included targets of hatred, reasons for development of self-hatred, self-perceived hatred, reasons of hatred towards other humans and internal reasons for development of hatred. Medical researchers all over the world are obviously working in varied environments, cultures, circumstances and have unique personal and academic interests. However, it appears that regardless of the circumstances or the background they all appreciate that hatred and hateful mind-sets exist and that efforts are needed to understand various aspects of hatred. From a medical and psychiatric point of view, they seem to make use of scientific approaches like psychological, psychopathological, neurological, neurobiological and physiological approaches etc. to understand the subject matter. Among targets of hatred, the medical researchers are keen to explore the reasons for self-hatred too. Exploration of self-hatred is useful especially in understanding its development in depressive illness that may lead to subsequent self-harm and even suicide. Hatred is also reported to have developed towards inanimate objects or historical events. It can be a person's inner thoughts, feelings, emotions, interpretations, approaches or attitudes that can lead to the development of this mind-set. Or it can be external reasons, for example, the kind of environment, peer group, background, culture, economic situation or society that one is exposed to.

One major reason that leads to the development of hatred that stands out across studies is the intolerance towards the difference that others may present with, namely, difference in race, in ethnicity, gender, sexual preferences, religion, ideology, regional background, status of illness, personal habits or age are some of the recurrent themes that are reported. With regards to environmental factors, and given the time of cross-sectional data collection, the importance of online/virtual environments and practices are highlighted across studies. During the COVID pandemic when real life contact was decreased and online virtual interactions increased significantly, researchers had the opportunity to study the patterns and behaviours that led to the development of hateful behaviours and mind-sets in the virtual world, especially on virtual social media platforms.

It appears that the findings of this review are in keeping with the findings that others have quoted on various platforms. For example the online website titled 'Understanding and overcoming hate' (<https://www.overcominghateportal.org>) offers a list of multiple categories and kinds of hatred. According to this website Every-Day Hate includes peer rejection, bullying, mocking, teasing, social exclusion and ostracism. Discriminative-Hate can be carried out on the basis of gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, ethnicity, nationality, family heritage, socioeconomic status (class), regional location, party affiliation, looks, hair length, clothes, body type, disability, weight, and age. Hate on the basis of Dogmatic Beliefs (isms) is carried out on the grounds of ideologies, nationalism, exceptionalism, manifest destiny, fundamentalism, literalism, millennialism, and McCarthyism. Stereotyping (caricature) type hatred manifests as stigmatizing, scapegoating, attribution, or projection. Prejudice-Racism-Bigotry like hatred manifests as supremacy, aversive racism, and chauvinism. Xenophobia manifests as tribalism, anti-immigrant, nativism and ethnocentrism. Hate Groups and Extremism manifests as coercive cults, white supremacy groups, militia groups, neo-Nazi/far right, patriot movement, right wing populism, gun groups, jihadist revolutionaries and the John Birch society (American ultraconservative, far-right, radical right political advocacy group). There are a further five types of hatred that are classified under the common heading of social injustice. Among these manifestations of Institutional-Discrimination include disenfranchisement, segregation, eugenics, apartheid, forced sterilization, racial quotas, racial profiling, caste systems and

state-sponsored pogroms. The manifestations of Collective-Rage include group-activated violence, (hazing, wilding, gang rape, riots), (lynch mobs; vigilante justice), (ethnic violence, hate crimes), mass hysteria leading to massacres (i.e., Rwanda Genocide, witch trials), terrorist acts, suicide bombings and witch hunts. The manifestation of Abuse of Power includes death squads, rebel and state-run paramilitary, mercenary violence, police brutality, secret police, rendition, denial of civil liberties and rights and torture. Oppression like hate manifests as autocratic authoritarian regimes, forced collectivization, fascism, theocracy, kleptocracy, oligarchy and plutocracy. And finally, the Extreme Cruelty on Mass Scale manifests as deliberate annihilation, atrocities, torture, eliminationism, massacres, human trafficking, war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide.

Comparing the findings of this review with the categories appearing on the website it appears that medical researchers are reporting many of these forms and categories of hatred. However, there are some categories like self-hatred and self-perceived hatred that are not mentioned on other forums but are an area of special interest for medical/mental-health researches. I did not come across any contradictions in findings of this review to the findings on other forums, for example, in the above mentioned website. However for medical researchers the biological, psychological and social understandings of these matters appear more pertinent than understanding the political or historical aspects of the same. Nonetheless, it seems that medical researchers are neither oblivious nor blind towards the non-medical aspects that are sometimes an integral part of the bigger picture.

### ***Multiplicity of meanings***

I found that the medical researchers are interested in several aspects of exploring hatred and use the same word for numerous meanings. It is nearly impossible to summarise them under discrete types. However, the emerging categories following analysis of initial coding of all included studies provide an opportunity to broadly understand that when medical researchers use the word hatred, then what are they aiming for? To fully understand the meaning of the same word, the background, broader aim of the study and context of the discussion in which the word is used needs to be kept in mind. Without that, any conclusion drawn about the meaning of hatred may lead to

a spurious outcome. This multiplicity of meaning finding agrees with numerous categories and kinds of hatred outlined on the website 'Understanding and overcoming hate'. This systematic literature search provides the opportunity for us to appreciate a variety of opinions that have been incorporated into the data pool across a longer duration of time. On one hand, the opinions of individual authors can be understood in detail, and on the other, a broader viewpoint emerges by combining the acquired knowledge from individual studies.

### ***Self-perceived hatred and Self-hatred***

There were a couple of themes that were identified in medical literature and were not commonly reported in other sources. One of these themes was that of self-perceived hatred. For example, studies carried out by Atteraya et al., (2021) and Shan et al., (2020) on students belonging to a variety of nationalities and ethnic backgrounds reported that students can perceive hate and rejection in the new host culture that they join for their academic needs. This perception appears to be the part of acculturation stress that they experience. This is a unique theme that suggests that hatred is more like a mindset that people can develop towards how they perceive they are treated and what they internally consider what hatred is.

About fourteen authors talk about self-hatred that subjects experience for a variety of reasons. For example, some recurrent emerging themes for the generation of self-hatred are in the context of depressive illness and in the context of repeat self-appraisal of body image. However, other than that, there are some unique reasons for the development of self-hatred that are highlighted by this literature review. For example, Stevens et al., (2019) described that non-offending paedophiles are a group of individuals that are attracted to children but nevertheless suppress their attraction. They are reported to develop self-hatred as a result of experiencing such feelings. In case of self-hatred in children, three articles, including those written by Rhodes et al., (2017), Collin-Vézina et al., (2021) and Gijzen et al., (2021), highlight that it is the childhood physical abuse, childhood sexual abuse and childhood depression that leads to its development. Childhood depression appears to be a recurrent emerging theme that may lead to development of self-hatred in children.

## ***Hating others***

### ***Hating inanimate objects***

It seems people can develop a hatred towards almost anything and anyone. This may include other objects and other people. The inanimate objects can be hated for various reasons for example, Tonetto et al., (2016), reported that people can develop hatred towards their cars after an appraisal. Whether it is one's body image that is appraised, one's own self that is appraised or if it is an inanimate possession, this negative appraisal reinforces the generation of hatred. Some children reported to have developed hatred towards vegetables as a dietary option, Leak et al., (2017).

### ***Events that lead to hatred of others***

Hatred tends to manifest following exposure to some important and usually stressful personal or social event. For example, one repeatedly reported event that led to the generation of hatred was the COVID-19 pandemic. Out of 59 studies that dealt with hatred towards others, 15 studies reported the development of hatred due to COVID-19 pandemic. One reason for this obviously is that the cross-sectional data was collected when the world was still going through the impact of COVID-19, and it was an area of interest for medical researchers at the time. However, at the same time the other aspect was that COVID-19 generated unprecedented stress, anxiety, vulnerability, scarcity of resources and increased competition to receive the required help and health care from shared common resources. For example, Erasmus reported that professionals carrying out critical care triage can possibly develop hate towards elderly patients when work stresses are increased due to extra work generated by a pandemic (Erasmus, 2020). Nishimura et al (2020) reported that the COVID-19 pandemic caused stigmatization and hatred against Health Care Workers (HCWs), which led to increased prevalence of burnout in them. Hall et al., (2021) described experiences of those AIDS (HIV positive) patients who tested positive for COVID-19 too, the majority regarding their HIV diagnosis as having a more profound impact on their lives compared to being affected by the pandemic but found similarities between COVID-19 stigma and HIV-related stigma. Other significant events reported by authors that led to the generation of hatred were the UK Brexit

movement (Dalle et al., 2020) and US presidential elections of 2016 (Hackett et al., 2020).

### ***Cognitions that contribute towards hatred***

Nine articles reported on the role that cognitions play in the generation of hatred. For example, the role of Dehumanisation is discussed by four different authors in a variety of scenarios (Kramer et al., 2021) (Mendelsohn et al., 2021) (Simpson and Robert 2015) and (Stern and Alexandra, 2021). Nonetheless, in addition to that, medical researchers have reported some other cognitive patterns too that are related to hatred. For example. Bélanger (2021) reported that ideologically obsessed individuals are easily threatened by information that criticises their ideology, which in turn leads to hatred and violent retaliation. Tobore and Tobore (2021) described 'Mental representation block' (MRB). According to them, because of the brain's energy efficiency evolutionary adaptations, all learning following memory consolidation, reconsolidation, and repeated reinforcements or strengthening over time, results in a phenomenon called MRB. The implications of this block include cognitive biases and hatred including homophobia, and transphobia.

### ***Attitudes, emotions, and sentiments that contribute towards hatred***

In addition to emotions, medical researchers are interested in exploring around attitudes, emotions, and sentiments too that lead to the generation of hatred. For example, Cichocka et al (2017) described that after controlling for self-esteem, narcissistic self-evaluation was positively associated with the social dominance orientate, that leads to hatred of others. Gheorghiu et al (2021) reported that immigrants from low-status or poorer countries (Poland, India) are more likely to be perceived as encroaching on the majority group's entitlements than those from high-status or richer countries (Germany, Australia). Hoskin and Rhea (2020) reported that sources of oppression underlying many forms of violence today (e.g., anti-LGBTQ+ hate crimes, Incel attacks, sexual violence, transgender murders) are all symptoms of the same underlying social prejudice: femmephobia. Gervais et al (2017) reported that sentiments are functional networks of attitudes and emotions. Distinct sentiments, including hate serve both bookkeeping and commitment functions within relationships.



### ***Social issues that lead to development of hatred and collective hatred***

Medical researchers are interested in exploring and understanding social reasons for development of hatred too. For example, Martin and Julia (2020) who are teachers, carried out a survey on students marching for social justice. They reported that issues of gender equality were of great concern to the marchers, in particular, issues related to economic and social equity for example including inequality of the salary among genders. Whilst exploring the reasons for the development of collective hatred, Sakki et al (2021) reported that it was the spread of populist rhetoric through humour that led to the mobilization of collective hatred, encouraging a sense of moral superiority in groups during the US presidential election campaign in 2016. Whilst exploring the group-hatred, Weisel et al (2015) reported that outgroup hate can play an important role towards development of group hatred, depending on the degree of enmity between the groups, whether it involves imposing negative externalities or denying positive externalities, and whether conflict is morality-based.

### ***Psychoanalytic approaches towards understanding hatred***

On the subject of hatred, medical researchers are interested in exploring the reasons for the generation of hatred employing psychodynamic and psychoanalytical approaches. Kravis and Nathan (2017) applied Kierkegaard's concept of 'levelling' to the dynamics of envy, particularly as they come into play among psychoanalysts doing clinical analytic work. The 'digital reality principle' is introduced as a way of conceptualizing an aspect of the hatred of thinking and certain envious responses to distinction. In another example, through a detailed analysis of a clinical example, Perelberg and Rosine (2016) examines Bion's distinction between hysterical hallucinations and psychotic hallucinations and formulates their own hypothesis about the distinctions between the two. Their paper suggests that whilst psychotic hallucinations express a conflict between life and death, hysterical hallucinations express the conflict between love and hate.

### ***Role of online resources towards the generation of hatred***

At least nine studies covered the role of a variety of

online platforms that contribute to the development of hatred. It appears that the virtual world is unique in several ways making it distinct and sometimes a dangerous environment that may lead to the development of hatred. For example, Salminen et al (2020) carried out the classification of online news on a news channel and reported that hateful commenting, also known as 'toxicity', frequently takes place within news stories in social media when sensitive topics are discussed. Average toxicity of comments varies by topic. Selkie et al (2016) reported that most commonly witnessed online behaviours that lead to or manifest as cyberbullying included "posting degrading comments or hate speech" and "posting explicit or unwanted pictures". According to Tynes et al (2016), the reasons for online hate activity, includes the amount of time spent online, traditional, and online racial discrimination, and adolescent adjustment (including depressive symptoms, anxiety, and externalizing behaviours). Uyheng, and Kathleen (2020) collected online conversations around the COVID-19 pandemic and reported that 'Bot activity' was linked to higher hate in the US and the Philippines during the COVID-19 pandemic. The findings of this review suggest that virtual world scenarios are equally capable of contributing towards the generation and spread of hatred as real-world ones.

### ***Contributions from the current study***

This study highlights that the systematic review of medical literature could be a good source to understand the variety of aspects of hatred. With the backdrop of existing knowledge, the current study brings a variety of approaches and opinions together that suggest that medical researchers are keen to understand 'hatred' from different perspectives and points of view. It appears that some are interested in understanding the internal reasons at the level of cognitions, attitudes, sentiments, and personalised meanings of the subjects that develop hatred, whilst others are keen to explore the external reasons that may lead to its development. The findings of the review suggest that various different forms of hatred surfaced, or some already existing manifestations of hatred intensified following some significant global events. In addition, this study also highlights the latest online (virtual) reasons that lead to the development of hatred that seem to have some similarities with real world patterns but with some uniqueness that are specific to online interactions only.

## CONCLUSIONS

The word 'hatred' is used in medical literature in a multiplicity of meanings that range from using it in its literal sense to describe a subtle attitude such as a phobia-philia relationship, or to describe a unique outcome that is generated as an interplay of several different kind of factors. These may include cognitions, behaviours, social interactions, attitudes, sentiments, developmental backgrounds, psychodynamic interactions with others in real and virtual worlds etc. It may be ignored as another day-to-day attitude and paid little attention, for example, someone using the word hatred to describe the disliking of his car. However, on the other hand, it may manifest as negative expressions, for example of raging dehumanising contempt and disrespect that may be accompanied with extreme actions towards what is hated. It appears that hatred is more like a mind-set that people can develop towards themselves, towards others and towards inanimate objects or situations too. Fear, anger and disgust are primary emotions (that we are born with); human psyche is naturally prone to several inevitable cognitive errors; human thought is subjected to unavoidable logical fallacies; and human ego cannot avoid utilising unhealthy ego-defence mechanisms. Every child is born in a family and culture that has its own unique background and history. Therefore, it appears that we humans are prone to the generation of the hateful mindset as an unavoidable outcome in a variety of scenarios. It seems that depending on the background of the person or the group, their environment and circumstances and the intensity of the stress that one is exposed to, the generation of the hateful mind set will vary. There are several other factors that contribute towards its generation. Keeping these generational patterns in view, it would be reasonable to say that an early detection and addressing the early warning signs towards development of the hateful mind-set would be helpful for ourselves and for others. As the word is used in several different meanings, the background information, context and overall scenario of the discussion needs to be kept in mind whilst attempting to draw any meanings about the use of hate/hatred in a verbal or written expression. In each case where the word 'hatred' is used, needs to be approached with epistemic curiosity and in some instances, it may need detailed epistemic inquiry to fully comprehend the meaning of this word in any given expression. More similar kind of research would hopefully bring more insights into the subject with time.

## LIMITATIONS

This literature review took a cross-sectional approach for data collection at a specific point in time. There are multiple studies that are added to the same data base ever since the information was collected for this study and during the course of data interpretation, write up and publication. Choosing from the most recently added studies from 2015 onwards in PubMed was initially to keep the focus on contemporaneous studies. However, it was realised after the initial data was collected that even older studies were added at Pub Med. As the data was already collected, I decided to mention this pitfall in the limitations section rather than changing the entire research strategy and carry out data collection again.

## MOTIVATION AND DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to Mrs Talat Afzaal, my primary school (Divisional Public School Faisalabad, Pakistan) teacher who lost her life in a terrorist attack in London, Ontario, Canada on 6<sup>th</sup> June 2021. Mrs Afzaal was 72 years old. The motivation for this study came to reflect on the reasons that go through the mind of people who perform acts of hatred, like terrorism. The Canadian government immediately declared the incidence as an act of Islamophobia (Jiwani, 2022). It appears that Mrs Afzaal and three of her family members were apparently killed because of the attire that they were wearing. If Nathaniel Veltman had had the opportunity to meet Mrs. Afzaal, I am sure he would have appreciated that she was an unsuitable stereotyped candidate except for her attire. Following a road traffic accident and having undergone plastic surgery it was difficult for her to face the society with the scars on her face, though she never gave up fulfilling her professional responsibilities. In the early 1980s culture of Faisalabad (Pakistan), when a military dictator had imposed martial law rules restricting the freedom of women, it was not easy for a woman to work as a schoolteacher. It was difficult for any family to face the conservative community in that culture where the woman of the house works, and the family relies on her wage. She herself was educated, and she prepared her children to choose higher education. She was a disciplinarian and would insist on rules to be followed as an essential virtue whilst teaching us in the classroom. She was able to take the initiative in her sixties and embrace change to emigrate out of the country to a different culture. In order to understand more about the social circumstances that she was

exposed to, I would refer to the life stories of Benazir Bhutto, ex-prime minister of Pakistan who herself was assassinated in a terror attack (Bhutto, 2014) and Malala Yousufzai, the youngest Nobel Peace Prize holder of Pakistani origin who was shot in head in a terror attack for advocating in favour of education of young girls (Yousafzai and McCormick, 2014). The narratives of these well-known Pakistani women frankly cover the problems and challenges that they faced in Pakistani society due to their gender. At one level, it feels that it is not only the murder of another Asian immigrant on the street, but it is also the murder of a dream of an independent, free, opinionated, and self-sufficient Pakistani woman; a privilege that she is largely denied in her parent culture. Mrs Afzaal apparently was striving to achieve this in her new host culture. It seems that her efforts to achieve independence and betterment in her quality of life and of her family's continued to the end of her days. Goodbye Mrs. Afzaal.

## DECLARATION

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In addition, to the generation of hatred, data about manifestation, detection, assessment and addressing hatred was also collected as a part of same review but the results are not discussed here. There is a scope to present the manifestation, assessment and addressing hatred parts of this review in separate articles in future.

**Conflict of interest:** I do not identify any conflict of

interest in this project.

**Ethical approval:** The research process did not involve any direct engagement with clients; hence, it didn't require a formal ethical approval.

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