Community Risk Factors for Hate Crimes:

Race/Ethnic and Economic Change

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Abstract

Research on the relationship between community race/ethnic and economic change and the base rates of hate crimes has been rarely studied in the social sciences. The present study examined the role of race/ethnic and economic change in Los Angeles between 1990 and 2000 to determine their relationship to hate crime occurrence. Data collected from Los Angeles hate crime reports, including victim and offender race/ethnicity, the level of severity, and the level of bias, were combined with census data for the 1990 and 2000 censuses for race/ethnic and economic change in the corresponding census tract in which the hate crime/incident occurred. No relationship was found between economic change and hate crimes. While differences among victim race/ethnicity (White, African American, and Hispanic) and their corresponding race/ethnic change (decreasing, stable, or increasing) were largely not significant, there were significant differences between African American and White offenders and their corresponding change in race/ethnic population.

In 1986, a group of 20 White teenagers brutally attacked three African American men in Howard Beach, New York (Levin & McDevitt, 2002). The teens were motivated by the belief that the African American men did not belong in their neighborhood and needed to be driven out. Hate crimes are often shocking acts committed by a prejudiced few to rid their community of undesirable groups. This case called attention to the severity of hate crimes, as have many incidents since, such as the brutal murders of Matthew Shepard and James Byrd. These extreme cases are but a few of the many hate crimes that frequently occur in our present time. While many hate crimes are less severe in physical damage than murder, all hate crimes and hate incidents have the potential to inflict great emotional harm not only on the victims, but on the whole community of the victim as well. Because of the serious and far reaching effects of hate crimes, many researchers have examined both the precipitating factors and the consequences of hate crimes in an effort to understand and attempt to prevent hate crimes.

Although crimes committed with bias intent are hardly a recent phenomenon, legislation attempting to combat hate crimes is relatively new. In 1990, congress passed the Hate Crime Statistics Act (HCSA), which required the federal government to collect data on hate crime incidence in the United States (McVeigh, Welch, & Bjarnason, 2003). The HCSA classifies hate crimes as "crimes that manifest evidence of prejudice based on race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity, including where appropriate the crimes of murder, non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, aggravated assault, simple assault, intimidation, arson and destruction, damage, or vandalism of property." The HCSA was amended in 1994 to include crimes committed with bias against individuals who are mentally or physically disabled.

Several problems plague the uniform collection of data on hate crimes in the United States. One problem of coming to an accurate gauge of hate crime incidence in the United States is the varying definitions of hate crimes across states. Not all states have laws against hate crimes and among those that do, some criminalize hate acts themselves, while other states only add an enhancement to other crimes which include a hate element. Additionally, some of the states with laws against hate crimes do not include bias against sexual orientation, suggesting that an acceptance of bias against homosexuals is prevalent in these states (Johnson & Byers, 2003).

Accurate methods of collecting and labeling hate crimes also vary greatly between states. While California reported 1472 hate crimes in the year 2003, other states, such as Alabama and Mississippi only reported one hate crime each (U. S. Department of Justice, 2004). Clearly these values do not represent the actual prevalence of hate crimes in these states. One problem is that the Hate Crime Statistics Act does not require individual law enforcement agencies to collect data on hate crimes. Alabama and Mississippi each have only one police department reporting to the federal government. Another problem in compiling an accurate account of the frequency of hate crimes is the reluctance of victims of hate crimes to report the occurrence to the police. Herek, Gillis, and Cogan (1999), studied lesbian, gay and bisexual adults' experiences with victimization by surveying 2,259 individuals. Their study found that only 35-46% of the subjects who were victims of hate crime reported the incident to the police, while 61-72% of the subjects who were victims of other crimes reported the incident to the police. Victims of hate crimes may be fearful of the repercussions of making their victimization

known. Despite these shortcomings, statistics on hate crimes reported to law enforcement can provide valuable information to researchers.

The disparity of hate crime criminalization among states and their law enforcement agencies exemplifies the importance of generating research that clearly identifies the unique qualities of hate crimes and the need for unified labeling, prosecution, and prevention of hate crimes. Some critics have questioned legislation against hate crimes. Jeff Jacoby asserts that hate crime laws punish opinions, not actual crimes, and therefore deny a basic human right to freedom of thought (Jacoby, 2002). However, hate crime legislation does not punish the thoughts of the offender, but rather the greater amount of harm caused by the bias act. Nolan and Akiyama (cited in Nolan, Akiyama, & Berhanu, 2002) cite several benefits of hate crime legislations:

> (HCSA) would… (a) raise the public's awareness about the nature and extent of hate crimes; (b) provide a baseline for research and program development; (c) help support the development of effective hate crime legislation; (d) provide law enforcement with information to help them become more effective in working with communities to combat hate crime; and (e) encourage victims to come forward and get the support and assistance they may need. (p. 137)

The importance of hate crime legislation has been supported by numerous studies. Research has found that hate crimes are often more violent and instrumental in nature than other crimes (Dunbar, 2003). Hate crimes are also more psychologically damaging to victims than other crimes over a longer period of time (Herek, Gillis, & Cogan, 1999; McDevitt, Balboni, Garcia, & Gu, 2001).

Edward Dunbar (2003) examined the distinct characteristics of hate crime offenders in order to aid the prosecution of these offenders, as well as to contribute to our knowledge of hate crime offenders as a distinct class of criminals. In this study, Dunbar reviewed the criminal records of 58 hate crime offenders convicted in Los Angeles County between 1995 and 1997. These offenders were coded on several scales that measured the offender's bias, type of aggression, crime severity, risk factors for criminal activity, and psychopathology. Analysis of the data revealed variation in level of bias among offenders. Of the offenders studied, those high in bias motivation only committed race/ethnicity biased crimes. In addition, the study found a majority of the hate crime offenders committing instrumental aggression, as measured by the Cornell Aggression Index (Cornell, et al. 1996). The analysis also revealed that victims of hate crime offenders are more likely to have had no prior relationship with the offender. Dunbar's study found that hate crimes are more likely to involve multiple perpetrators rather than individual offenders. This study additionally linked hate crime offenders to substance abuse, poverty, and a dependence on violence. These findings call attention to the distinctiveness of hate crime offenders as a specific class of criminals who can be particularly harmful to the victims of their hatred. Dunbar's study supports legislation for hate crime enhancements.

In an effort to categorize the motivations of hate crime offenders, McDevitt, Levin, and Bennett (2002) developed a typology of hate crime offenders consisting of four specific motivations believed to trigger hate crime offenses. The authors reviewed 169 hate crimes with know offenders reported in Boston, Massachusetts. From these cases, McDevitt et al. identified common motivations for committing hate crimes. The

motivations described are thrill, defensive, mission, and retaliatory. The authors found that hate crimes motivated by thrill-seeking are usually committed by youths with a minor and often fleeting commitment to their bias beliefs. Defensive hate crimes are committed when the perpetrator believes that he/she must defend their neighborhood from a perceived threat created by the out-group targeted. Committing offenses because of a desire to rid the world of a specific population is described by the authors as a mission motive for hate crimes. Retaliatory hate crimes are performed in order to obtain revenge for a real or perceived incident aimed at a member of the community of the offender. This type of offender is responding to a specific event, and not solely reacting to the presence of a disliked group. Although it is questionable how well actual offenders fall into these specific categories, this typology can help in determining the relative risk of the offenders for recidivism and the corresponding sentencing necessary. Given the distinct characteristics of hate crime offenders, it is clear that hate crimes are a unique type of crime in need of special considerations in regards to the punishment of hate crime offenders. The difference between bias and non-bias crime becomes especially clear when considering the damage inflicted on the victims of hate crimes.

Though few studies have looked at the effect of hate crimes on the victims, initial studies suggest that victims of hate crimes often suffer greatly from their victimization. Herek, Gillis, and Cogan (1999) have examined the emotional damage to victims that results in the aftermath of hate crimes. In Herek et al.'s survey of lesbians, gays, and bisexuals mentioned above, they questioned victims of both hate crimes and non-bias crimes about their victimization experiences, psychological well-being, worldview, and victimization-related beliefs. The study revealed a greater level of emotional distress as

well as a more negative world view among gay and lesbian hate crime victims in comparison to non-bias crime victims. These emotional problems continued to affect the gay and lesbian victims of hate crimes for a longer period of time- for some as long as five years- in comparison to victims of non-bias hate crimes who on average needed about half as much time to recover from the victimization. These differences were not found among the bisexual victims of hate and non-bias crimes. Although the study did not examine victims of crimes due to other biases such as race/ethnicity and religion, the study highlights the need for specialized psychological treatment for victims of hate crimes and the important distinction between hate crimes and other non-bias crimes.

Another study comparing the differences between bias and non-bias crime victims was conducted by McDevitt, Balboni, Garcia, and Gu (2001). This study looked specifically at victims of bias and non-bias related violent assault by sending a survey to victims of these crimes located in Boston, Massachusetts. The survey questioned the victims about the crime itself, the victim's demographic information, the psychological effects of the assault, the response of their families and the community to the crime, and their feelings about the police and prosecutors' handling of their case. Although the researchers received a low response rate (about 23% of the bias assault victims and 11% of the non-bias assault victims), the data provides tentative support for the conclusions of the Herek et al. (1999) study. The victims of bias assault were found to have a significantly greater amount of nervousness, depression, difficulty with concentration, suicidal feelings, and difficulty in avoiding thoughts about the victimization in comparison to the non-biased assault victims. Both of the Herek et al. and the McDevitt

et al. studies emphasize the importance of hate crime legislation due to the harmful and enduring nature of hate crime victimization.

One of the key distinctions between hate crimes and non-bias crimes is the secondary effects of the hate crime (American Psychological Association, 1998). A hate crime not only targets the individual victim, but also is meant to convey a message of threat to the entire community the victim represents. McDevitt refers to the community as the "secondary victims" of the hate crime. The messages of hate, as stated by Levin and McDevitt (2002) "are in their intended effect very much like acts of terrorism, meant to send a signal by means of fear and horror." Additionally, these effects differ from the effects of non-bias crimes in that it is difficult for hate crime victims to change inherent characteristics such as the color of their skin in order to avoid future victimizations. In contrast, victims of non-bias crimes can decide to change the behavioral patterns that might have led to their victimization.

Susan Fiske (2002) reviewed the research to date on bias and intergroup conflict to develop a cohesive picture of the nature of biased individuals. The paper presents two types of biased individuals: those with bias that is subtle and those with extreme bias. Fiske stated that most bias is the subtle type which is automatic and often present in "well-intentioned moderates." Extreme bias, while less common, often results in aggressive behavior. In describing the apparent causes of extreme biases, the author concluded that overall, research points to economics, however:

The state of people's own wallets does not motivate their degree of prejudice.

> Instead, the most reliable indicator is perceived threat to one's in-group. Group threat (e.g., high local unemployment) correlates with extreme biases against out-groups perceived to be responsible. (p. 127)

The connection between economics and the incidence of hate crimes is still debated in current research (Green, Glaser, & Rich, 1998; Hepworth & West, 1988). As the quote above suggests, studies of economic conditions and hate crimes have focused on the community in which the hate crimes occur and instead of the poverty of individual offenders.

In addition to studying the unique characteristics of hate crime offenders and victims, researchers have tried to identify some of the factors that put a community at risk for hate crime occurrences. Two common risk factors proposed are economic competition with its related frustrations, and changes in ethnic/racial populations. The assertion that economic difficulty can lead to hate crimes is based on the frustration-aggression hypothesis first proposed by Dollard, Miller, Doob, Mowrer, and Sears (1939). The frustration-aggression hypothesis claims that "the occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrariwise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression" (Dollard et al., 1939). The authors suggested that economic conditions, such as poverty, could sufficiently cause frustration resulting in aggressive acts. To explain the disparity between the number of frustrations we face each day and the lack of aggression exhibited by most individuals, the authors stated that aggressive reactions "may be temporarily compressed, delayed, disguised, displaced, or otherwise deflected from their immediate and logical goal" Dollard et al.,

1939). The displacement of economic frustrations to race/ethnic minorities may be one explanation for the occurrence of hate crimes.

Hovland and Sears (1940) tested the frustration-aggression hypothesis by comparing the incidence of lynching to the value of cotton. The researchers hypothesized that when economic conditions worsened, this frustration would lead to the commission of aggressive acts, specifically White lynching African Americans. As the measure of aggression, base rates of African American lynchings occurring in 14 southern states between 1882 and 1930 were collected from *The Negro Yearbook*. Because the economy of the south was heavily dependent on cotton, the authors concluded that changes in the value of cotton are an appropriate measure of economic conditions during this time period. They collected both the farm value of cotton and the per-acre value of cotton in the 14 states during 1882 to 1930. Hovland and Sears also measured the economic conditions with the Ayres index, a measure which "includes weighted individual measure of consumption, production, construction, imports, exports, and prices" (Hovland & Sears, 1940).

Hovland and Sears (1940) performed tetrachoric correlations on the state by state comparisons of lynching base rates and the cotton values culled from these states, as well as between the total number of lynchings in the United States and the Ayres' index between 1882 and 1930. The researchers' analysis revealed a high correlation between decreases in the value of cotton and the incidence of lynchings on both the state and national level. The authors concluded that those frustrated by their economic conditions could not commit aggressive acts against symbolically appropriate representations of their economic troubles, such as the wealthy, because of the legal repercussions of such

crimes. The aggression was instead displaced to the African Americans, who were considered easy targets in a climate that was for the most part accepting of bias crimes against African Americans lynchings.

Several attempts have since been made to reanalyze and extend the Hovland and Sears (1940) study (Hepworth & West, 1988; Tolnay, Deane, & Beck, 1996; Green, Glaser, & Rich, 1998). The development of more sophisticated correlational methods than those available in the 1940s allows researchers to investigate the Hovland and Sears data with greater accuracy. The prevalence of references to the original study and its support of the frustration-aggression hypothesis in social psychological literature also encourages the re-examination of its premises.

Hepworth and West (1988) replicated the Hovland and Sears (1940) study comparing lynchings to economic conditions. The authors used the same measure of aggression-- the number of African American lynchings occurring between 1882 and 1930. Frustrations were measured through the Ayres index, the farm value of cotton, and the per-acre value of cotton, just as in the original study. Hepworth and West decided to also look at the relationship between White lynchings (calculated by taking the total number of lynchings in the years 1882 to 1930 and subtracting the number of African American lynchings in this time period) and the above measures of economic conditions. Hepworth and West first replicated the methods used by Hovland and Sears to ensure that the original analysis wasn't faulty. The authors also conducted contemporary time-series analysis of the original data. They proposed that a more accurate measure of correlation between lynchings and the economic indices could be obtained with modern methods of analysis. The time-series analysis used by Hepworth and West controlled for variables

the researchers believed might have skewed the results of the original study including trend, seasonality, and serial dependency.

The replication performed by Hepworth and West (1988) revealed similar correlations to those found in the original Hovland and Sears (1940) study for the relationship between African American lynchings and both the Ayres index and the farm value of cotton. However, they were not able to replicate the correlation between the per-acre value of cotton and African American lynchings. The authors believed that this may be the result of an error in calculation in the original study by Hovland and Sears, and further concluded that for the most part, the Hovland and Sears data had been accurately replicated. By performing the contemporary time-series analysis, Hepworth and West found smaller correlations between the three economic measures and African American lynchings than those found by Hovland and Sears. The authors concluded that Hovland and Sears had overestimated the relationship between economics and lynchings; however, they still believe a significant relationship exists. The time-series analysis of the relationship between White lynchings and economic conditions revealed a negative correlation, adding further support to the frustration-aggression hypothesis. Overall, Hepworth and West concluded "… the present re-analysis together with other laboratory and naturalistic data … provide support for the displacement of aggression to minority group members under difficult economic and other stressful conditions."

A more critical re-analysis of the Hovland and Sears (1940) study was performed by Green, Glaser, and Rich (1998). Green, Glaser, and Rich replicated the Hepworth and West (1988) time-series analysis performed on the original Hovland and Sears data. The researchers also used the Hovland and Sears's data on total African American lynchings

in 14 southern states and the economic indices of the Ayres index, the farm value of cotton, and the per-acre value of cotton. In addition, Green, Glaser, and Rich extended the time-series analysis of lynchings and economic indices beyond the Great Depression, from 1882 through 1938.

By extending the comparison of lynchings and economic conditions through the Great Depression, and using other statistical methods of analysis, Green, Glaser, and Rich (1998) found very different results than previous studies (Hovland & Sears, 1940; Hepworth & West, 1988). Green, Glaser, and Rich found that only when they used the economic measure of the Ayres index were they able to find a negative relationship with the incidence of African American lynchings. Their analysis also found no relationship between economic conditions and all but one of several measures of the type of lynching. Because most measures of the relationship between lynchings and economic deficits failed to provide a significant relationship, Green, Glaser, and Rich question the assertion that the frustration-aggression hypothesis is supported by research on economic conditions and intergroup violence. To further test the hypothesis, they conducted a contemporary study of economics and hate crimes.

Green, Glaser, and Rich (1998) performed a present day study looking at economic conditions and hate crime incidence in New York City between 1987 and 1995 to provide further critical analysis of the frustration-aggression hypothesis. The study of hate crime incidence and economic indicators was conducted in four New York City boroughs: Brooklyn, Queens, Manhattan, and the Bronx. The hate crime data consisted of incidents reported to the New York City Police Department's Bias Incident Investigative Unit (BIIU) between 1987 and 1995. Economic conditions were measured using the

overall monthly unemployment rate for the four boroughs. The researchers looked at the overall unemployment rate rather than a more specific division because the rates among the four boroughs were very similar. Green, Glaser, and Rich were interested in finding a temporal connection between economic connections and hate crime incidence. Analysis of the data revealed no correlation between the unemployment rate and hate crime incidence. Only for the measures of anti-gay and anti-Semitic hate crimes were they able to find slight significant effects for only one of the methods employed for statistical analysis. The authors concluded that given the failure to find a substantive correlation between economic conditions in both their re-analysis of the Hovland and Sears (1940) data and their contemporary study, the application of the frustration-aggression hypothesis to economic conditions and hate crimes is erroneous. Green, Glaser, and Rich suggest that the frustration-aggression hypothesis is a short lived process that dissolves over time, and cannot be attributed to long-term frustrations resulting in aggressive acts such as hate crimes.

Other theories have attempted to explain the occurrence of hate crimes in relation to the risk factors found within the community. One of these theories is the realistic group conflict theory. This theory arose from a series of experiments conducted by Sherif and Sherif in 1953 (cited in Jackson, 1993). The research was conducted on young boys at summer camps. First, Sherif and Sherif created group conflict through competitive activities. They then gave the groups of boys' communal goals to work on which eventually led to cooperation. Jackson (1993) summarized Sharif's theory as follows: "intergroup hostility is produced by the existence of conflicting goals (i.e., competition)

and reduced by the existence of mutually desired superordinate goals attainable only through intergroup competition."

A related theory to the realistic group conflict theory is the group position theory, which emphasizes the distinct hierarchical positions of racial groups in relation to intergroup conflict (Bobo, 1997). Proponents of the group position theory argue that the realistic group conflict theory is too dependent on the material causes of conflict and not the effect of overreaching relative positions between different racial and ethnic groups. Threat between racial/ethnic groups arises out of a weakening of the dominant position of one group over another group which might arise out of changes in economics or other competitions over valued resources.

Several theories have further attempted to explain the intergroup hostility that occurs when race/ethnic populations change. The power-threat hypothesis suggests that as the minority population increases, the number of hate crimes against the minority also increases (Tonlay, Beck, & Massey, 1989 cited in Green, Strolovitch, & Wong, 1998). The White majority begins to feel threatened by the influx of minorities and attacks the minorities in response to this threat. An alternate explanation is the power-differential hypothesis, which claims that hate crimes targeting the minority are greatest when their numbers are smaller (Levine & Campbell, 1972, cited in Green, Strolovitch, & Wong, 1998). The White majority is more at liberty to attack minorities whose smaller numbers inhibit their ability to defend themselves. The defended neighborhood hypothesis similarly believes that neighborhoods with a large white majority will have a greater number of hate crimes, particularly when the minority population is increasing (Green, Strolovitch, & Wong, 1998). Suttles (cited in DeSena, 1990) defined the defended

neighborhood as "the residential group which seals itself off through the efforts of delinquent gangs, by restrictive covenants, by sharp boundaries, or by a forbidding reputation." Hate crimes are one of the more harmful ways in which a neighborhood (or more accurately, a select few in the neighborhood) attempts to protect itself from the perceived threat of foreign invasion.

Corzine, Creech and Corzine (1983) tested the power-threat hypothesis by looking at the incidence of lynchings in the South in comparison to the concentration of African Americans. The power-threat hypothesis predicts that the incidence of African American lynchings will be positively related to higher concentrations of African Americans in the same area. The authors also wished to test a previous finding that data in support of the power-threat hypothesis is only found in the Deep South and not elsewhere. Corzine et al. gathered their data on lynchings occurring between 1889 and 1931 from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and compared the incidence of lynchings to the percentage of African American in the corresponding counties during the same time period. The data was tested using both cross-sectional and longitudinal analysis. Both of these analyses found a relationship between lynching incidence and African American concentration in the Deep South, but not in the Upper South, supporting Corzine et al.'s hypotheses. While this study only provides support for a specific type of hate crime and offenders/victims occurring in a very specific time and place, it nonetheless calls attention to the need for further studies examining a broader range of hate crime occurrences and race/ethnic populations.

Another study on lynchings in the South at the turn of the century looked at the spatial effects of the lynchings themselves (Tolnay, Deane, & Beck, 1996). The

researchers tested the contagion model, which predicts an increase in lynchings in areas surrounding a lynching occurrence, and the deterrence model, which predicts that the occurrence of a lynching in one area will deter lynching in the surrounding area. Lynchings between the time periods 1895-1899, 1905-1909, and 1915-1919 were used to "determine the form and assess the magnitude of the spatial dependence of lynchings" (Tolnay, Deane, & Beck, 1996). The researchers controlled for the concentration of African Americans, as well as socioeconomic, cultural and geographic factors, and lynching history. Their analysis found a negative relationship between lynching incidence and the surrounding level of lynchings, supporting the deterrence model. Tolnay et al. concluded that one possible explanation is that Whites believed that neighboring lynchings would sufficiently deter African Americans from what they believed to be offensive behavior requiring lynching. They also supposed that African Americans may have reacted to neighboring lynchings by attempting to avoid negative situations which might lead to lynching. This study demonstrates that other explanations beyond economic and ethnic factors may account for lynching incidence.

Green, Strolovitch, and Wong (1998) studied the relationship between race/ethnic populations and hate crime incidence in order to test the various theories on race/ethnic change and intergroup violence presented above. Specifically, the authors asked "to what extent does minority victimization depend on the ways in which the proportions of different racial groups have changed over time?" Green and his colleagues also tested the relationship between economic factors and hate crimes in this study. Their sample consisted of hate crimes reported to the Bias Crime Unit in New York City between 1987 and 1995. The researchers measured racial/ethnic change by comparing the 1980 and

1990 census information by district. As a measure of economic change, they looked at the change in unemployment rate between 1980 and 1990.

Analysis of the Green, Strolovitch, and Wong (1998) data with an event count model revealed support for the defended neighborhood hypothesis. Bias crimes against Asians, Latinos, and African Americans had a higher incidence in areas that were predominantly White and encountering an influx of minorities. The authors did not find a relationship between economic changes and hate crime incidence, providing further support for Green's previous study (Green, Glaser, & Rich, 1998). Green and his colleagues concluded that with continued immigration of minorities into predominantly White neighborhoods, hate crime occurrence should decrease as Whites have either fled the neighborhood or accepted the race/ethnic change. The study does not, however, address the occurrence of racial/ethnic change in areas that had previously been predominantly a group other than Whites. These findings give some indication that particular communities with potential risk factors for hate crime can be identified and given crime prevention resources from public policy agencies.

Advancements in computer technology and the corresponding development of Geographic Information Systems have greatly enhanced researchers' abilities to look at the relationship between crime and the community. Geographic Information Systems (GIS) are comprised of "both a database with specific capabilities for spatially-referenced data, as well (as) a set of operations for working with the data" (Star & Estes, 1990). GIS can be used to map the occurrence of crimes and compare them to non-spatial, demographic information about the corresponding area in which the crime occurs. Several studies have used GIS to look at hate crimes in particular in order to test theories

relating to the community risk factors for hate crime victimization (Brimicombe, Ralphs, Sampson, & Tsui, 2001; Umemoto & Mikami, 1999).

Research similar to the Green, Strolovitch, and Wong (1998) study on the defended neighborhood hypothesis was conducted in London by Brimicombe, Ralphs, Sampson, and Tsui (2001). Their study used GIS to look at the incidence of racially motivated crimes in relation to ethnic composition in the London Borough of Newham. The sample consisted of 620 hate crime allegations including the addresses of the victims that were reported to the police department between July 1996 and June 1997. The London police department does not collect the location of the allegations, so the researchers used the victims' home addresses under the premise that most racially motivated crimes occur near the victims' residence. The incidents were then mapped using GIS and compared to demographic information for the wards in which the allegations occurred. Brimicombe et al.'s analysis found that "the rates of incidence are significantly higher where there is a large white majority and smaller groups of other ethnicities." This data supports the findings by Green, Strolovitch, and Wong (1998) of the defended neighborhood hypothesis. The authors concluded that the areas identified as being at risk for racially biased incidents due to ethnic composition should be targeted by public policy programs intent on helping areas that are economically and socially disadvantaged.

Umemoto and Mikami (1999) used GIS to examine racial hate crimes in Los Angeles County. Their study collected data on hate crimes, including the addresses of the crime locations, occurring in Los Angeles County between 1994 and 1997. The researchers performed spatial analysis and descriptive statistics using the geomapping

program ArcView to identify patterns and trends in Los Angeles County racial hate crime activity. The study found that the majority of hate crimes occurring in Los Angeles County were race/ethnic based (72%). African Americans had the greatest incidence of victimization, and the number of African Americans victims increased between 1994 and 1997. African Americans are disproportionately victims given their smaller population in Los Angeles County in comparison to other race/ethnic groups. Further, Latinos constituted the highest number of perpetrators, followed by European Americans, and both their numbers were increasing. Men were found to be twice as likely as females to be victims of hate crimes in Los Angeles County.

Additionally, Umemoto and Mikami (1999) identified "hot spots" in which hate crimes were more likely to occur. These "hot spots" were identified clusters of hate crimes found through the GIS analysis. The authors classified these areas of hate crime groupings into four types of clusters. The first cluster, called one-on-one, consisted of perpetrators of one racial/ethnic group and victims of another single race/ethnic group. The many-on-one type of cluster included multiple race/ethnic groups as the perpetrators and victims who were of one race/ethnic group. The many-on-many type of cluster consisted of perpetrators of multiple race/ethnic groups and victims who also represented multiple race/ethnic groups. Finally, the one-on-many group included perpetrators of one race/ethnic group and the victims consisted of multiple race/ethnic groups. These clusters, along with specific characteristics of each cluster, were used to categorize the hate crime clusters in Los Angeles County into four types: white supremacist-related, gang-related, anti-immigrant, and random and mixed clusters. The authors found specific areas in Los Angeles County in which these clusters of crime often occur, such as the

occurrence of white supremacist-related hate crimes in the Antelope Valley. By identifying trends in hate crime occurrences targeting specific groups in specific areas, Umemoto and Mikami's data can help policy makers pool their resources on crime prevention into areas deemed as "hot spots" for hate crimes. This study also indicates that motivation and community risk factors might vary by area. Studies on hate crimes should investigate as detailed populations as possible in order to detect these differences.

The tipping hypothesis claims that intergroup violence is at its greatest when the ethnic minority constitutes 25% of a community's total population, though there is a dispute over the exact percent (Green, Strolovitch, & Wong, 1998). One recent study examined the tipping hypothesis in the occurrence of hate crimes in Los Angeles using ArcGIS (Nikolova, 2004). Nikolova's study used hate crimes and hate incidents reported to the Los Angeles Police Department in 1999. From these reports, the addresses of the crime location, victim(s) residence, and perpetrator(s) residences were collected and geomapped. The author also collected the demographic information of the victim(s) and perpetrator(s), the bias attribution of the offense, the severity of the offense as measured by both the Cormier Lang Scale and the Victim Impact Scale, and the bias level of the offender, as measured by the Bias Motivation Profile. This data allowed Nikolova to test the following: (1) the relationship between race/ethnic concentration and frequency and type of incidence, (2) the relationship between the tipping hypothesis and hate crime occurrence and victim impact, (3) the relationship between race/ethnic populations and the severity of the offense and its effect on the victim, and (4) the relationship between the ethnic/race composition and the distance traveled by the offender to commit the crime.

Nikolova (2004) used ArcView and SPSS to analyze her data. The author's analysis found that Whites were most likely to be victimized due to religious bias. In contrast, the majority of Latinos and African Americans were victimized due to race/ethnic bias. Nikolova's findings did not support the tipping hypothesis, but rather found that for some ethnic groups (African Americans and Asians), the greatest risk for hate crime victimization occurred when they represented a minority (below 20%) of the community. Other ethnic groups (Whites and Latinos) had a greater risk for hate crime victimization in areas where they reflected a "power sharing" status (between 30-60%) in a community. In examining the impact of the crime in comparison to the race/ethnic composition, Nikolova's analysis found that White victims were correlated with lower victim impact and the Cormier-Lang measure of mean severity. Asian and Latino victims were correlated with higher mean severity as measured by the Cormier-Lang Scale. Finally, African American victims correlated with higher victim impact and greater mean severity on the Cormier-Lang Scale.

For her final research question, Nikolova (2004) found that perpetrators were more likely to have traveled significant distances (5.1 to 100 miles) to commit their crimes in predominantly White neighborhoods. In contrast, crimes committed in predominantly Latino neighborhoods were more likely to be committed by perpetrators who traveled a short distance (0-5 miles). The defended neighborhood hypothesis predicts that hate crimes are more likely to occur in the neighborhood of the offender. Thus the final finding in Nikolova's study provides support for this hypothesis only for the Latino neighborhoods, and not the White neighborhoods in which the perpetrators were more likely not to commit their hate crimes in their own neighborhood.

Umemoto and Mikawi (1999) and Nikolova's (2004) studies provide a wealth of information about the occurrences of hate crimes in the Los Angeles area. Additional research extending their contemporary examinations of community risk factors should look at ethnic changes. Another factor leading to hate crimes worth re-examining is economic depression, which has yet to definitively lend support to the aggression-frustration hypothesis. All of the studies presented above illustrate the importance of understanding hate crimes and their distinctive qualities. The recognition of hate crimes by United States laws is important because they are often more severe and psychologically damaging to the victims than other crimes. Additionally, hate crimes have far-reaching effects on the entire community of the victim. Understanding the factors that make a community particularly at risk for bias motivated offenses is a vital step in the prevention of hate crimes. Further investigation of community risk factors are needed to help law enforcement and policy makers direct their efforts in making communities safe from bias crimes.

The current study seeks to extend the research of Nikolova (2004) by looking at the changes in ethnic populations leading up to the hate crimes occurring in 1999. While Nikolova was able to draw some conclusions about a community's risk for hate crimes based on the ethnic composition around the time of the 1999 hate crimes, her study only looks at the demographics at one point in time. This study attempts to test whether Nikolova's findings still hold when taking into account the changes in a community's demographics over the ten years prior to the hate crime occurrences. While Nikolova's study was only able to lend partial support for the defended neighborhood hypothesis, further investigation is needed to test the conflicting theories relating ethnic change to

hate crime occurrence. Whether minorities are at greater risk when their numbers remain small, as the power-differential hypothesis predicts, or if their risk increases when their numbers increase, as the power-threat and defended neighborhood hypotheses suggest, is still open to debate. This study attempts to test the varied hypotheses regarding ethnic change and hate crime occurrence.

The studies reviewed above focus on the relationship between hate crime victims and their race/ethnic position. Most analyses concentrate on areas where Whites are the predominate group and thus make conclusions about White hate crime offenders only. The present study examines offender race/ethnicity separately in relation to hate crime occurrence. Los Angeles is a diverse city in which some areas are predominately African American or Hispanic. This allowed for the examination of African American and Hispanic offenders committing hate crimes in areas in which their race/ethnicity is in the majority. This study also looked specifically at White offenders in relation to White population change rather than making the assumption about White offenders based on minority victims as the previous studies described above have done.

Further, much controversy continues to follow the findings of Hovland and Sears (1940). While Hovland and Sears's study concluded a strong link between economics and hate crimes, studies such as Green, Glaser, and Rich (1998) have since questioned the validity of the frustration-aggression hypothesis. The present study extends Green's study by looking at the relationship between economic change and hate crimes occurring in Los Angeles. This will help to determine whether Green's findings in New York City apply in this setting as well.

This study sought to answer the following research questions:

(1) Is there a relationship between economic change and hate crime occurrence? Specifically, what is the relationship between changes in the percent below poverty level and the unemployment rate between 1990 and 2000, and the levels of severity and bias in hate crimes/incidents occurring in Los Angeles in 1999?

(2) Is there a relationship between the race/ethnicity of victims of hate crimes/incidents and changes (decreasing, stable, or increasing) in their race/ethnic population between 1990 and 2000? For example, are White victims of hate crimes/incidents more likely to be victimized in areas in which their population is decreasing compared to areas in which the white population is stable or increasing?

(3) Is there a relationship between hate crimes/incident offenders' race/ethnicity and changes (decreasing, stable, or increasing) in their race/ethnic population between 1990 and 2000? For example, are White offenders more likely to commit hate crimes in areas in which the White population is decreasing rather than areas in which the White population is stable or increasing?

Method

Sample

Five hundred and fifty-seven hate crimes and hate incidents reported to the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) during the calendar year 1999 were used for this study (see Figure 1 for a map of these hate crimes/incidents). Cases identified as bias motivated were collected by the Criminal Conspiracy Section of the LAPD. These cases were subsequently reviewed by a University of California, Los Angeles research team led by Edward Dunbar and coded on multiple measures.

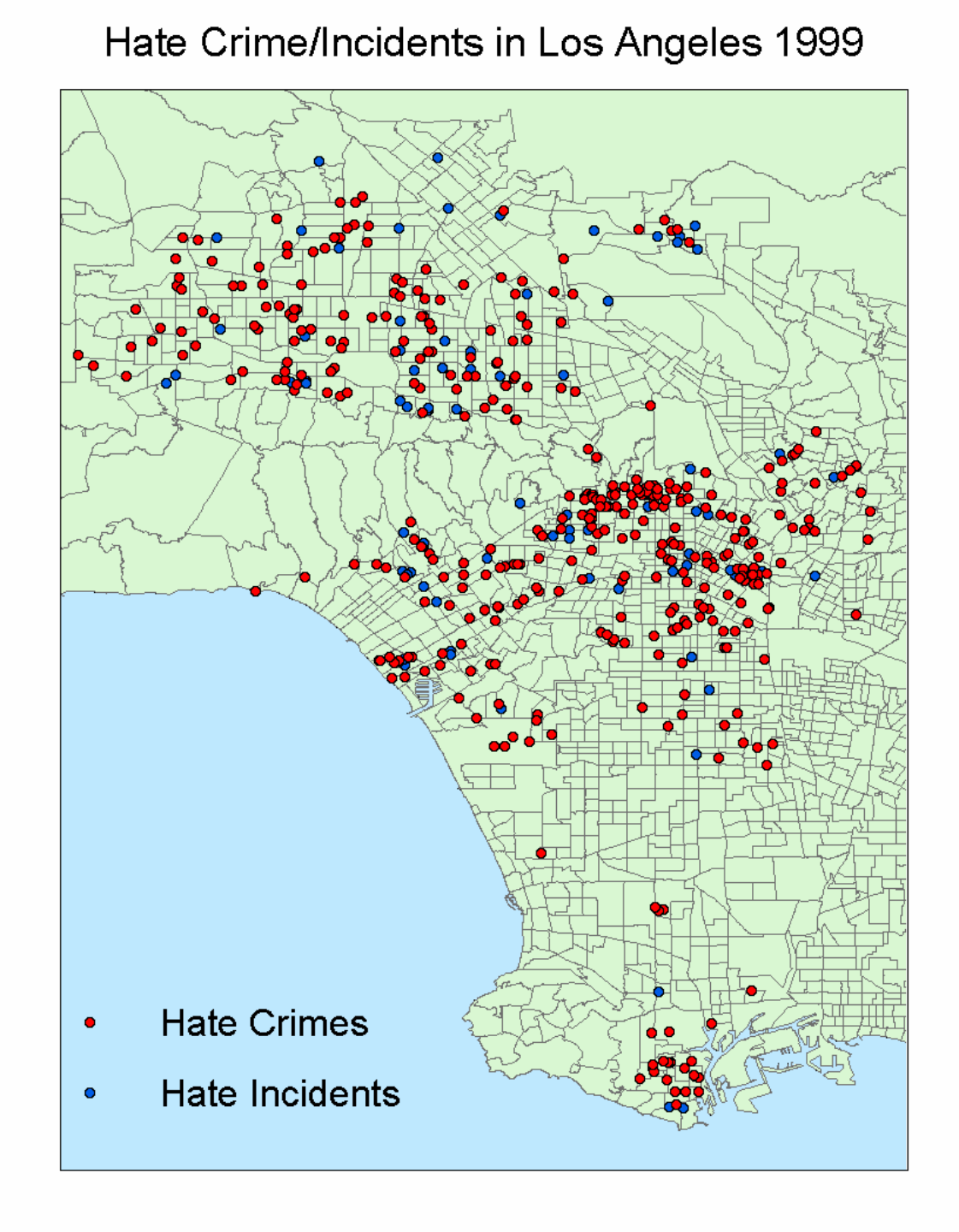

Figure 1. Hate crimes and incidents reported to the LAPD in 1999.

In this sample, 532 cases include information about the victims (315 male, 154 female, 5 male and female, and 58 institutions). There were 192 White victims, 136 African American victims, and 88 Hispanic victims (See Figure 2). This subset of the sample was used in analyzing research question two; that is, cases in which the victim was of another race/ethnicity or was an institution, such as a church, were excluded from the analysis for this research question.

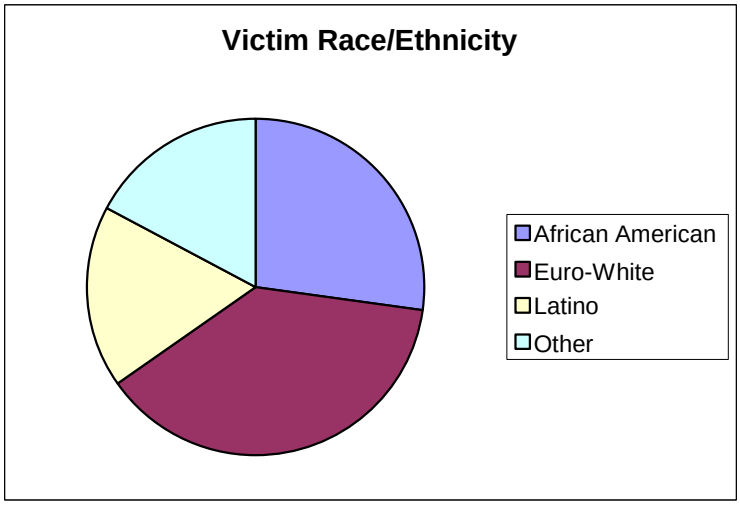

Figure 2. Hate crime/victim race/ethnicities.

Further, only 362 out of the 557 hate crimes had known offenders (307 male, 53 female, and two males and females). Of these cases, 150 hate crime/incidents were committed by White offenders, 57 hate crime/incidents were committed by African American offenders and 92 hate crime/incidents were committed by Hispanic offenders (see Figure 3). This subset of the sample was used in analyzing research question three.

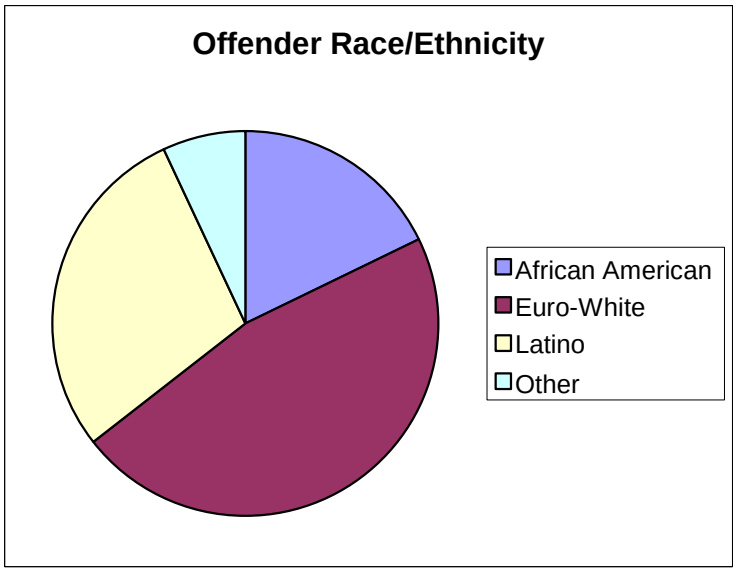

Figure 3. Hate crime/incident offender ethnicity.

Measures

The following items were coded from the hate crime/incident reports:

Crime Scene Variables: The location of the crime, victim and offender demographics (including gender, age, race/ethnicity, and the number of victims and offenders), the bias intent (i.e. targeted victim group), the criminal charge (if any), event frequency, and presence or absence of drugs at the scene of the crime were recorded.

Bias Motivation Profile (Dunbar, 1999): The Bias Motivation Profile (BMP) measures the degree of bias the offender exhibits in the commission of the hate crime/incident. The BMP is coded on twelve items considered signifiers of bias motivation, such as "manifested hate speech during commission of offense" and "presence of hate paraphernalia/symbols." These items are scored on a 3-point scale, in which a "0" signifies the absence of the intended bias element, a "1" indicates a possible or partial presence of the bias element, and a "2" indicates a clear presence of the bias element.

Cormier-Lang Severity Scale (Quincey, Harris, Rice, and Cormier 1998): This scale measures the severity of a crime by coding for the specific events occurring during the crime (such as assault or petty theft). Each event is given a number indicating the magnitude of the severity in the act. The events are divided into two groups; group one consists of violent crimes, such as assault with a deadly weapon or robbery, and group two consists of non-violent crimes, such as trafficking narcotics or vandalism. These numbers are then summed (if more than one act occurred in the crime) to find the levels of severity for violent and non-violent events as well as the combined overall level of severity present in the crime.

Census Data: Demographic information was obtained from the U.S. census website (www.census.gov) for the unemployment rates and percent below poverty level for the 2000 census. In addition, the following demographic information was obtained from the Geolytics Neighborhood Change Database: non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic African American, and Hispanic percent of the population for 1990 and 2000 by census tract for Los Angeles County, the percent below poverty level by census tract for 1990 and the unemployment rates by census tract for 1990. The exclusion of Asian demographics from this study was not an oversight. Unfortunately, the particular Geolytics Neighborhood Change Database used in this study did not have figures for the non-Hispanic Asian population by census tract for 1990. Though the exclusion of Asians in this study is regrettable, the hate crime data contained few Asian victims (33) and offenders (6).

Procedure

The collection of hate crime reports begins with the recognition that a crime/incident was motivated by bias. Hate crimes/incidents are first identified as

including bias motivation by the reporting officer. The report is then sent to the watch commander and Detective Headquarters Division. The presence of bias motivation in the crime is then evaluated by the watch commander, followed by a division hate crime coordinator. If the report is determined to contain a bias element, it is then sent to the Criminal Conspiracy Section, where a further review of the presence of bias in the crime is conducted. If they determine that the crime/incident was not motivated by bias, the report is declassified and no longer filed as a hate crime/incident.

Hate crime/incident reports collected during 1999 by the Criminal Conspiracy Section were reviewed by the research team onsite at the Criminal Conspiracy Section in downtown Los Angeles. Researchers reviewed the reports in teams of two. Each person reviewed and coded one report on a variety of measures, then switched reports. After coding the two reports separately, the researchers discussed any differences in coding, and agreed on a value for the master datasheet. Thus, consensus among two researchers was achieved for each item measured.

The research team's hate crime data was then entered into an excel file for further analysis. This study involved combining the crime scene indicators, the BMP, and the Cormier Lang scores from this dataset with U.S. census data for 1990 and 2000. This data was then mapped using the Geographic Information Systems (GIS) computer program ArcGIS.

In order to map the hate crime data, the crime locations for the hate crime and hate incidents occurring in 1999 were geocoded into the ArcView program, allowing the crime locations to be viewed on a map of Los Angeles. This was done by importing a shape file street map of the United States, as well as the census tracts for Los Angeles

County, which were obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau website. The census tracts for the crime location addresses were also obtained from this website and entered into the dataset. The crime location addresses were then geocoded using an address locator which matched the addresses in the data set with those on the street map in ArcView. The crime locations appear as dots on the map of Los Angeles in the geographic area in which the hate crime/incident occurred.

To compare the hate crime data with corresponding demographic information from the 1990 and 2000 census tracts, use of special software was required. This is because the designated census tracts for 1990 and 2000 differ, so a direct comparison is not possible. The Ralph & Goldy Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies kindly provided use of the Geolytics Neighborhood Change Database. This program contains the 1990 census tracts normalized to the 2000 census tracts allowing the demographic data for each census to be directly compared. From this program demographic information, including race/ethnicity for the 1990 and 2000 Los Angeles County census tracts and percent below poverty level and unemployment rates for the 1990 LA County census tracts, was compiled. This data was converted to an Excel file and combined with the hate crimes dataset by matching the demographic information with the corresponding crime location's census tract. It was subsequently imported into ArcView in order to map specific variables. The dataset was then converted to SPSS for statistical analysis.

Results

The first research question examined the relationship between economic change and hate crimes. A direct measure of the effect of economic change on hate crime base rates was not possible because I did not have access to information about all crimes

occurring in Los Angeles in 1999 to use as a comparison. Due to this, indirect measures of hate crime levels were used; specifically, the severity of the hate crimes and the level of bias present in the crime.

I first tested the relationship between the change in percent below poverty level between 1990 and 2000 and the severity of the hate crimes/incident, measured by the Cormier Lang Scale (Quincey, Harris, Rice, and Cormier 1998), for hate crimes/incidents occurring in the corresponding census tracts in Los Angeles. There was not a significant correlation between the change in percent below poverty level and the level of severity [$r(542) = .011$, $p = .794$]. Further, when broken down into violent and non-violent hate crimes/incidents, there was still no relationship between the change in percent below poverty level and the level of severity for each group of hate crimes/incidents. Correlations between both the level of severity for violent hate crimes/incidents (Cormier Lang group one) and the level of severity for non-violent hate crimes/incidents (Cormier Lang group two) and the change in percent below poverty level were not significant, $r(542) = .014$, $p = .745$ for violent hate crime/incidents and $r(542) = .005$, $p = .916$ for non-violent hate crime/incidents.

Similarly, no relationship was found between the change in percent unemployed between 1990 and 2000 and the level of severity present in the hate crime/incident occurring in the same census tract. A correlation between the change in percent unemployed and the level of severity (measured by the Cormier Lang Scale) was also not significant [$r(542) = -.008$, $p = .859$]. I also examined the relationship between unemployment rates and the severity of violent and non-violent hate crime/incidents separately. As expected, there was not a significant correlation between change in

unemployment rates and the severity of violent hate crime/incidents (Cormier Lang group one), r(542) =.017, p=.692. Further, there was not a significant correlation between change in unemployment rates and non-violent hate crime/incidents (Cormier Lang group two), r(542) =-.037, p=.385.

Overall, no relationship between the measures of economic change and hate crime/incident severity was found. To examine this further, correlations between the measures of economic change and the level of bias present in the hate crime/incident, measured by the BMP (Dunbar, 1999), in the corresponding census tracts were computed. This analysis did not reveal a significant difference between the change in percent below poverty level and the BMP, r(471) =-.012, p=.800. A correlation between the change in percent unemployed and hate crime/incidents' BMP score also did not reveal a significant correlation, r(471) =-.004, p=.930. In sum, no relationship was found between the level of bias or the level of severity for the hate crime and economic changes.

Research question two looked at the relationship between a victim of a hate crime's race/ethnicity and the corresponding race/ethnic change between 1990 and 2000. The original intent of this study was to examine changes between the specific levels of race/ethnicity presence first described by the defended neighborhood hypothesis, i.e., 0-20% minority status, 20-30% in a race/ethnic tipping condition, 30-60% power-sharing status, and 60-100% in the majority. However, after assigning each crime's corresponding census tract a defended neighborhood status for each race/ethnicity (White, African American, and Hispanic) for both 1990 and 2000, it became apparent

that to look at the groups in terms of change between categories would break the groups into sixteen categories, such as from minority to tipping, or tipping to power-sharing. Once computed, the number of groups in each category was often less than five, making chi-square analysis of differences among these groups not possible. Therefore, race/ethnic change was divided into three groups: decreasing in population, stable population, and increasing population.

A further complication was not having a good baseline to compare race/ethnic victims to. Because I did not have data on all crimes reported to the LAPD, nor data on all census tracts under the LAPD's jurisdiction, each race/ethnic victim group was compared to all other victims of hate crimes in the dataset. For example, victims were grouped into a categorical variable as either a White victim or non-White victims. These dichotomous variables were used for the following analyses.

Analysis of differences between White victims and non-White victims and the corresponding change in White population for the census tracts in which the victimization occurred found a marginally non-significant difference (see Figure 4). A chi-square of White victims (present or not present) and White change (decreasing, stable, or increasing) revealed χ^2 (2, N=502) =4.943, p=.084. The number of White victims in areas in which the White population decreased between 1990 and 2000 (128) was greater than the expected count (118.9). The number of White victims in areas where the White population was stable between 1990 and 2000 was less than expected (56 count compared to 66.9 expected count). The difference between the expected and present count for White victims was roughly the same for victimizations in areas where the White population is increasing, though the N was small; the expected count was 6.1 compared

to 8 white victims present. These results were mapped to visually illustrate the presence of White victims in the census tracts in which the victimization occurred and the corresponding change in White population (see Figure 5).

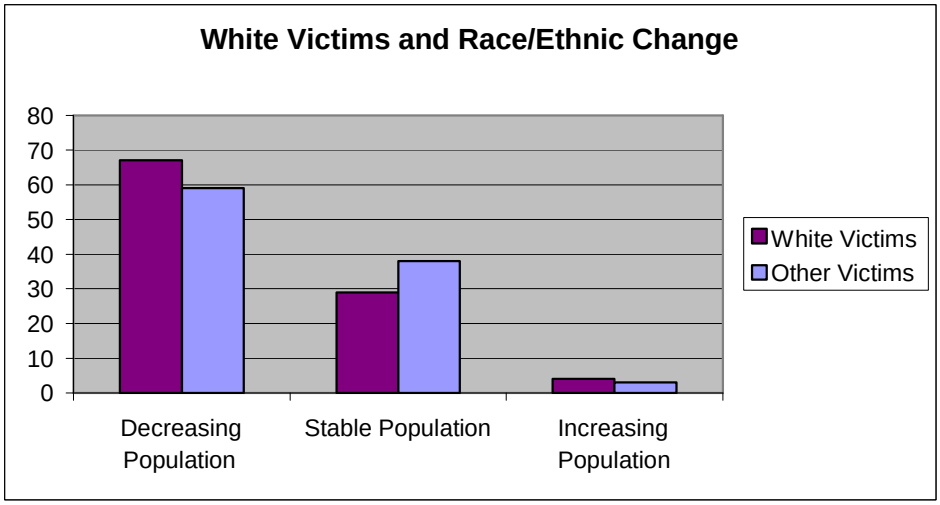

Figure 4. White victim and non-White victim percentage and corresponding change in White population between 1990 and 2000.

Differences among African American victims and non-African American victims and the change in African American population between 1990 and 2000 were not significant. Chi-square analysis between African American victim (present or not present) and African American change (decreasing, stable, or increasing) was found to be χ^2 (2, N=502) =3.541, p=.170. Finally, the difference between Hispanic victims and non-Hispanic victims and their corresponding change in Hispanic representation was also not significant. Chi-square analysis between Hispanic victims (present or not present) and Hispanic change (decreasing, stable, or increasing) were not significantly different, χ^2 (2, N=502) =4.322, p=.115.

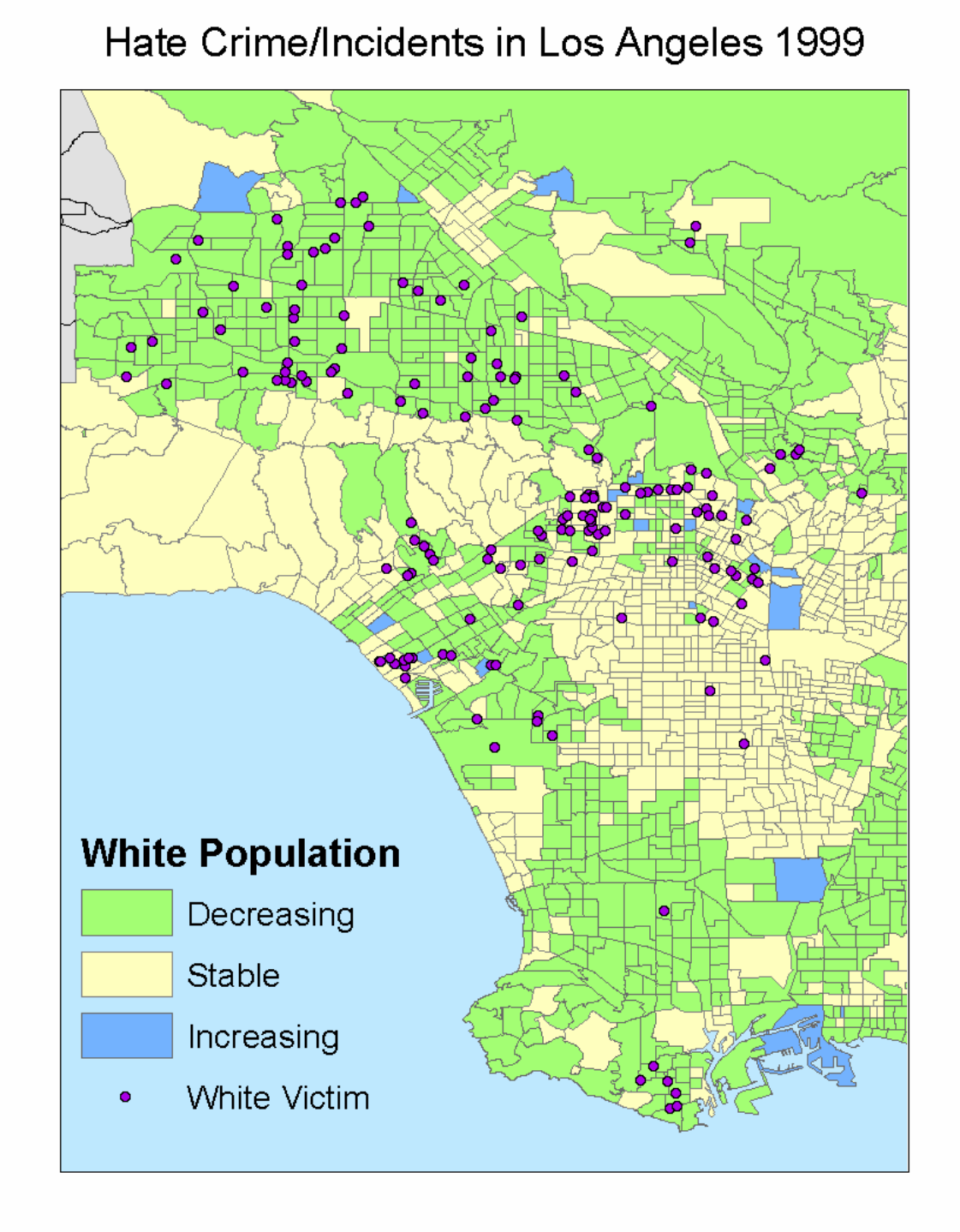

Figure 5. White victims and White population change between 1990 and 2000.

In sum, White victims showed a trend towards having a greater number of victimizations in areas where their population was decreasing between 1990 and 2000 rather than remaining stable. No differences were found among African American and Hispanic victims and their corresponding race/ethnic groups' change.

Problems similar to those described above for the hate crime victims where also encountered for the hate crime offenders. The original intent of analyzing hate crime offenders in comparison to changes in defended neighborhood status was not possible, and groups were categorized as decreasing, stable or increasing populations for ethnic change were used instead. Further, hate crime offenders of specific ethnicities (White, African American, and Hispanic) were individually compared to all other hate crime offenders as a baseline. For example, a dichotomous variable was created consisting of Hispanic or non-Hispanic offenders. The non-Hispanic offender category consisted of the cases of all other known offenders, not all other cases in the dataset. This was because for the many cases in which no offender was apprehended, it may be possible that the offender was Hispanic. This problem could make the comparison between Hispanic and non-Hispanic offenders inaccurate.

Analysis of the relationship between White offenders and non-White offenders and the change in White population between 1990 and 2000 found a significant difference between the two groups (see Figure 6). A chi-square analysis revealed a difference between White offenders (present or not present) and White population change by census tract (decreasing, stable, or increasing), χ^2 (2, N=321) =19.74, p=.000. The number of White offenders in census tracts with a decreasing White population was greater than the expected count (107 compared to 87.9 expected). In comparison, the

number of White offenders present in the dataset who committed hate crime/incidents in areas in which the White population was stable was less than the expected count; 38 White offenders present compared to the expected count of 57. The number of White offenders in areas in which the White population is increasing was as expected, with 5 offenders present and an expected count of 5.1. White offenders and changes in White population were mapped to illustrate this relationship (see Figure 7).

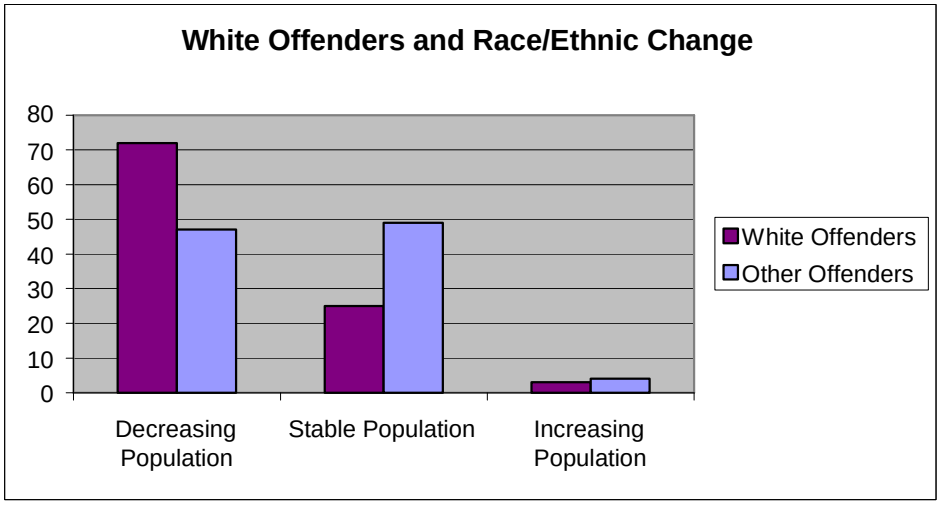

Figure 6. White and non-White offender percentages and corresponding change in White population between 1990 and 2000.

For African American offenders, a significant difference was found between African American offenders and other offenders and the corresponding change in African American population for the census tracts in which the crimes occurred (see Figure 8). A chi-square analysis comparing African Americans (present or not present) and change in African American population (decreasing, stable, or increasing) revealed a significant

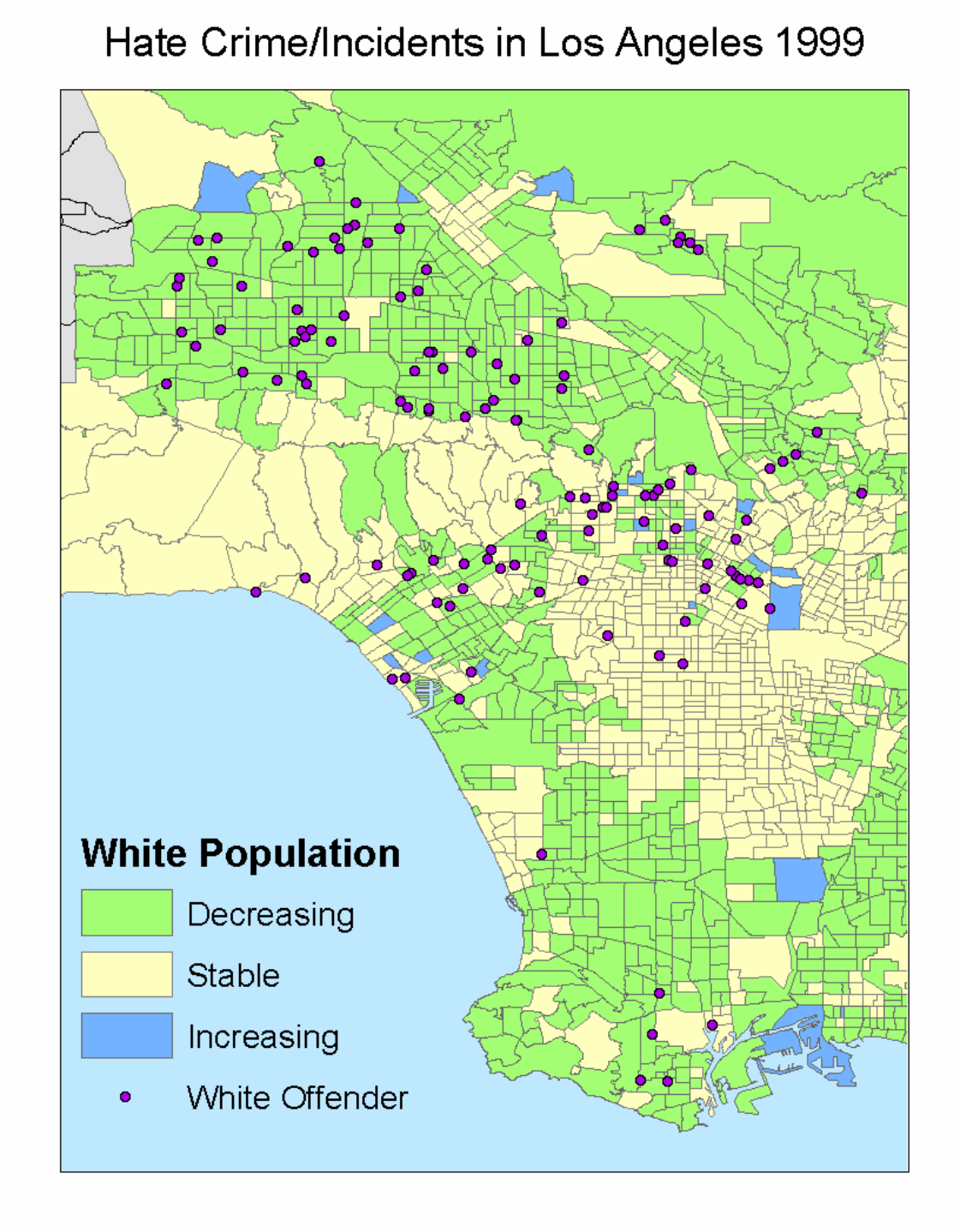

Figure 7. White offenders and White population change between 1990 and 2000.

Difference, $\chi^2(2, N=321)=22.12$, $p=.000$. A greater number of African American offenders than expected committed hate crime/incidents in areas where the African American population was decreasing; there were 21 African American offenders present compared to an expected count of 9.2. Also, there were fewer than expected African American offenders in areas where the African American population remained stable between 1990 and 2000; there were 29 African American offenders in stable populations compared to the expected 40.3. Finally, the number of African American offenders in areas in which the African American population was increasing (very few) as expected; seven African American offenders were present in stable populations and the expected count was 7.5. The hate crime/incidents perpetrated by African American offenders and the corresponding change in African American population were mapped to illustrate this relationship (see figure 9).

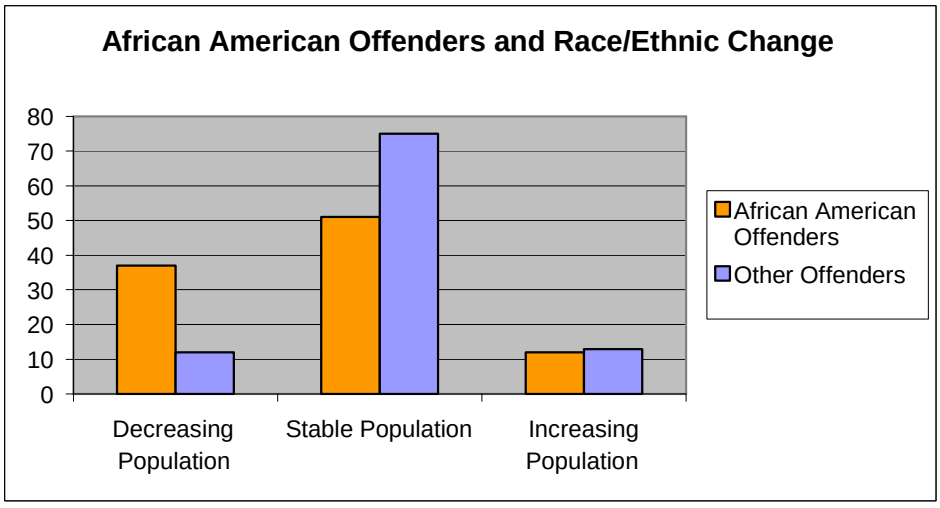

Figure 8. African American and non-African American hate crime offender percentages and corresponding change in African American population between 1990 and 2000.

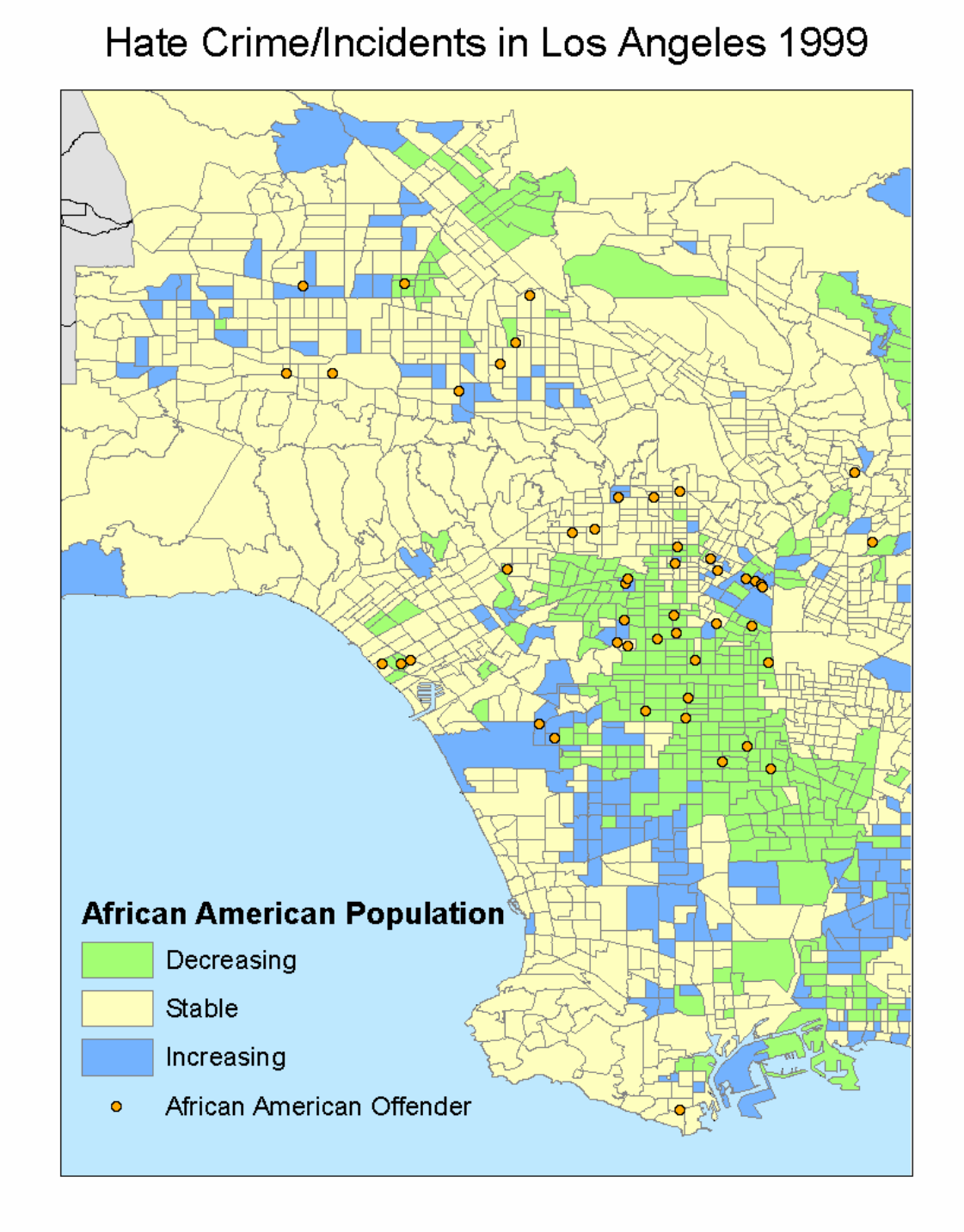

Figure 9. African American offenders and corresponding change in African American population.

Differences between Hispanic hate crime/incident offenders and non-Hispanic hate crime/incident offenders and changes in the corresponding census tract's Hispanic population between 1990 and 2000 were marginally non-significant (see Figure 10). A chi-square analysis between Hispanic offenders (present or not present) and corresponding Hispanic change (decreasing, stable, or increasing) revealed a marginally non-significant difference, χ^2 (2, N=321)=5.16, p=.076.

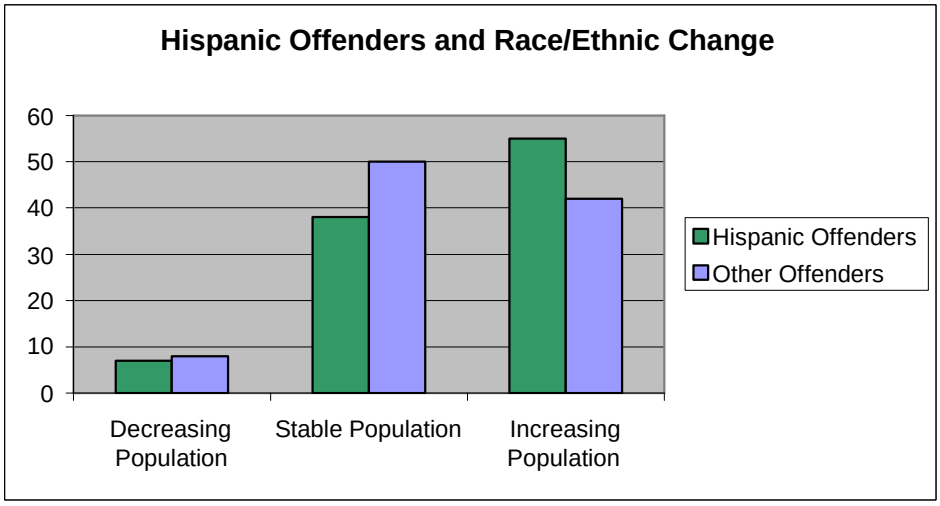

Figure 10. Hispanic and non-Hispanic hate crime offender percentages and corresponding change in Hispanic population between 1990 and 2000.

Though not significant, these results suggest a trend in which there was a greater than expected number of Hispanic offenders in areas of increasing Hispanic population; there were 51 Hispanic offenders in increasing populations compared to an expected count of 41.8. Fewer than expected Hispanic offenders committed hate crime/incidents in areas in which the Hispanic population was stable; 35 Hispanic offenders compared to 43 expected Hispanic offenders. The number of offenders in areas in which the Hispanic population is decreasing was about as expected (6 present compared to 7.2 expected

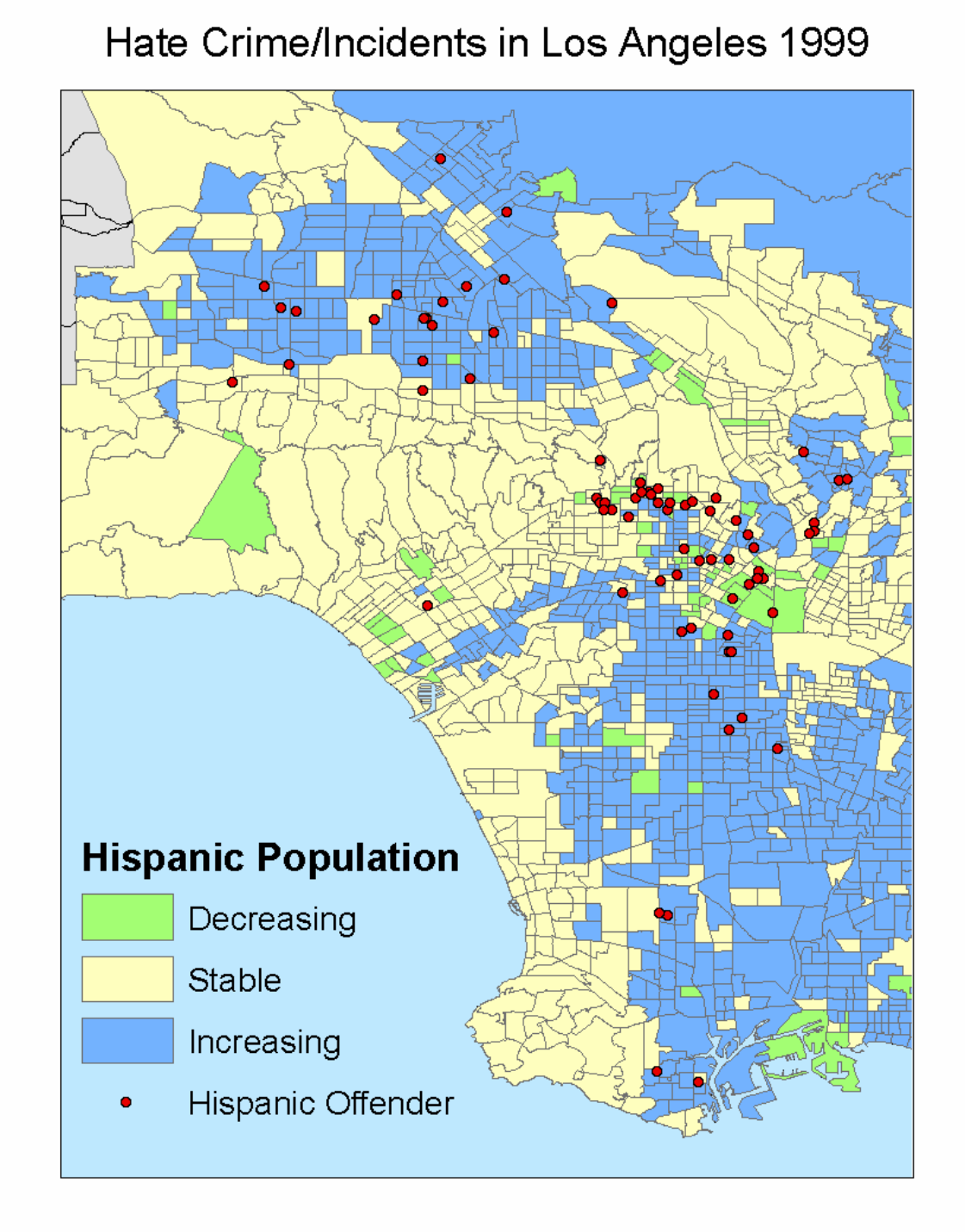

Figure 11. Hispanic hate crime offenders and corresponding Hispanic population change.

count). The location of hate crimes committed by Hispanic offenders and the change in Hispanic population between 1990 and 2000 were mapped to illustrate this relationship (see figure 11).

In sum, both White and African American offenders were significantly more likely to offend in areas in which their race/ethnic population was decreasing between 1990 and 2000. White and African American offenders were significantly less likely to commit hate crime/incidents in areas in which their corresponding race/ethnic population remained stable between 1990 and 2000. There was little difference between the expected and actual numbers of White and African American offenders in areas in which their race/ethnic population was increasing, though for both groups these numbers were small. Finally, for Hispanic Offenders, a trend in the opposite direction was observed. Hispanic offenders show a greater number than the expected count in areas where their population was increasing, compared to a similar number of expected and present offenders when their population was decreasing, though the number was small. Similar to White and African American offenders, the number of Hispanic offenders in areas in which the Hispanic population remained stable was less than expected.

Discussion

Although hate crimes and incidents constitute a small percentage of crime overall (.25% of all crimes occurring in Los Angeles in 1999), the widespread harm of hate crimes and hate incidents on communities warrants their study. Prejudicial acts have been present since the birth of our country and continue to harm relations between the diverse communities who live here. Identifying the factors that put a particular community at risk

for hate crime victimization is an important step in finding solutions that will decrease the occurrence of hate crimes.

Research on the relationship between economics and hate crimes is surrounded by controversy. While a longstanding belief in the frustration-aggression hypothesis persists to this day, several studies have since discredited the findings of Hovland and Sears (1940) linking Southern lynchings to fluctuations in the cotton industry in support of the frustration-aggression hypothesis (such as Green, Glaser, and Rich 1998). Common sense suggests that when people are struggling economically, they will lash out in anger against those who make an easy target. However, scientific research does not rely on common sense to answer its queries. When common sense is not supported by statistical findings, it must be questioned regardless of how intuitive it may seem.

The present study sought to question the prevailing view concerning economic hardships and hate crime occurrence. Recent studies such as Donald Green's (1998) have opened the debate for a theory that was once considered a very solid argument. This study continues this debate by presenting further evidence that the frustration-aggression hypothesis does not seem to explain the occurrence of hate crime in Los Angeles. I found no relationship between changes in economics, measured by percent below poverty level and unemployment rates, and the level of severity present in hate crimes. While using crime severity was an indirect measure of hate crime rates, these findings lend tentative support to the findings of Green, Glaser, and Rich. It may be that economic downturn does lead people to commit more crime, but possibly in a more indiscriminate manner rather than picking on specific groups out of prejudice. It may also be that economic frustrations leads not to hate crimes but to economic crimes such as robbery or burglary-

crimes that could possibly lead to an improvement in the criminal's economic position. Finally, if Hovland and Sears (1940) findings are correct, and there was a relationship between economic conditions in the south and the occurrence of lynchings, this relationship may not carry over to areas outside of the south, such as New York City and Los Angeles. It may be that other factors in these non-southern areas lead to the occurrence of hate crimes, such as race/ethnic change, rather than economic change.

My second and third research questions examined the relationship between race/ethnic change and hate crime occurrence. Research on the relationship between ethnic groups and hate crime is relatively new. Few studies question the existence of a relationship between ethnic groups and the level of hate crime; however, many recent studies have tried to find out the exact nature of this relationship. Donald Green's study (Green, Strolovitch, & Wong, 1998) in New York found that minorities were more likely to be victimized when their population was increasing to roughly 25%. In contrast, Nikolova (2004) found that African American and Asian victims were more likely to be victimized when they were in the minority (below 20%), whereas Whites and Hispanics were more likely to be victimized when they had a power-sharing status, comprising of 30-60% of their community. The power-threat hypothesis predicts that hate crime victimization occurs when minority populations are increasing. This theory is contrasted by the power-differential theory which predicts that minorities are more likely to be victimized when their population remains small. In sum, while most researchers are sure that race/ethnic change is related to hate crime occurrence, it remains unclear whether it is increasing or decreasing a population and minority or power-sharing status that leads to more victimization.

While the present study was not able to examine the specific relationship between changes in the defended neighborhood categories (minority, tipping, power-sharing, and majority) and hate crime occurrence due to an insufficient sample size, it was able to look at both offenders and victims of multiple race/ethnic groups in relationship to changes in their corresponding race/ethnic population (decreasing, stable, or increasing). Differences among African American and Hispanic victims and their corresponding change in race/ethnic representation were not significant. Nikolova's analysis of the same dataset found that African Americans were most likely to be victimized when their ethnic group was in the minority, whereas Hispanics were most likely to be victimized in areas in which they held a power-sharing percentage of the population (30-60%). While Nikolova's results suggest a relationship between racial/ethnic compositions and hate crime occurrence for African American and Hispanic victims, the present study could not verify how changes in their populations might affect hate crime occurrence. Had the sample been large enough to look at race/ethnic change in the specific defended neighborhood categories used in Nikolova's analysis, an understanding of the exact nature of race/ethnic change and hate crime victimization for African Americans and Hispanics may have been possible.

There was a trend for White victims to be more likely to be victimized in areas in which the White population was decreasing, and less likely to be victimized in areas in which the White population was stable between 1990 and 2000. This trend suggests that as the White population decreases, the other race/ethnic groups may be more likely to commit hate crimes against Whites. These other race/ethnic groups may feel more empowered to attack Whites as the White population decreases and there are less Whites

in the neighborhood to defend themselves. This finding differs from previous findings for minority victims who are more likely to be victimized when their population is increasing, as the defended neighborhood hypothesis predicts (Green, Strolovitch, & Wong, 1998). Further, this finding may help explain Nikolova's (2004) finding that Whites are more likely to be victimized when they comprise 30-60% of the population. The White population may be decreasing from a majority to a power-sharing percentage, increasing their likelihood to be victimized.

The present study next examined the relationship between hate crime offenders and race/ethnic change, something that was overlooked in the previous studies described above. By conducting the research in Los Angeles, I was able to look at hate crime/incidents in which the offenders were African American and Hispanic as well as White. Many of the previous studies, particularly those in the South, were not able to study these groups because the majority of the offenders and the populations in which the hate crimes occurred where predominately White. It is important to look at different race/ethnic groups because in order to form a general theory about hate crime occurrence it needs to apply to the general population rather than one group of people. Also, it is through research that examines the differences among these race/ethnic groups that a more complete picture of the phenomena can arise.

Research question three first examined the relationship between White offenders and the corresponding change (decreasing, stable, or increasing) in White population between1990 and 2000. A significant difference among White offenders and other offenders and the corresponding change in White population was found. White offenders were more likely to commit hate crimes in communities in which the White population

was decreasing. Further, they were less likely to commit hate crime/incidents in communities in which the White population was stable. This suggests that as the White population loses it's standing in the community when other groups move in and Whites move out, they are more likely to commit biased acts against other groups whom they may perceive as taking over their community. This finding fits in with the defended neighborhood hypothesis in that the White offenders may be attempting to defend their neighborhood as it increasingly becomes less and less a White neighborhood.

Similar to the White offenders, African American offenders were found to be significantly more likely to commit hate crimes/incidents in areas in which the African American population decreased between 1990 and 2000 compared to non-African American offenders. African Americans were less likely to commit hate crimes/incidents in areas in which their population was stable, and no more likely to commit hate crimes in areas in which their population was increasing compared to non-African American offenders. These findings suggest that like White offenders, African American offenders who are loosing their race/ethnic position in their community are more likely to strike out against other groups in an attempt to defend their neighborhood from those they consider to be unwelcome in their community.

While not significant, analysis of Hispanic hate crime/incident offenders and their corresponding change in population did show a trend that differs from non-Hispanic offenders. Hispanic offenders showed a trend towards being more likely to offend when their population was increasing between 1990 and 2000. This finding differs from the African American and White offenders, suggesting that a different relationship between race/ethnic position and hate crime occurrence exists for Hispanics. Since overall, the

Hispanic population is increasing in Los Angeles, it may be that the Hispanic offenders are feeling more empowered to commit hate crimes against groups they feel bias towards.

These results give partial support for the defended neighborhood hypothesis, suggesting that as one group increases, other groups whose populations are decreasing and therefore losing their positions in the community are more likely to commit hate crimes in an effort to defend their neighborhood. This relationship holds for only the White and African American offenders. White and African American populations in Los Angeles communities have overall been decreasing while the Hispanic community has for the most part increased between 1990 and 2000. This may explain the difference. As the Hispanic population moves into the communities, the African American and White populations are more likely to commit hate crimes as they lose their majority. In response, the Hispanics whose population is increasing may be more likely to offend as retaliation.

Finally, I would like to mention that for all victim and offender groups, there was a smaller than expected number of victims and offenders when their corresponding race/ethnic group remained stable between 1990 and 2000. This finding lends support to the contention that it is race/ethnic change which is related to a higher occurrence of hate crimes. This is not to suggest that ethnic change is bad or should be avoided, because it is through this race/ethnic change that understanding and tolerance of diversity can come about and strengthen the community.

There are many problems inherent in the study of hate crimes. Accurate figures of hate crime occurrence are very difficult to obtain for a number of reasons. As in any crime, victims do not always report their victimization to the police. This may be because

they do not think it's worth the trouble to report it or that the police will not do anything about it. Also, victims might fear future victimization from the offender if they come forward and the offender is caught and prosecuted. Hate crime victim reportage is further confounded by the fact that many victims are ashamed to report what happened and fear further victimization from prejudicial police. They may believe that the police will not take their victimization seriously due to the nature of the bias element (Herek, et al. 1999). In cases in which the police officer is in fact biased himself, a related problem arises in which the police officer will either fail to report the crime or fail to accurately report the bias element of the crime. A further problem with gathering data from hate crime reports is that the reports can often be incomplete or illegible. This flaw in archival research can be further compounded by coding errors by the researchers themselves.

In this study in particular, a major problem was not having access to all of the relevant data that could have made the analysis more complete and accurate. Base rates for crime level by census tracts for Los Angeles would have served as a useful comparison to hate crime levels. Access to information regarding which census tracts are under the jurisdiction of the Los Angeles Police Department would have also served as a useful measure to compare to hate crime occurrence. Census data in 1990 normalized to 2000 census tracts for non-Hispanic Asians as well as the median income level would have allowed for a more complete analysis of race/ethnic and economic changes. Finally, an ideal study would have included hate crime data for 1990 in order to better compare how the ethnic and economic changes related to changes in hate crime occurrence.

Despite these problems, use of archival data such as hate crime reports is still a valuable method in the study of hate crime occurrence, given that other types of research,

such as experimental and for the most part, observational are not possible. Supplementing police reports with reports from community organizations and surveys of hate crime victims can be useful, but are beyond the resources of the present study. Future studies might make use of these other methods to more fully examine hate crime occurrence.

The present study focused on two specific factors that put a community at risk for hate crimes: economic and race/ethnic change. This is not to say that other factors do not also contribute to the occurrence of hate crimes. Other community factors may increase the level of hate crime occurrence such as availability of alcohol and other drugs, highly publicized occurrences of racial or perceived racial injustice, and the proliferation of gang activity in the area. Alternately, other community factors may act as mitigating factors for the occurrence of hate crimes, such as religious groups, after school programs, and community organizations that strengthen relations among different community groups. Examination of these factors was beyond the scope of this study, but this is not to say that they do not potentially play an important role in affecting hate crime occurrence as well.

Understanding the factors that lead to hate crime occurrence is crucial in order to develop strategies to decrease biases and strengthen relations among different members of a community. Organizations such as the Human Relations Committee of Los Angeles County are working hard to develop programs to decrease hate crimes and strengthen communities. While ideally these programs could be implemented in all communities for the benefit of the whole county, these organizations may lack the resources to support programs in all communities. For this reason, it is important to locate the communities which are most at risk for hate crimes and are highly in need of programs to improve race

relations. While this study is far from conclusive about the precise relationship between race/ethnic changes, it can suggest that community organizations should focus their efforts to curb hate crime occurrence in neighborhoods experiencing an influx of race/ethnic groups that differ from the previous majority. As the minority continues to grow, racial strife between groups can become particularly harmful for the entire community.

Future studies should examine the relationship between race/ethnic changes further, perhaps by including a larger sample in order to look specifically at race/ethnic change among the defended neighborhood categories. Use of the overall crime rate in an area as a base rate to compare to hate crime rates would also be helpful in determining more accurately how hate crimes differ from other crimes, particularly in relation to economic and race/ethnic change. Other methods such as survey and hate crime data collected from community organizations would allow a more accurate picture of hate crime occurrence than solely relying on police reports. Finally, future studies should look at changes in hate crime levels as well as changes in community risk factors to better determine their relationship.

In conclusion, hate crime occurrence can threaten entire communities. An understanding of what puts a community at risk for hate crime victimization is a crucial step in making communities safer for all members of the community. While economic change may or may not play a part in hate crime occurrence, it is clear that race/ethnic changes are associated with increases in hate crime occurrences. Though race/ethnic change can put a community at risk, it can also lead to positive changes if members can

learn to accept and embrace their cultural differences and come together as a supportive, tolerant community.

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