

# An Examination of Hate and Bias Incidents in Pennsylvania, 1999 – 2012

By: R. Barry Ruback, Andrew S. Gladfelter, and Brendan G. Lantz  
Pennsylvania State University

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study examined hate and bias incidents in Pennsylvania using information gathered by the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission (PHRC) from 1999 to 2012. The PHRC data came from media accounts (about 60 percent of the database incidents) and reports from police agencies, advocacy groups, county coalitions, and victims.

It is important to note that the PHRC data include reported criminal acts that may have been motivated by hate or bias, in addition to violations of the Pennsylvania ethnic intimidation (“hate crime”) statute. Unless explicitly noted as ethnic intimidation, all mentions of “hate crime” or “bias crime” in the report’s findings refer to reported criminal acts assumed to be motivated by hate or bias. This distinction between the two categories is important, because there were more than 10 times as many reported crimes assumed to be motivated by hate in the PHRC data as compared to violations of ethnic intimidation under Pennsylvania law.

In addition to the PHRC data, the researchers used demographic, social, and economic data from the U.S. Census Bureau, and data from the U.S. Department of Education for analyses related to incidents at higher education institutions.

The research found that, over the 1999-2012 period, the number of hate- and bias-related incidents reported to PHRC increased. Criminal law violations showed high fluctuations, but overall, they were roughly flat over the entire period. Both civil law violations and

tension incidents, which are non-criminal acts of bias that may inflame a community, increased during the approximately 14 years examined. Hate group activity varied greatly from year to year.

In contrast to the increases in reported incidents to PHRC, cases of prosecuted ethnic intimidation (the hate crime statute in Pennsylvania) remained at low levels.

As a comparison, overall crime reported to the police dropped during the 1999-2012 period.

According to the research, most hate and bias incidents occurred in urban municipalities. However, incidents in rural municipalities were more likely than incidents in urban municipalities to be criminal.

The research found that, across the 1999-2012 period, there were no significant differences in the rates of hate and bias incidents per 100,000 population, regardless of whether the comparison was between urban and rural municipalities or urban and rural counties.

Among the criminal incidents in the dataset where a victim was identified, the research found that 33 percent of crime victims were black, 10 percent were Jewish, 8 percent were LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender), 7 percent were Hispanic and 3 percent were Muslim.

In about 35 percent of the overall incidents in the dataset, the offender was not known. Of the cases in which the offender was identified, most were individuals or small groups of individuals (as opposed to organized groups) and were disproportionately white.

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Most crimes were committed against individuals of a different race and the most typical crime was of a white offender and a black victim.

As compared to incidents when an individual offender was identified, when hate groups were identified, the incident was less likely to involve a crime. If a hate- or bias-motivated crime occurred, an arrest was more likely if a hate group, rather than an individual, was involved.

Hate groups largely engaged in noncriminal acts such as rallies, protests, and distribution of literature, and were unlikely to commit criminal offenses of any type, including personal or property.

The research found that both law enforcement and civil rights agency responses to hate- and bias-related incidents increased over time, but especially by civil rights organizations. Both law enforcement and civil rights agencies tended to respond to incidents with anti-black bias motivations, as well as intimidation and threat incidents, such as harassment, slurs, bomb threats, and cross-burning.

The research also found that 4 percent of hate- and bias-related incidents occurred at higher education institutions. The reported numbers of hate and bias incidents on campuses generally increased from 2006 to 2010, according to both the PHRC and U.S. Department of Education data.

It is important to recognize that the findings from this study are limited since the PHRC data disproportionately represent some areas of the state. In addition, because some reports in the PHRC database are not verified, some reported incidents may not have been discriminatory or motivated by bias. Despite these and other limitations, this dataset is the best source for examining hate and bias incidents in Pennsylvania since it includes both actual bias incidents confirmed by the police and possible bias incidents not reported to the police.

Policy considerations from the research concern the need to increase reporting of hate and bias incidents to official sources, and to increase formal training for and institute explicit policies to aid local law enforcement agencies.

## INTRODUCTION

According to the federal Hate Crimes Prevention Act, hate crimes are incidents motivated by prejudice based on race, color, religion, national origin, gender, or sexual orientation (Hate Crimes Prevention Act, 28 U.S.C. § 534)<sup>1</sup>.

In Pennsylvania, ethnic intimidation is defined by Title 18 Pa. C.S., Subsection 2710 as any crime against a person or property “. . . with malicious intention toward the race, color, religion, or national origin of the person or group of individuals. . .”<sup>2</sup>. The law serves as an enhancement by increasing the degree, or severity, of the offense.

Most studies of hate crimes have examined urban regions (Green et al., 2001; Lyons, 2007, 2008), where high levels of contact between residents of different ethnicities and backgrounds are presumed to increase the likelihood of bias-motivated incidents (Jacobs and Potter, 1997). Fewer studies have looked at hate crimes in rural areas, even though hate crimes, like all crimes, occur in non-urban areas (Wilson and Ruback, 2003).

Since 62 percent of Pennsylvania’s municipalities and 72 percent of its counties are rural, there is a need to examine the causes and consequences of hate and bias incidents in rural municipalities and to compare them to urban municipalities.

This study investigated how individual, situational, and county-level factors are related to the reported incidence of hate and bias incidents in both rural and urban Pennsylvania counties.

A better understanding of the nature and extent of hate and bias incidents has important implications for victims’ reporting, police officer training, and the larger questions of what actions can be taken to reduce these crimes and incidents.

### National Data on Hate Crimes

There are two national data sources for hate crimes: the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) and the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR).

1. Sexual orientation was added to the Hate Crime Statistics Act in 2009 as a part of a modification under the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act (18 U.S.C. § 249).

2. The law applies to Title 18 Article B offenses, criminal trespass, and Chapter 33 offenses, except institutional vandalism.

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## NCVS

The NCVS is based on a nationally representative sample of households in the U.S. The primary advantage of the NCVS is that it includes crime victims who did not report their victimization to the police. In addition, the NCVS provides information about why these victims did not report the crime. The most recent descriptive summary of hate crime victimization, based on the NCVS, indicates that nationwide<sup>3</sup>, hate crimes have remained relatively stable from 2003-2011 (Sandholtz, Langton, and Planty, 2013). Males had higher victimization rates than females, and persons under the age of 18 had higher victimization rates than persons 18 and older. Persons with household incomes under \$25,000 had higher victimization rates than persons with higher household incomes. There were no significant differences in victimization rates between whites, blacks, and Hispanics. That is, each racial group had similar rates of victimization.

Ninety-two percent of hate crimes reported in the NCVS involved violence. Hate crimes motivated by all categories of racial bias (such as anti-black, anti-Hispanic, anti-white) combined accounted for more than one half of all hate crimes, whereas hate crimes motivated by religious bias accounted for about one fifth of all hate crimes. About one third of hate crime victimizations occurred at or near the victim's home, one fifth occurred in public places, such as on the street and public transportation, about one fifth occurred at schools, and about one sixth occurred in commercial places (Sandholtz et al., 2013).

For the period 2007-2011, 35 percent of hate crimes were reported to the police: roughly 42 percent of these were for serious violence, 30 percent were for simple assaults, and 25 percent were for property crimes. These figures are lower than those for the same hate crimes in the period 2003-2006 (for which the overall rate of reporting was 46 percent) and lower for non-hate serious violence, simple assaults, and property crimes for 2007-2011.

The most common reasons victims gave for not reporting a violent hate crime victimization were the belief that the police would not or could not help (24 percent), the victim dealt with it another way or that it was a private matter (23 percent), and it was not important enough (18 percent).

## UCR

The UCR is compiled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) from reports by police agencies. The federal Hate Crime Statistics Act requires law enforcement agencies to report hate crime incidents to the FBI as part of the UCR system. The act defines hate crimes as "crimes that manifest evidence of prejudice based on race, gender or gender identity, religion, disability, sexual orientation, or ethnicity" (28 United States Code §534). An incident is considered to be a hate crime only when the law enforcement investigation produces enough evidence to "lead a reasonable and prudent person to conclude that the offender's actions were motivated, in whole or in part, by his or her bias" (FBI, 2010).

A recent analysis looked at police reports of hate crimes to the UCR for the 13-year period of 1996-2008 (Cheng et al., 2013) and found that the states with the largest populations had the highest rates of hate crime incidents per 10,000,000 population<sup>4</sup>. Based on their analyses of the 1996-2008 FBI data, Cheng et al. (2013) found that whites committed most of their hate crimes against blacks, and blacks committed most of their hate crimes against whites. Cheng et al. (2013) suggested that this pattern is evidence of strong in-group favoritism and out-group hatred. Compared to their commission of other crimes, for which whites have lower rates than blacks, whites were more likely to commit hate crimes (Cheng et al., 2013).

As compared to other types of hate crimes, anti-sexual-orientation crimes were more severe. Male homosexuals were the primary target of anti-sexual-orientation hate crimes.

Cheng et al. (2013) examined seven types of anti-religious-group hate crime: anti-Jewish, anti-Catholic, anti-Protestant, anti-Islamic, anti-other-religious-group, anti-atheism/agnostic, and anti-multi-religions. Among anti-religious-group hate crimes, Jews were the primary target. After 9/11, there was a spike in anti-Muslim hate crimes, although the number has been decreasing since. Anti-religious hate crimes were committed primarily against property, whereas anti-racial and anti-sexual-orientation hate crimes were committed primarily against persons. Cheng et al. (2013) suggested that this pattern probably reflects dislike of the religion rather than of specific people. They also suggested that hate crimes against Jews and homosexuals were most

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3. The NCVS data are available only at a national level; state-by-state statistics are not reported.

4. The correlation between population and rate of hate crimes averaged about .80 according to the authors, suggesting a very strong relationship between population and hate crime; that is, as population increases, so does the rate of incidents.

likely the product of hatred resulting from the symbolic threats to values and standards of behavior posed by these groups.

Cheng et al.'s analysis of the UCR data suggests that the national climate affects hate crime, in that it can legitimize some acts and reduce disapproval of other acts. For example, while the spike in anti-Muslim hate crime following 9/11 can be attributed to the anger most Americans reported feeling toward terrorists, the spikes in anti-racial and anti-sexual-orientation hate crimes in 2002 are probably attributable to a generally hostile atmosphere in the country.

According to the UCR, 1,949 police agencies across the U.S. reported 6,222 hate crime incidents involving 7,713 victims (FBI, 2011). In Pennsylvania, in 2011, 20 police agencies reported 53 hate crimes, less than 1 percent of the reported hate crimes in the country. The remaining 1,352 police agencies in Pennsylvania reported no hate crimes (FBI, 2011).

There are four reasons to believe that the UCR figures for Pennsylvania, and for the country as a whole, substantially underestimate the actual level of hate crime. First, because UCR data include only crimes reported to the police, the reported hate crime figures, like that for all crimes, do not provide any information about unreported crimes. Incidents are known to the police only if citizens report them (Greenberg and Ruback, 1992), and most crimes, especially most property crimes, are not reported. The most recent Bureau of Justice Statistics report estimated that about two-thirds of hate crimes are not reported to the police (Sandholtz et al., 2013).

Second, it may be that although crime victims in general are reluctant to report their victimization to the police, hate crime victims may be even less inclined to report hate incidents if they believe their actions are likely to lead to retaliation, cause them embarrassment, or result in discrimination and mistreatment (Martin, 1996; Herek et al., 1997, 2002). There is some evidence that sexual orientation victims of hate crimes are more at risk of hate crimes than are Jews or blacks (Rubenstein, 2004). And, from a study in Los Angeles, there is evidence that even though sexual orientation hate crimes were more serious than hate crimes based on race/ethnicity or religion, they were less likely to be reported to the police (Dunbar, 2006). Sexual orientation hate crime victims may be especially unlikely to report their crimes because of embarrassment, and like racial and religious minority victims, may be reluctant to report if they do not believe the police will take their complaints seriously.

Third, hate crime victims may not define their victimization as a hate crime, and, even if they report the crime, do not report it as a hate crime (Green et al., 2001). To label an incident as a crime, victims match their personal definition of a crime to the present situation. Research suggests that attempted crimes, crimes between acquaintances, and unexpected crimes are not always defined by victims as crimes (Greenberg and Ruback, 1992). Moreover, in the case of hate crimes, victims might decide that the incident was criminal but, because of uncertainty or unwillingness to label the offender's act as motivated by bias, was not a hate crime.

Fourth, even those crimes that are reported to the police may not be reported to the FBI as hate crimes if the police do not find that the crime was motivated by bias. Identifying the bias motivation needed to define a crime as a hate crime is difficult (Green et al., 2001; Martin, 1995). In the U.S., only 13 percent of the 14,977 law enforcement agencies that provided hate crime data to the FBI in 2010 reported any hate crime activity; 87 percent of the agencies reported zero hate crimes, possibly because many agencies do not have specific hate crime policies (Jeness and Grattet, 2005). Of those that reported hate crimes, most reported very small numbers of crimes. For example, of the 50 reporting states, 10 reported a total of 20 or fewer hate crimes of any sort for the entire year (FBI, 2010).

Because of these problems with official crime statistics, other data sources are necessary to study the incidence of hate crimes, sources that include incidents that were not reported to the police. In a prior study of hate crimes in Pennsylvania, Wilson and Ruback (2003) used a 15-year dataset of 2,031 hate crime and bias incidents reported to the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission (PHRC) from 1984 to 1999. The research found that 18 percent of the incidents and crimes were from counties that the Center for Rural Pennsylvania classified as rural. Offenses against gay victims were more likely to occur in rural than in urban counties, while offenses against Asians and multiple groups were more likely to occur in urban counties. Rates of both personal hate crimes (such as murder, aggravated assault, simple assault, intimidation) and property hate crimes (such as public and private vandalism) were significantly higher in rural than in urban counties, a difference that the researchers suggested might be the result of higher levels of prejudice in rural municipalities or of lower levels of reporting in urban municipalities. Although there was no measure of prejudice available in the data, there were no differences between rural

and urban counties in the level of police involvement in hate crimes and bias incidents.

Using PHRC data for the period 1984-1999, Bradley (2007) found most hate activity in Pennsylvania did not involve hate groups. Her analyses indicated that, controlling for the severity of the offense, victims were more likely to report the incident to the police if it involved hate group activity than if it did not. Bradley also found that the presence of hate group indicators significantly increased the likelihood that the police would be involved, especially for noncriminal behavior. Bradley suggested that victims may not report minor incidents unless there is hate group involvement, in the belief that police will become involved only if this indicator of seriousness is present.

### Factors that Might Affect the Occurrence and Characteristics of Hate Crimes

Research suggests that crimes motivated by hatred of race, ethnicity, or sexual orientation tend to be crimes of violence, whereas crimes motivated by hatred of religion tend to be property crimes, especially vandalism (Garofalo, 1997).

In criminology, the theory that is most often used to explain crime, especially in urban places, is social disorganization theory, which posits that communities that have weak informal controls (such as areas in which residents do not seem to enforce general norms of behavior) are likely to have higher rates of crime. Such places are characterized by residential instability, ethnic heterogeneity (a mixture of racial and cultural groups), and poverty. In the context of hate crime, social disorganization theory would predict that an area's composition in terms of race and educational level and the level of economic competition would be related to hate crime prevalence.

In one of the only examinations of social disorganization theory and hate crime, Lyons (2007) found differential effects of disorganization by whether the victim was black or white. Anti-black crimes were more prevalent in organized communities with high levels of informal social control. Anti-white incidents, however, were more likely to occur in traditionally disorganized communities, with residential instability being a particularly strong predictor.

In terms of the racial composition of a county, one hypothesis predicts that counties or municipalities with higher levels of population heterogeneity may experience fewer hate crimes and be more responsive to hate incidents. A competing hypothesis is that areas with

higher levels of population heterogeneity may experience more hate crime activity and be less responsive than more homogeneous communities. The reasoning is that heterogeneous populations probably have greater levels of interaction between races, which present more opportunities for and desensitization toward hate crimes.

The education level of residents in a county may also affect hate crime activity. Studies suggest that as education increases, the amount of prejudice decreases (Schuman et al., 1997; Wagner and Zick, 1995). Similarly, a study in Germany, the Netherlands, France, and Great Britain found that, compared to subjects with more formal education, subjects with less formal education expressed more ethnic prejudice against minority groups (Wagner and Zick, 1995).

Based on this evidence of an inverse relationship between education and prejudice, education may be an approximate measure of the level of prejudice within each county, such that places with a more educated population are less prejudiced (Schuman et al., 1997; Wagner and Zick, 1995). Consequently, it is possible that, controlling for other factors, communities with a more highly educated population will have fewer and less severe hate crimes than communities with a less educated population. Furthermore, less prejudiced communities may be less tolerant of hate crime activity and may encourage active police response. This notion suggests that, even though counties with highly-educated populations have fewer and less frequent hate crimes than counties with less-educated populations, they actually may have more police involvement than counties with less-educated populations.

In addition to ethnic heterogeneity, social disorganization theory suggests that economic conditions are related to hate crime activity. In an examination of interracial homicides, Jacobs and Wood (1999) found, after statistically controlling for the probability of interracial contacts and the total murder rate, that cities with greater economic competition between the races had more white killings of blacks. Similarly, Flint (2001), in an examination of Ku Klux Klan membership during the 1930's and hate crime activity in the 1990's, reported that county-level economic stress was related to economic rivalry and interracial violence.

Aside from community conditions, specific events can also affect the number and rate of hate crimes. After 9/11, the number of hate crimes against Arabs/Muslims in the U.S. increased nationwide, and there were more of these incidents in counties where there were

higher proportionate numbers of Arabs and Muslims. Disha et al. (2011) suggested that this finding is simply a result of opportunity: when there are more potential targets, more victims are likely. However, even though the number of victims was greater when there were more targets, the risk of hate crime to an individual Arab was greater when there were fewer, and therefore more vulnerable, Arabs and Muslims in an area.

In addition to these factors, Disha et al. (2011) found that anti-Arab crimes were most likely to take place in more affluent counties, and suggested that more affluent areas have higher levels of informal social control, and are likely to respond forcefully to threatening outsiders.

## GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

This research examined hate and bias incidents in Pennsylvania using data collected by the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission (PHRC) for the years 1999-2012. The research goals were to examine: differences in hate and bias incidents between rural and urban municipalities; the victims and offenders of hate and bias incidents; the role of hate groups in hate and bias incidents; and law enforcement and other agency responses to hate and bias incidents.

## METHODOLOGY

### PHRC Database

PHRC, Pennsylvania's civil rights and anti-discrimination agency, is empowered to enforce laws that prohibit discrimination in employment, housing, commercial property, public accommodation for disability, and education, as outlined in the Pennsylvania Human Relations Act and the Pennsylvania Fair Educational Opportunities Act<sup>5</sup>.

PHRC also attempts to track bias incidents that occur in the commonwealth. Reports of these incidents are collected from a variety of sources, including first-hand citizen complaints made directly to PHRC's offices, media reports from across the state, and police reports provided to the agency. Although not exhaustive of all incidents that occurred in the state in a given year, the PHRC database clearly provides a more complete record of the extent of hate- and bias-motivated incidents than the UCR data.

PHRC records incidents in which the victim or authorities believe the offense involved bias motivations related to race, religion, gender, sexual orientation,

disability and ethnicity. The data cover a broad range of activities, including noncriminal as well as criminal incidents. For each incident, PHRC attempts to identify factors about the victim, the offender, and the location involved.

It is important to note that, in addition to violations of the Pennsylvania ethnic intimidation ("hate crime") statute, the criminal acts reported in the PHRC data were assumed to be motivated by hate or bias. Unless explicitly noted as ethnic intimidation, all mentions of "hate crime" or "bias crime" in the following research findings refer to reported criminal acts assumed to be motivated by hate or bias. This distinction between the two categories is important, because there were more than 10 times as many reported crimes assumed to be motivated by hate in the PHRC data as compared to violations of ethnic intimidation under Pennsylvania law.

Despite its obvious advantages over police reports, which include only incidents reported to the police, it is important to acknowledge other possible limitations to the PHRC data.

First, similar to reports to the police, it undercounts actual hate crimes, especially since racial minorities are less likely to report hate crimes (Zaykowski, 2010).

Second, the researchers were unable to distinguish incidents in which victims chose not to notify the police from situations where the police were called but then opted not to become involved.

A third limitation concerns possible bias in the way PHRC obtains information: up to 60 percent of recorded reports result from routine media monitoring, and the remaining reports come from various police departments, advocacy agencies, county coalitions, and victims throughout Pennsylvania (Welliver, 2004). In addition, the relationship between police and other local reporting agents and PHRC is stronger in some counties than others. Which media sources are reviewed and the strength of the relationship between local agents and PHRC may make incidents in some counties more likely to be recorded than similar incidents in other counties, possibly producing a skewed record of bias activity.

A fourth limitation is inherent in the use of any secondary data source collected for purposes other than research. The dataset consists only of incident characteristics reported to PHRC through other sources, so the information varies in detail and in what is deemed

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5. See information on PHRC's website at [http://www.phrc.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/law\\_\\_\\_legal\\_resources/18980](http://www.phrc.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/law___legal_resources/18980) and [http://www.phrc.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/bias\\_\\_\\_hate\\_crimes/19235](http://www.phrc.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/bias___hate_crimes/19235).

relevant to report. Consequently, some information that has generally been included in research on traditional crime, such as victim and offender age, is not always present in the PHRC data. Therefore, the research was limited by the availability of the data. Again, while the dataset undercounts actual hate crimes and bias incidents, it is the most complete set of data in the state.

In this study, all 5,345 bias-related incidents from 1999 to 2012 in the PHRC database were examined to determine the occurrence, and to assess any changes, in the reporting of these incidents over time. Five types of events were identified in the database: (1) potential criminal law violations, which are events in which a crime was plausibly committed even if not officially investigated by law enforcement; (2) potential civil law violations, which included discrimination and other possible civil disputes; (3) organized hate group activity, which included actions committed by known hate groups, such as the KKK or skinheads; (4) tension incidents, including non-criminal acts of bias that may inflame a community; and (5) for your information (FYI) events, which are events that are tangential to hate and bias incidents in Pennsylvania, such as the reporting of statistics regarding minority employment or the findings of an academic study on hate or discrimination elsewhere in the United States. The researchers coded information for up to 199 variables for each of the 5,345 incidents.

Since many of the variables required judgments about how they should be categorized, the researchers took several steps to ensure consistency in the categorization and coding of the variables.

### **Incident-Level Variables**

The researchers used a modified version of Wilson and Ruback's (2003) coding scheme from 1984 to 1999 to code incident characteristics and added other variables to reflect changes in the nature of hate and bias incidents since 2000, including the increase in certain types of events (e.g. anti-Muslim and anti-gay incidents) and growth in additional hate groups and types of hate groups (e.g. "Patriot" and "Sovereign Citizen" movements).

Incident features were classified into seven broad categories including: incident classification; victim characteristics; offender characteristics; hate group involvement; incident characteristics; incident outcomes; and case summaries.

### **Incident Classification**

Each incident in the database was sorted into one of five possible types:

- Criminal law violations, which are incidents where a criminal act motivated by hate or bias occurred;
- Civil law violations, which are incidents resulting in some form of discrimination, frequently by an employer, school district, or government agency, or some other form of civil complaint;
- Organized hate group activity, which are incidents in which a hate group was involved, most often as a perpetrator. Typically, these events consisted of gatherings, rallies, and distribution of literature;
- Tension incidents, which are those in which a general intergroup or interracial tension or standoff occurred, although no criminal act was committed; and
- For your information events (FYI), which are reports collected by PHRC because they had some relevance to hate and bias issues but which did not fit in any of the other four categories. Also included in the FYI category were criminal events that were clearly not motivated by bias (e.g., a murder, for which there was no evidence of bias, hate, or prejudice by the offender against the victim). Approximately 21 percent of the incidents were classified under the umbrella category of FYI events.

Because raw counts of bias incidents do not take into account the size of the population, places with large numbers of people, particularly Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, are likely to be disproportionately represented. To control for population size, the researchers calculated the rate of incidents as the number of incidents per 100,000 population. For the overall rate of incidents, the researchers calculated the mean population between 2000 and 2010 by averaging the population estimates from the 2000 Census and 2006-2010 American Community Survey (ACS) estimates from the U.S. Census Bureau. The resulting measure was the average rate of hate-related incidents (i.e., combined crimes, civil violations, hate group activity, and tension) per 100,000 individuals for each county and municipal subdivision across the entire study period. Because of the rarity of the outcome, calculating a meaningful yearly rate was a problem<sup>6</sup>. Additionally, the researchers calculated rates for the crime variable using the same procedure as above at both the county and municipal levels.

Because several crimes and noncriminal incident types were rare, a more useful definition was developed

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6. For instance, the average yearly rate is 3.23 in Allegheny, 5.21 in Philadelphia, and 0.82 per 100,000 in Clarion counties. Rates are smaller still at the municipal level.

for several analyses by collapsing the various measures into the following four categories:

- Personal crimes – incidents involving murder, aggravated assault, simple assault, or ethnic intimidation;
- Property crimes – incidents involving institutional vandalism, vandalism of private property, or arson;
- Intimidation and threats – incidents involving intimidation, harassment, slurs, bomb threats, or cross-burning, but excluding criminal ethnic intimidation (which was included in the personal crime category); and
- Noncriminal incidents – events involving bias-related discrimination, rallies, protests, meetings, distribution of literature, the use of the Internet for non-criminal purposes, or general arguments.

Note that the categories are mutually exclusive. That is, while an incident may involve both criminal and noncriminal activities, or both personal and property crimes, incidents were recoded into each of the four categories according to the following order of severity: (1) personal crimes, (2) property crimes, (3) intimidation and threats, and (4) noncriminal events.

This ordering allowed the researchers to predict the most serious type of incident that would occur based on other variables. Because of how they were labeled, hate- and bias-motivated crimes were considered the most serious events. It was clear that personal crimes were the most severe events, sometimes resulting in serious bodily injury or death. Property crimes were still law violations, but did not result in any serious harm to life or limb. Intimidation and threat incidents were deemed less serious than property crimes because injury and property loss never occurred. Noncriminal incidents were deemed the least serious because they were comparatively innocuous. Under this coding system, 333 incidents could not be coded, generally because the database did not list the type of offense.

### **Victim and Offender Characteristics**

Victim and offender characteristics measured demographic traits of the victim and offender, such as the type of party involved (e.g. individuals, organizations, police, hate groups), the number of parties involved, the race and gender of each party, religious affiliations, and other defining characteristics. When information was available, both victims and offenders were coded as either gay or heterosexual. The researchers coded offenses as applying to the target population(s) in general if no specific individual victim was targeted, such as in the case of vandalism of streets or highways.

### **Hate Group Involvement**

One of the primary goals of the study was to describe the nature and prevalence of hate group activity across the state. The variables in this section identified whether hate group involvement was plausible based on the use of symbols and names associated with a particular group or confirmed by some source. Additionally, Wilson and Ruback's (2003) list of hate groups was used to identify the main hate groups in Pennsylvania, including the KKK, racist skinheads, neo-Nazis, and Aryan Nations. Other hate groups, often identified by name in an incident report, were catalogued according to their primary motivation, such as white supremacist, black separatist, or the Patriot movements.

### **Incident Characteristics**

Incident characteristics included details of the event, ranging from the crime committed (if applicable) to other forms of noncriminal activities, such as racial slurs and distribution of literature.

### **Incident Outcomes**

Case outcomes detailed any response by police, civil rights organizations, or other agencies as well as the disposition of the event. The primary disposition of interest included whether an arrest was made. It should be noted that many of the incidents were entered into the PHRC database shortly after the incident was reported; thus, many incidents were still being investigated. The disposition variables only captured whether a specific agency response or outcome was explicitly listed in the report.

### **Case Summary Variables**

Finally, case summary variables catalogued the nature of the bias motivation for each incident. A range of possible motivations was examined, including bias against a particular racial group or religion, sexual orientation, gender, or the government. Bias motivation was generally identified based on the nature of the victim's characteristics and behavior of the offender. For instance, a white offender shouting racial slurs at a black victim was coded as anti-black. Importantly, a particular offense could have multiple bias motivations attached. For example, a black female victim who was sexually harassed and called derogatory racial slurs in the workplace would have been coded as both anti-black and anti-female. Therefore, because a particular incident could have been the product of several motivations, bias motivation categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

The data set includes information about whether or not different law enforcement agencies responded to an incident. Each incident was coded for whether or not each of 12 law enforcement agencies was involved<sup>7</sup>. Law enforcement agencies were coded directly as they appeared in the incident summary of the PHRC data. Any agency that was listed as being involved in an incident was added to the codebook upon first mention, and subsequently coded every time the agency was involved in an incident thereafter. In cases where police were involved, the researchers coded the reported dispositions, such as whether an arrest was made.

### Uniform Crime Reporting System (UCR) Data

The FBI UCR catalogues all Part I index crimes reported by state and local agencies for each year. Part I index crimes are those crimes classified by the UCR program as serious, more likely to be reported, and to occur with sufficient frequency to provide comparison. The Part I indexes reported incidents into two categories: violent and property crimes. Eight violent and property crimes are recorded (murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, motor vehicle theft, and arson). Annual county-level data for 1999 to 2010 were available for use in this study; 2011 and 2012 data were not available at the time of the study. For longitudinal analyses requiring data for 2011 and 2012, the mean of the preceding 3 years was used to approximate a rate for these missing years. That is, the crime rate for 2011 was computed as the average rate for 2008, 2009, and 2010, and the crime rate for 2012 was computed as the average rate for 2009, 2010, and 2011<sup>8</sup>.

A county's rate of violent crime was calculated as the sum of known murders, rapes, robberies, and aggravated assaults per 10,000 population serviced by reporting agencies (crimes/population x 10,000).

The property crime rate for a county was calculated as the number of known burglaries, larcenies, motor vehicle thefts, and arsons per 10,000 population serviced by reported agencies. Rates were calculated for each year from 1999 to 2012.

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7. The following agencies were coded as to whether or not they were involved: the local police, the Pennsylvania State Police, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Office of the District Attorney, the Office of the Attorney General, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the United States Postal Service, the Bureau of Tobacco and Firearms, the Department of Justice, the National Park Service, the Governor's Office, and the Department of Corrections.

8. Sensitivity analyses were also conducted using only the 1999-2010 data to ensure that this coding scheme did not substantially impact the models.

### Census-Level Measures

The research used the following Census predictors: racial heterogeneity; age; residential instability, which was measured as the percentage of households that were rented rather than owned; concentrated disadvantage, which includes the percentage of households with any public assistance income, median family income, the percentage of female-headed households with children under 18 years of age, the percentage of families with income below the federal poverty level and unemployment data from the Census for the municipal level, and from the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry's Center for Workforce Information and Analysis for county level data; and other demographic data including population, gender and educational attainment.

### Other Data Sources

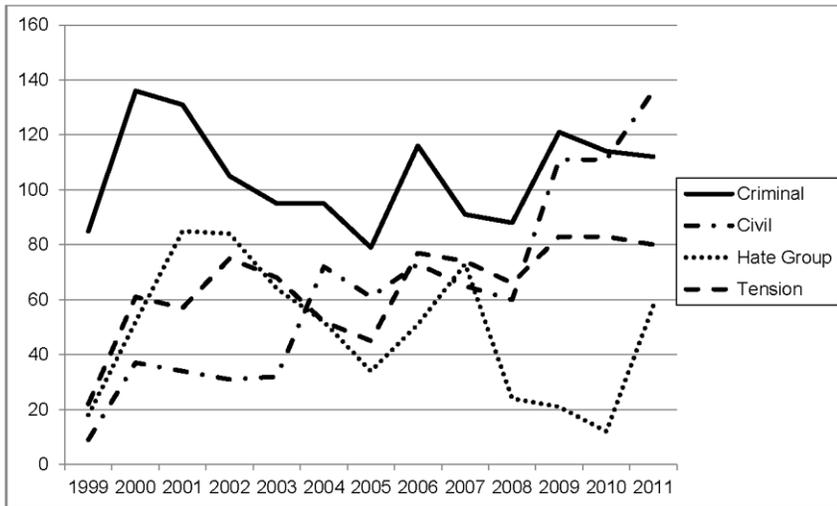
In addition to Census Bureau data, the researchers used data from the following sources to better understand how hate and bias incidents are related to other factors about communities. These included data on: social capital adapted from Goetz, Rupasingha, and Loveridge (2012); the presence of civil rights organizations from the National Center for Charitable Statistics (<http://nccsdataweb.urban.org/PubApps/geoSearch.php>) to examine whether these organizations affect hate crime reporting (McVeigh et al., 2003); religious adherence from the Association of Religion Data Archives (ARDA); police coverage from the Pennsylvania Department of Community and Economic Development's Governor's Center for Local Government Services; the type and location of hate groups in the state from the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC); the total number of media articles related to hate crime from the ProQuest database of U.S. newspapers; typology of hate crime offender motivations (thrill, defensive, mission, and retaliatory) by Levin and McDevitt (1993) and McDevitt et al. (2002); and rural and urban classification for counties and municipalities based on the Center for Rural Pennsylvania's definition.

### Missing Data

The research examined incidents at the county and municipal levels. For 21 municipalities, Census data were not available for a variety of reasons so the researchers excluded those municipalities from the analysis. For consistency, the analysis included only those 2,554 municipalities for which data were available.

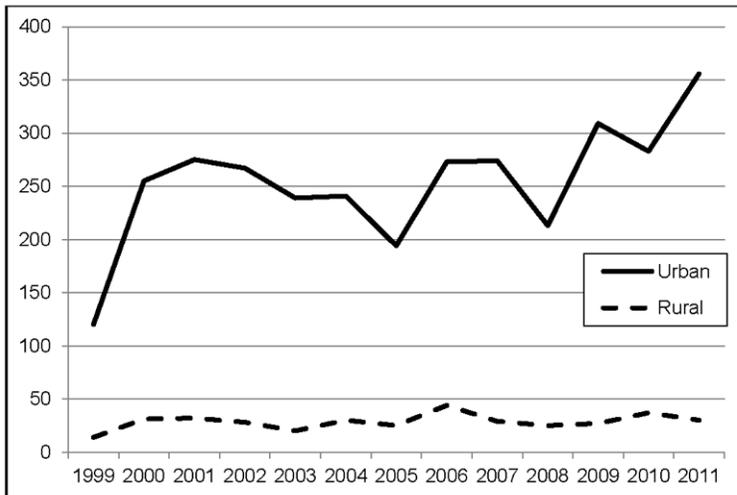
To calculate data for the non-Census years of 1999 and 2001 to 2009, the research used linear interpola-

Figure 1. Type of Incidents Per Year, 1999-2011



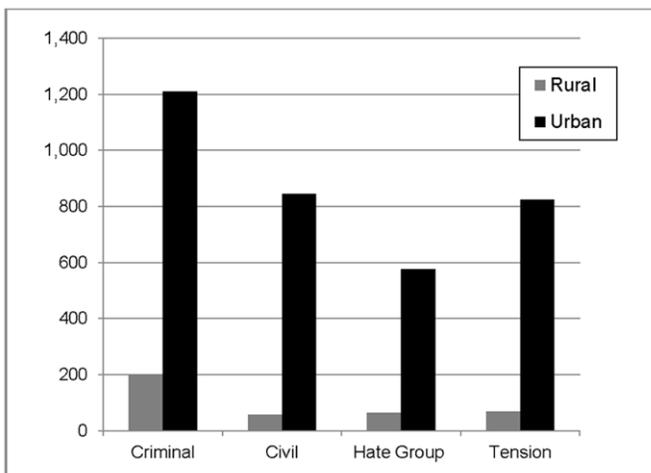
Source: PHRC. N = 3,671 incidents from 1999-2011.

Figure 2. Incident Counts, by Rural/Urban Municipality, 1999-2011



Source: PHRC. N = 3,671 incidents from 1999-2011.

Figure 3. Four Types of Incidents, by Rural/Urban Municipality, 1999-2011



Source: PHRC, 1999-2012. N = 3,830 incidents from 1999-2012.

tion, a process that fills in the missing data between two known end points by calculating a linear trend line.

Finally, of the 5,345 incident reports in the PHRC database, 480 were missing location-based information, occurred outside of Pennsylvania, or were too general (e.g., "statewide") to be placed in a specific municipality or county. Since most of the analyses relied on placing incidents within rural and urban areas, the researchers excluded incidents that were missing location information from the analyses. The result was a usable sample of 4,865 incidents including the FYI events and 3,830 incidents excluding the FYI events.

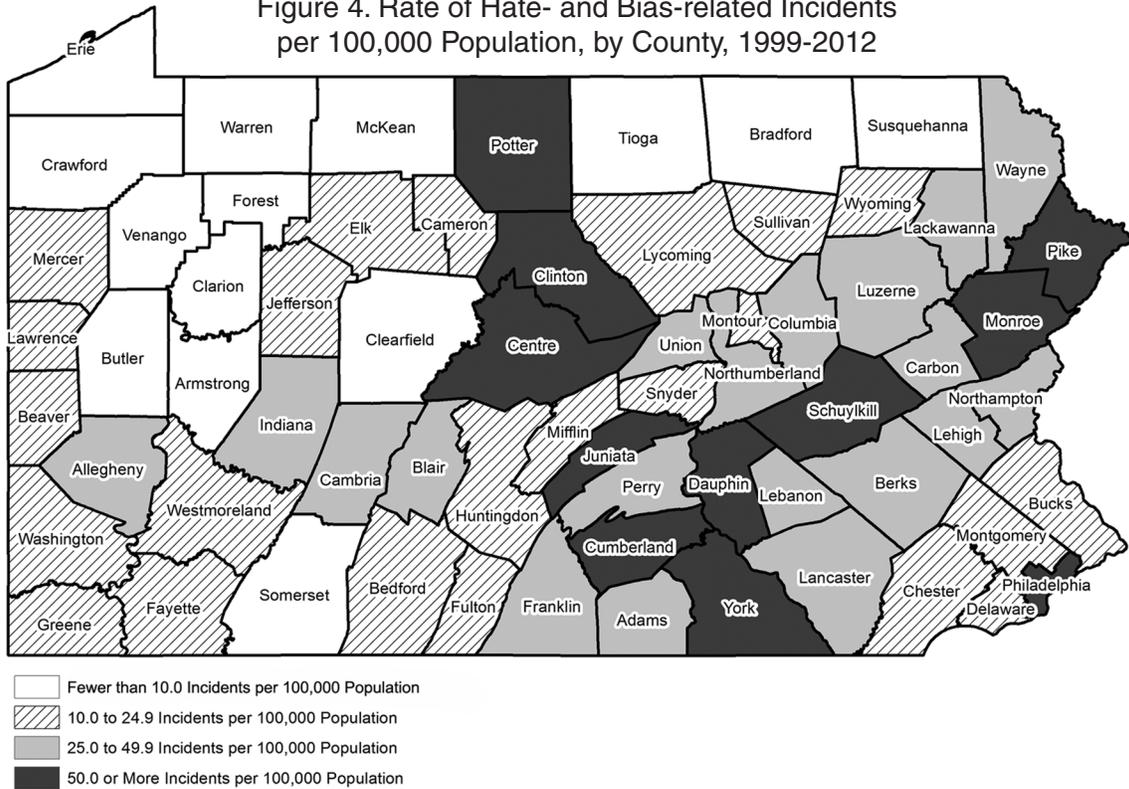
## RESULTS

### Hate- and Bias-Motivated Incidents in General

According to the data, of the 3,671 incidents from 1999 to 2011 (excluding the 159 incidents in 2012 since counts for the September to December period were incomplete), 1,368 were criminal, 832 were civil, 628 involved hate groups, and 843 were tension incidents. Figure 1 indicates that the number of incidents per year was fairly unstable, fluctuating greatly from year to year. The incident types, however, were fairly similar to each other in terms of overall trends. That is, as criminal incidents increased, so did civil incidents and tension incidents. Criminal incidents were the most common bias-motivated incidents, although civil incidents increased over the years and peaked in 2011. Hate group activity varied greatly from year to year.

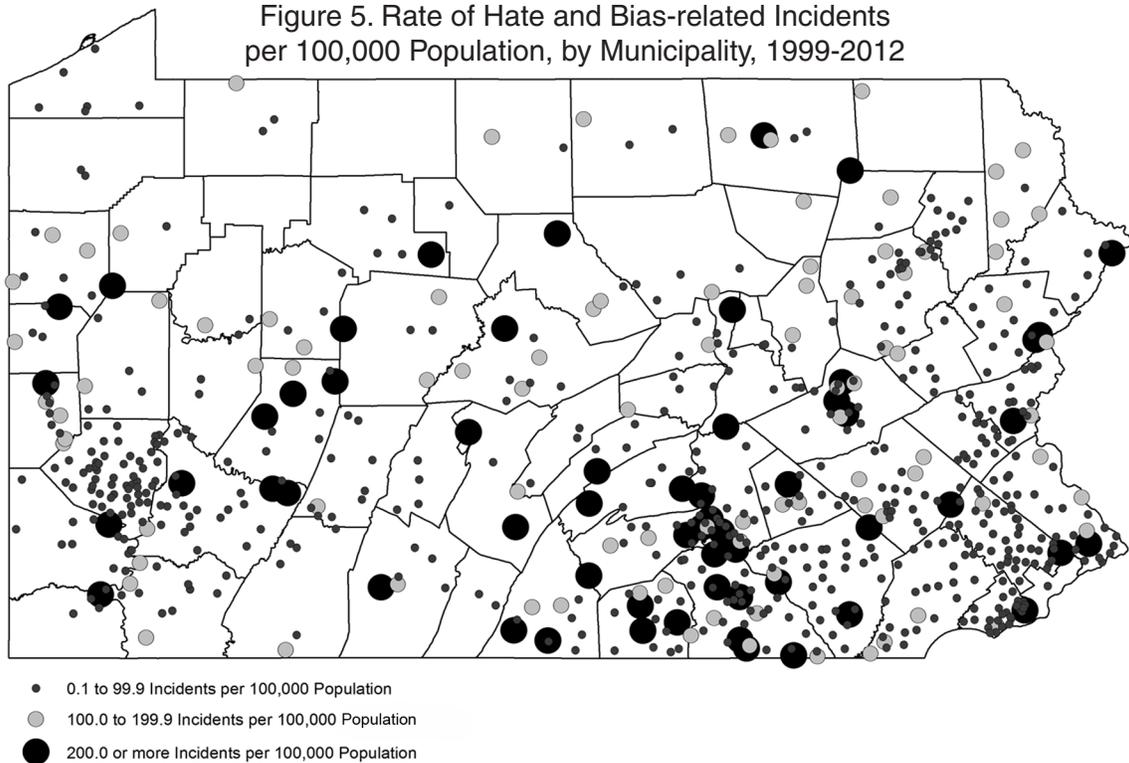
Figure 2 shows incidents by rural and urban municipalities. Many more hate and bias incidents occurred in urban than rural municipalities. Urban municipalities typically provide increased opportunity for bias incidents to occur, as individuals of different backgrounds (race/ethnicity) come into contact with each other more often. There are also more individuals in urban municipalities, in general, and the current counts do not control for population. For that reason, it is best to examine Figure 2 in terms of trends over time, rather than a comparison of magnitudes. The number of hate and bias incidents

Figure 4. Rate of Hate- and Bias-related Incidents per 100,000 Population, by County, 1999-2012



Source: PHRC, 1999-2012.  $N = 3,830$  incidents. Rate expressed as incidents/average county population (2000 to 2010)  $\times 100,000$ . Data consist of all incident types, excluding FYI. Rate values are set at “natural breaks” in the data to maximize distinctions or differences between categories.

Figure 5. Rate of Hate and Bias-related Incidents per 100,000 Population, by Municipality, 1999-2012



Source: PHRC, 1999-2012.  $N = 3,830$  incidents. Rate expressed as incidents/average municipal population (2000 to 2010)  $\times 100,000$ . Data consist of all incident types, excluding FYI. Rate values are set at “natural breaks” in the data to maximize distinctions or differences between categories.

Figure 6. Incident Counts, by Data Source



Sources: FBI UCR System; PCS; and PHRC, 1999-2011.

in rural municipalities was fairly stable over time, with very little fluctuation from year to year. Bias incidents in urban municipalities, however, were less stable over time, and prone to upward and downward spikes.

Figure 3 on Page 10 presents the total count for the four different types of incidents in rural and urban municipalities. Totals represent counts across all years. In both urban and rural municipalities, the majority of incidents were criminal. Roughly 1,200 incidents in urban municipalities and 200 in rural municipalities were defined as criminal incidents.

### Hate- and Bias-Related Incident Rates

The following series of maps shows the geographic distribution of incident rates across the state at both the county and municipal levels. Excluding FYI events, the total number of incidents across the state from 1999 to 2012 was 3,830. In Figures 4 and 5 (Page 11), rates were calculated as the number of incidents divided by the average population in the county (or municipality) times 100,000. Thus, a rate of 10.8 represents 10.8 hate and bias incidents per 100,000 population.

At the county level, most of the bias activity was

Table 1: Incident Location, by Rural/Urban Municipality

Location	Rural		Urban		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
House of Worship	23	6.9	144	9.1	167	7.2
School	62	28.7	593	24.4	659	28.2
Private Residence	87	25.4	528	34.3	615	26.4
College/University	6	7.3	151	2.8	158	6.8
Park/Recreational Area	19	3.0	62	7.5	81	3.5
Business	54	27.6	569	21.3	628	26.9
Other Site	2	1.1	23	0.8	25	1.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>253</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2,070</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2,323</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: PHRC. N = 2,323 incidents with an identified location of event.

concentrated throughout the central and eastern counties of the state. Only McKean and Forest counties reported no hate- or bias-motivated incidents over the study period and several other counties reported fewer than 10 incidents per 100,000 population. Aggregation of incident rates at the county level obscured a great deal of within-county variation, as demonstrated in Figure 5. The high rate of incidents in Potter County, for instance, was driven by two very small municipalities that had an exceptionally large incident-to-population ratio. A similar pattern was present, although to a lesser degree, in most other counties:

while most municipalities within a given county reported little to no hate- or bias-motivated incidents, a few "hotspots" of high rates of activity were visible. Overall, reported incidents were a rare phenomenon in both counties and municipalities.

### Comparing the PHRC Data to Other Data Sources

The researchers used information regarding the rate of sentencing for crimes involving ethnic intimidation (the statutory category for hate crime; 18 Pa. C.S.A. §2710) from the Pennsylvania Commission on Sentencing (PCS) for the years 2000-2011 to see how often the hate crime legislation was employed.

Figure 6 presents the total counts, by year, of incidents across the PCS, UCR and PHRC data. Only the years 2000-2011 are presented, as the PCS data were not yet complete for 2012 at the time of the research.

The PCS data for each year is the total number of ethnic intimidation offenses per year in Pennsylvania. For consistency, the offenses were coded as only one ethnic intimidation per offense, regardless of the number of counts or charges. Even when there were multiple victims in a PHRC offense, they would appear as only one offense. As presented, the PCS data had the lowest number of offenses per year, with an average of about 10 offenses per year. The UCR and PHRC crime counts were very similar over time, although they diverged in later years. Starting in 2006, the average number of UCR offenses decreased, while the PHRC crime count remained fairly stable. On average, the PHRC data reported more offenses per year than the UCR. The PHRC

criminal count averaged about 107 offenses per year, compared to the 92 offenses per year in the UCR. Finally, the PHRC data, as a whole, provided a wealth of information beyond the ordinary criminal incident, with an average of about 295 offenses per year.

### Specific Locations of Incidents

The distribution of incidents by location is presented in Table 1. Incidents in which the location was not mentioned are not presented. Most of the incidents for which a site was mentioned (61 percent) occurred at a school (29 percent), a private residence (25 percent), or a business (28 percent). Because very few incidents occurred in hospitals, war memorials, and cemeteries, these incidents were combined together into the “other site” category. A higher proportion of incidents occurred at higher education institutions in urban municipalities than in rural municipalities. Additionally, a higher proportion of private residences and recreational areas were the site of incidents in rural municipalities than in urban municipalities.

### Victim Characteristics

Table 2 presents the characteristics of victims of hate- and bias-motivated incidents in urban and rural municipalities. A specific victim was mentioned in 55 percent of the urban incidents and almost 60 percent of the rural incidents. In rural municipalities, families and businesses were targeted more often than in urban municipalities.

Most victims, however, were individuals. Further, most of the victims for whom gender was known were male. The race of victims was very similar across context, with many of the victims of bias incidents identified as black. Very few victims were Asian or Arabic. Finally, there was a higher proportion of victims who experienced hate- and bias-related incidents because of an interracial relationship in rural municipalities than in urban municipalities. While this relationship warranted further examination, the small number of victims who were in an interracial relationship limited the ability of the researchers to examine them in more depth at the multivariate level.

### Offender Characteristics

Table 3 on Page 14 presents key characteristics of the incident offenders. An offender was identified in rural incident reports 58 percent of the time compared

Table 2: Victim Characteristics, by Rural/Urban Municipality

	Rural		Urban	
	#	%	#	%
Specific Victim Mentioned	230	59.6	1,913	55.5
Victim Type <sup>1</sup>				
Family	30	13.0	141	7.4
Business/Organization/Church*	31	13.5	189	9.9
Individual(s)	169	73.5	1,579	82.5
Gender <sup>1</sup>				
Male	92	40.0	739	38.6
Female	43	18.7	507	26.5
Mixed Sex	24	10.4	78	4.1
Unknown/Not Mentioned	71	30.9	589	30.7
Race/Ethnicity <sup>1</sup>				
Black	79	34.3	617	32.3
White	24	10.4	162	8.5
Hispanic	20	8.7	161	8.4
Biracial	11	4.8	33	1.7
Other Race	8	3.5	85	4.4
Unknown/Not Mentioned	88	38.3	855	44.6
Religion <sup>1</sup>				
Muslim	4	1.7	72	3.8
Jewish	15	6.5	143	7.5
Christian	16	7.0	48	2.5
Other*	8	3.5	26	1.4
Unknown/Not Mentioned	187	81.3	1,624	84.7
Other Characteristics <sup>2</sup>				
Immigrant	9	3.9	43	2.2
LGBT	10	4.3	148	7.7
Interracial Relationship	12	5.2	31	1.6
Mental Disability	9	3.9	76	4.0
Physical Disability	7	3.0	67	3.5

Source: PHRC, 1999-2012. *N* = 3,830 incidents. <sup>1</sup> Proportions for each category (excluding specific victim mentioned) represent the proportion of all cases in which a victim was mentioned, not the proportion of all incidents. <sup>2</sup> Proportions may not sum to 100, as any given incident could have none, or multiple, victim characteristics. \*A test of the difference between rural and urban areas was significant, *p* < .05.

to 66 percent of the time in urban reports. Many of the offenders were individuals or a group of individuals (rather than an organized group). Further, most of the offenders were white or male when the offender’s gender or race was identified, especially in rural municipalities. Interestingly, a much higher proportion of the offenders in urban municipalities were employers.

Next, the researchers examined the offender race and victim race as they related to one another.

Figure 7 on Page 14 examines this relationship among black, white, and Hispanic offenders and victims. As expected and consistent with prior research (Sandholtz et al., 2013; Cheng et al., 2013), most of the bias incidents were interracial. White offenders were overwhelmingly more likely to victimize black victims,

**Table 3: Offender Characteristics, by Rural/Urban Municipalities**

	Rural		Urban	
	#	%	#	%
Specific Offender Mentioned	223	57.8	2,260	65.6
Offender Type <sup>1</sup>				
Individual	69	30.9	518	22.9
Group of Individuals	57	25.6	408	18.1
Hate Group	51	22.9	450	19.9
Police/Government Agency	15	6.7	303	13.4
Employer	30	13.5	577	25.5
Gender <sup>1</sup>				
Male	86	38.6	552	24.4
Female	8	3.6	75	3.3
Unknown/Not Mentioned	129	57.8	1,633	72.3
Race <sup>1</sup>				
Black	6	2.7	87	3.8
White	74	33.2	480	21.2
Other Race	1	0.4	39	1.7
Unknown/Not Mentioned	142	63.4	1,654	73.2

Source: Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission, 1999-2012. *N* = 3,830 incidents. Some cases missing data; column totals may not add to 100%. <sup>1</sup> Proportions for each category (excluding specific offender mentioned) represent the proportion of all cases in which a specific offender was mentioned, not the proportion of all incidents.

while black offenders were more likely to victimize white victims than other racial/ethnic groups. Hispanic offenders were relatively uncommon. Overall, the largest number of bias incidents involved white offenders and black victims.

**Bias Motivations for All Offenses**

It was usually clear from the incident report under which type of bias the offender operated, because the bias motivation was based on a specific characteristic

or perceived characteristic of the victim. For instance, several incidents involved an offender targeting a victim because he or she believed that the victim was Hispanic or black, but the victim was actually a dark-skinned European. Additionally, anti-black graffiti on a white victim’s car or home may represent a disjuncture between actual and perceived victim characteristics. Therefore, it is important to consider that actual victim characteristics are sometimes irrelevant; individuals may be victimized because of the offender’s perception of the individual, which may not be consistent with reality.

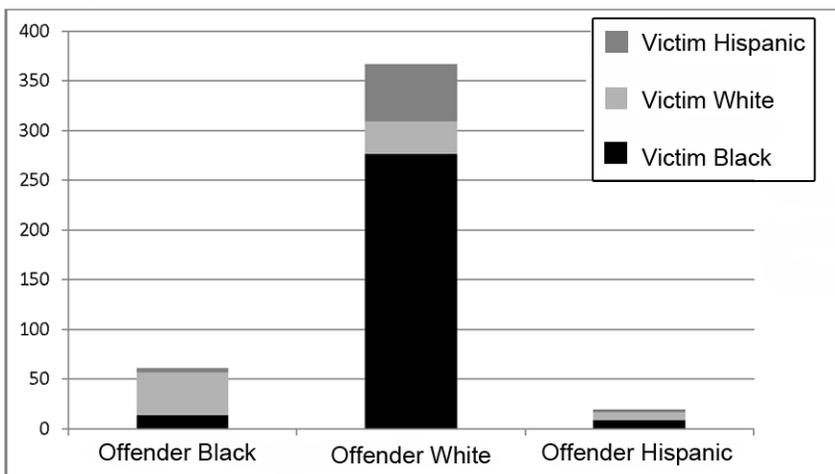
The motivations behind bias incidents in rural and urban Pennsylvania are similar. Table 4 presents the most common bias motivations in the PHRC dataset. Most of the incidents involved anti-black motivation, while anti-Jewish, anti-Hispanic, and anti-LGBT motivations were also common. Anti-LGBT bias incidents are unique because the victim may not always be readily identifiable as LGBT. Some amount of interaction may be necessary to identify a victim as belonging to a group, or offenders may operate under a perception of the victim’s sexual orientation. The differences between urban and rural municipalities may be due to a larger LGBT population in urban municipalities (Black et al., 2000).

Figures 8 and 9 show the frequency of the different types of incidents by the most common bias motivations for rural and urban municipalities. Criminal incidents are generally the most common, representing the most frequent category within each motivation, except for anti-Muslim incidents, which are most commonly tension incidents. Most anti-black incidents were criminal. This pattern is similarly true for anti-Jewish and anti-white bias motivated incidents. The figures also demonstrate that hate group activity accounted for a very small proportion of bias-motivated incidents. Hate group activity accounted for a larger proportion of anti-LGBT incidents than any other motivation.

**Disposition**

Table 5 on Page 16 shows that a higher proportion of incidents in rural municipalities than in urban municipalities involved an agency response. An agency was identified as any private or

**Figure 7. Race/Ethnicity by Victim-Offender Relationship**



Source: PHRC, 1999-2012.

Table 4: Bias Motivation, by Rural/Urban Municipality

	Rural		Urban	
	#	%	#	%
Multiple Biases	28	7.3	255	7.4
Anti-Black	108	28.0	997	28.9
Anti-White	12	3.1	113	3.3
Anti-Asian	6	1.6	69	2.0
Anti-Hispanic	29	7.5	254	7.4
Anti-Jewish	37	9.6	309	9.0
Anti-Muslim	10	2.6	144	4.2
Anti-LGBT*	21	5.4	308	8.9
Anti-Female	10	2.6	141	4.1
Anti-Disability	14	3.6	161	4.7
Anti-Biracial	7	1.8	18	0.5
Anti-Interracial Relationship*	8	2.1	32	0.9
Anti-Christian*	16	4.1	72	2.1
Anti-Immigrant	12	3.1	100	2.9
General Tension	12	3.1	129	3.7
Other Bias	8	2.1	117	3.4
Unknown/unclear	48	12.4	225	6.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>386</b>		<b>3,444</b>	

Source: Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission, 1999-2012. *N* = 3,830 incidents. Type of bias was unclear in 48 rural and 225 urban incidents. \*A test of the difference between rural and urban areas was significant, *p* < .05.

public group, including police agencies and civil rights organizations, that would come to the aid of a victim to resolve the conflict, or seek justice after the fact.

This pattern may be because a higher proportion of

incidents in rural municipalities were also defined as criminal incidents. Most of the incidents in rural municipalities with an agency response involved Pennsylvania State Police (PSP) officers and most of the incidents in urban municipalities with an agency response involved local police departments. Many rural municipalities do not have local police coverage, and are mainly under the jurisdiction of PSP. The results also indicated that civil rights agencies are much more likely to respond to incidents in urban municipalities than rural. Civil rights agencies included organizations like the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), NAACP, and Anti-Defamation League (ADL). Civil rights agencies are likely more prevalent in urban municipalities than rural municipalities<sup>9</sup>.

### Hate and Bias Incidents in Relation to Measures of Social Capital

Social capital – the cooperation and mutual support that come from strong connections to others within a community – may reduce the negative effects of hate and bias incidents. Goetz and colleagues (2012) found, for example, that lower levels of social capital within counties were associated with a greater presence of hate groups. The logic is that communities with less social capital are less able to combat a variety of social ills, including the ability to

Figure 8. Bias Motivations by Type of Incident, Rural Municipalities Only

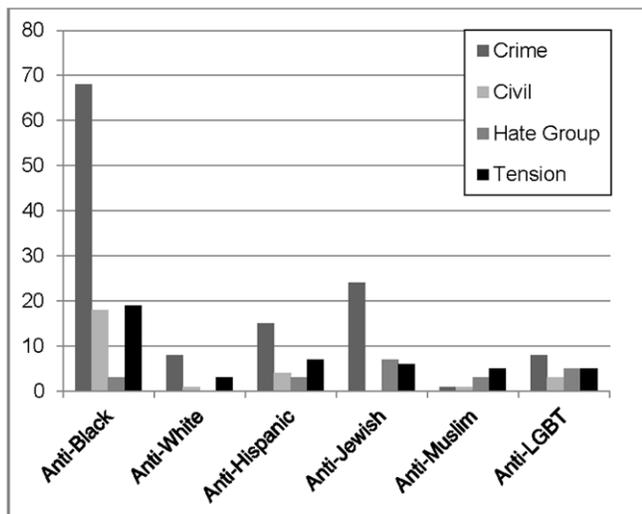
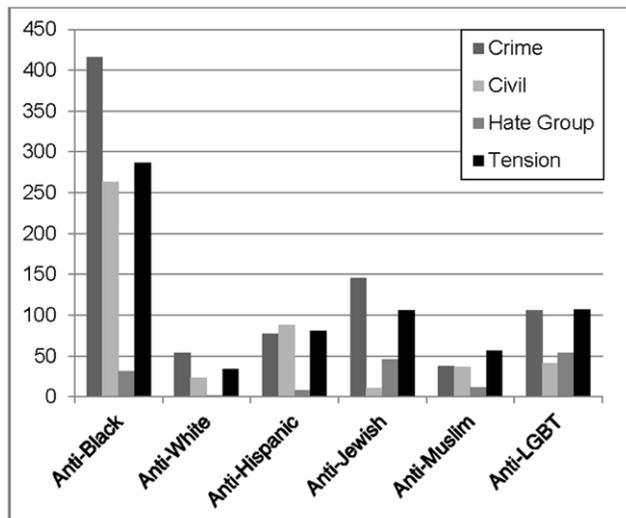


Figure 9. Bias Motivations by Type of Incident, Urban Municipalities Only



Source: PHRC, 1999-2012.

9. An examination of the different civil rights agencies in the analysis found strong support for this statement. The majority of civil rights agencies are concentrated in urban areas. PHRC has three regional locations: Harrisburg, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh ([www.phrc.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/contact\\_us/18985](http://www.phrc.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/contact_us/18985)). ACLU chapters are located in Erie, Pittsburgh, Harrisburg, Lock Haven, Williamsport, Scranton, Allentown, and Philadelphia (all urban). The ADL is located in Philadelphia only.

**Table 5: Case Disposition, by Rural/Urban Municipality**

	Rural		Urban	
	#	%	#	%
Agency Responded <sup>1</sup>	137	35.5	875	25.4
Local PD	37	27.0	421	48.1
Local Administration	5	3.6	46	5.3
Private Coalition	8	5.8	58	6.6
PSP	72	52.6	59	6.7
FBI	5	3.6	20	2.3
PHRC	8	5.8	79	9.0
Civil Rights Agency	6	4.4	149	17.0
Other Agency	7	5.1	108	12.3
Disposition Type				
Under Investigation	53	13.7	254	7.3
Arrest	31	8.0	163	4.7
Other Disposition	2	0.5	4	0.1
Civil Outcome	19	4.9	251	7.3
No Disposition Listed	281	72.8	2,772	80.5
Total	386		3,444	

Source: PHRC, 1999-2011. *N* = 3,830. Totals may not sum to 100% due to rounding. <sup>1</sup> Multiple agencies could have responded to a single incident. However, they are displayed separately here. For instance, 137 rural incidents had an agency response, but 13 incidents had multiple responses. The percentage listed for each agency reflects the percent of incidents receiving an agency response to which that agency responded.

prevent organized hate groups from moving into and becoming active in an area.

This study found that counties with more social capital had fewer bias incidents, hate crimes, and hate group activity from 1999 to 2012 than counties with less social capital, though none of these effects were statistically significant ( $p > .05$ ).

### Organized Hate Group Activity

Hate group incidents were split into two categories: involvement confirmed and involvement possible.

**Table 7: Hate Group Activity, by Type**

	Rural		Urban	
	#	%	#	%
Crime*	15	18.8	68	10.3
Threats/Intimidation*	14	17.5	62	9.4
Rally	9	11.3	59	9.0
Protest	5	6.3	66	10.0
Meeting	7	8.8	40	6.1
Literature*	15	18.8	196	29.7
Other	15	18.8	168	25.5
Total	80		659	

Source: PHRC, 1999-2012. *N* = 739 confirmed hate group activity incidents. "Other" incidents include use of the Internet (e.g., organization websites, forum postings) and miscellaneous events not fitting into any clear category. \*A test of the difference between rural and urban areas was significant,  $p < .05$ .

**Table 6: Hate Group Incidents out of all Incidents, by Rural/Urban Municipality**

	Rural		Urban	
	#	%	#	%
Involvement Confirmed	80	20.7	659	19.1
Involvement Possible*	42	10.9	264	7.7
Group Type <sup>1</sup>				
KKK	26	21.3	124	13.4
Aryan Brotherhood	19	15.6	27	2.9
Skinhead	11	9.0	106	11.5
Hitler or swastika mentioned	41	33.6	305	33.0
Other White Supremacist	10	8.2	84	9.1
Radical Religious	5	4.1	32	3.5
Patriot/Sovereign Citizen Movement	8	6.6	52	5.6
Other Hate Group*	13	10.7	210	22.8

Source: PHRC, 1999-2012. *N* = 3,830 incidents. <sup>1</sup> Proportions for each category (excluding involvement confirmed and involvement possible) represent the proportion of all cases in which a hate group was confirmed or suspected, not the proportion out of all incidents. Note that multiple groups could be involved in the same offense. \*A test of the difference between rural and urban areas was significant,  $p < .05$ .

Involvement was coded as confirmed when specific groups were mentioned, and possible when the report mentioned speculation, or hate-group-related characteristics (e.g., swastika graffiti). Table 6 shows that the most active groups were the KKK, skinhead groups, and other white supremacist groups. The Aryan Brotherhood, a white supremacist group, was much more involved in rural than urban municipalities.

Most of the hate group activity did not involve instances of crime or threats (See Table 7). More than 28 percent of all hate-group-related incidents involved the distribution of literature, while an additional 25 percent involved other activities. The majority of hate group activity involved demonstrations and recruitment-related activities (54 percent).

As shown in Table 8, very few criminal incidents involved confirmed hate groups (5 percent of urban incidents and 7 percent of rural incidents). Most of the

**Table 8: Crimes Committed by Hate Groups Out of All Crimes, by Rural/Urban Municipality**

	Rural		Urban		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Involvement Confirmed	14	7.0	61	5.1	75	5.3
Involvement Possible	37	18.5	234	19.4	271	19.3
Group Type <sup>1</sup>						
KKK	9	17.6	47	15.9	56	16.2
Skinhead	5	9.8	15	5.1	20	5.8
Hitler/swastika	34	66.7	224	75.9	258	74.6
Other Hate Group	9	17.6	27	9.2	36	10.4

Source: PHRC, 1999-2012. *N* = 1,406 crimes. <sup>1</sup> Proportions for each category (excluding involvement confirmed and involvement possible) represent the proportion of all cases in which a hate group was confirmed or suspected (*N* = 346) not the proportion out of all incidents.

Figure 10. Rate of Hate Group Activities per 100,000 Population by County, 1999-2012

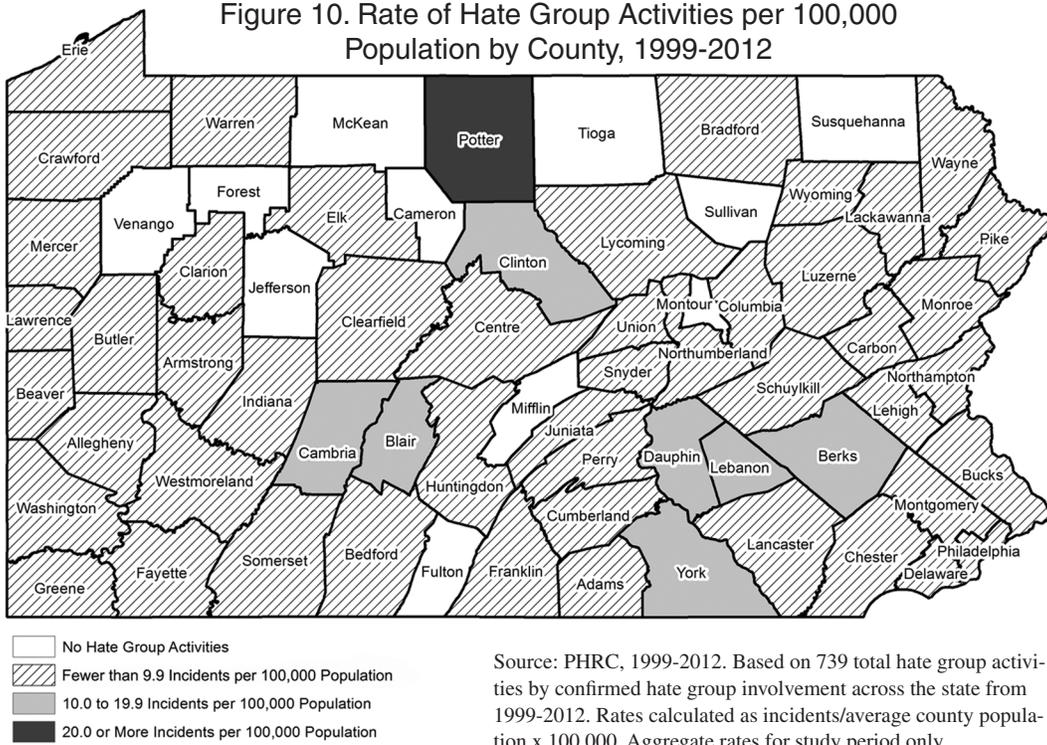
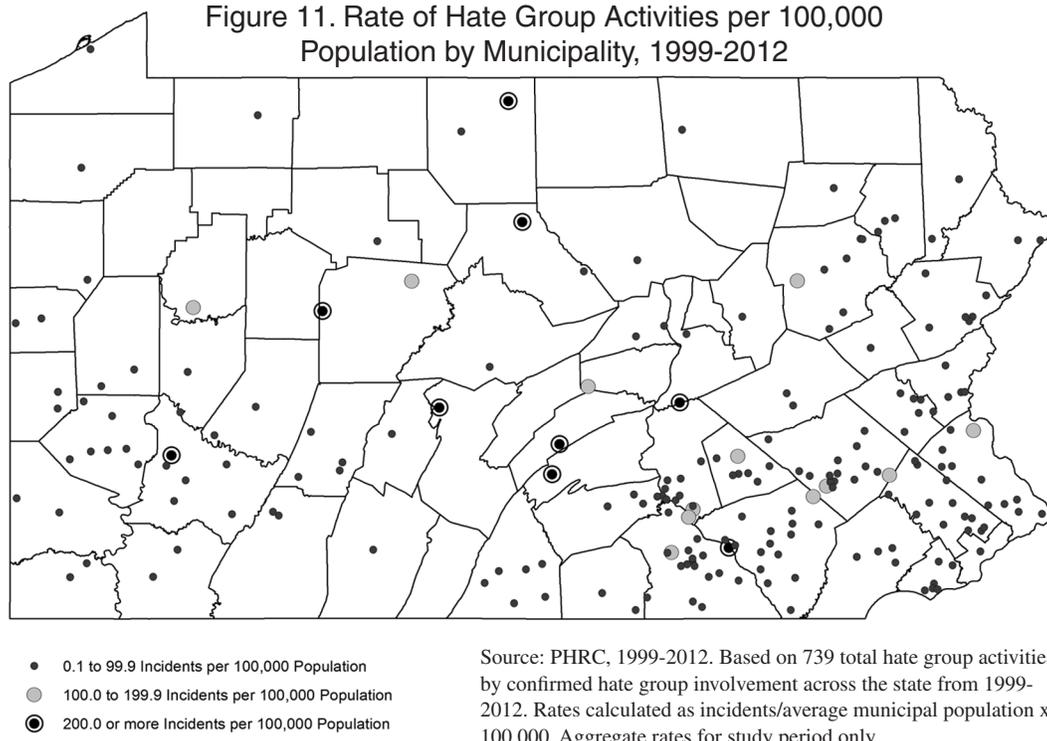


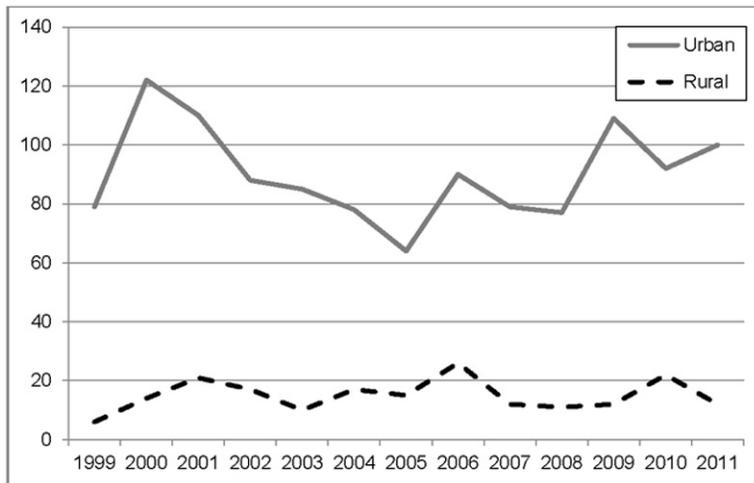
Figure 11. Rate of Hate Group Activities per 100,000 Population by Municipality, 1999-2012



incidents that possibly involved a hate crime were cases of vandalism and graffiti using symbols affiliated with a particular hate group, such as spray painting "KKK" or a swastika on a wall. Of all hate group criminal inci-

idents, most incidents were white supremacist in nature. That is, they mentioned Hitler or contained symbols associated with white supremacy. The KKK and skin-head organizations, both white supremacists, were also

Figure 12. Number of Hate and Bias-Related Criminal Incidents per Year, by Rural/Urban Municipality



Source: PHRC, 1999-2011.

involved in a significant number of criminal incidents. There were no significant differences in hate group criminal activity in urban and rural municipalities.

Rates of confirmed hate group activity appeared clustered around the state. Figures 10 and 11 on Page 17 show the geographic distribution of hate-group-activity-related incidents across Pennsylvania, across all four types of incidents. Of the 67 counties, 11 had no confirmed hate group involvement from 1999 to 2012. Potter County had the highest rate of organized hate group activity (118 incidents per 100,000 population, or a total of 21 incidents over the study period), which

occurred in only two municipalities within that county. As with overall incident rates, the hate group activity rates varied within each county.

Much of the confirmed hate group activity in the state did not correspond to the chapter locations of hate groups reported by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). Organized hate group chapters were located primarily in the metropolitan Pittsburgh (Allegheny County), Philadelphia, and Harrisburg (Dauphin County) areas. Even though few organized hate groups were located in rural municipalities, a substantial rate of organized hate group activity occurred in many rural municipalities. However, with the exception of Potter County (118 per 100,000), rates of confirmed hate group activity were low, at less than 20 per 100,000 population.

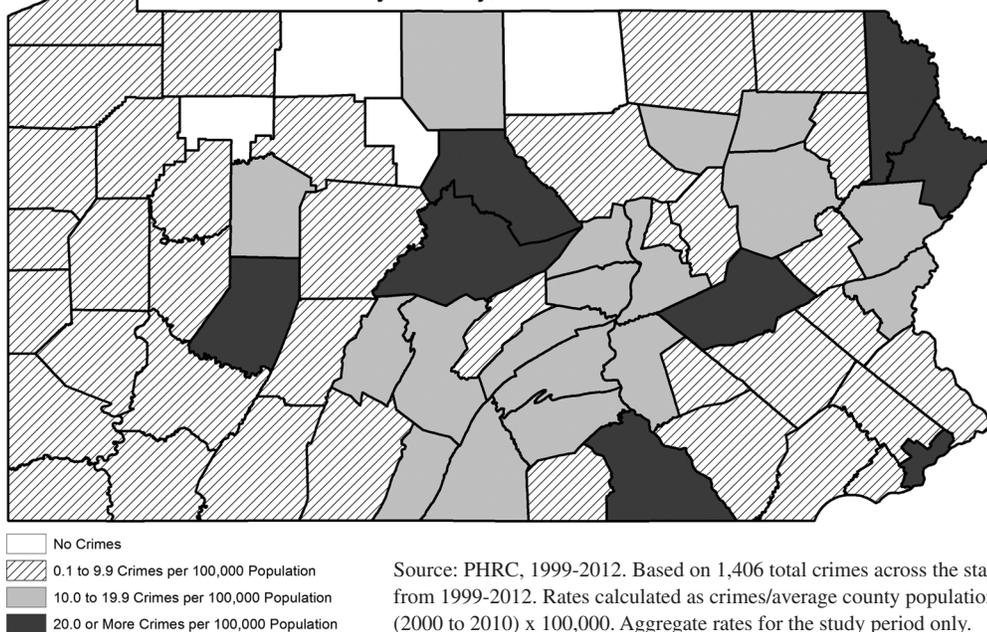
### Hate- or Bias-Related Criminal Violations

Figure 12 shows the annual counts of rural and urban hate- or bias-related crimes. The trends in criminal incidents were similar to trends in overall incidents by year. That is, while experiencing year-to-year fluctuations, rates remained fairly stable over the longer time period. Note that criminal incidents were, in any given year, fairly rare.

### Rates of Hate Crimes

Figures 13 and 14 show the geographic distribution of hate crime rates across the state, averaged across the study period. In Figure 13, the darker-shaded counties had higher rates of hate crimes per 100,000 population. Only four counties had no hate crimes over the study period: Cameron, Forest, McKean, and Tioga. However, the map of the county-level rates obscures a substantial amount of within-county variations; most municipalities in a given county did not report any hate crimes, particularly in the more rural counties

Figure 13. Hate Crime Rate per 100,000 Population by County, 1999-2012



Source: PHRC, 1999-2012. Based on 1,406 total crimes across the state from 1999-2012. Rates calculated as crimes/average county population (2000 to 2010) x 100,000. Aggregate rates for the study period only.

across the state (Figure 14). Overall, rates of hate crimes were fairly low.

Tables 9 and 10 show the mean rates of hate crimes per 100,000 population for municipalities and counties, respectively, broken down by rural and urban location. Using the total mean rate<sup>10</sup> across the study period, both rural and urban municipalities had similar rates of hate crimes (10.02 per 100,000 and 11.50 per 100,000, respectively).

Additionally, the annual mean rate<sup>11</sup> for rural and urban municipalities was very similar. In a year-by-year analysis, the only statistically significant difference to emerge between rates of rural and urban hate crimes was in 2007, a finding probably due to chance rather than to something unique about that year.

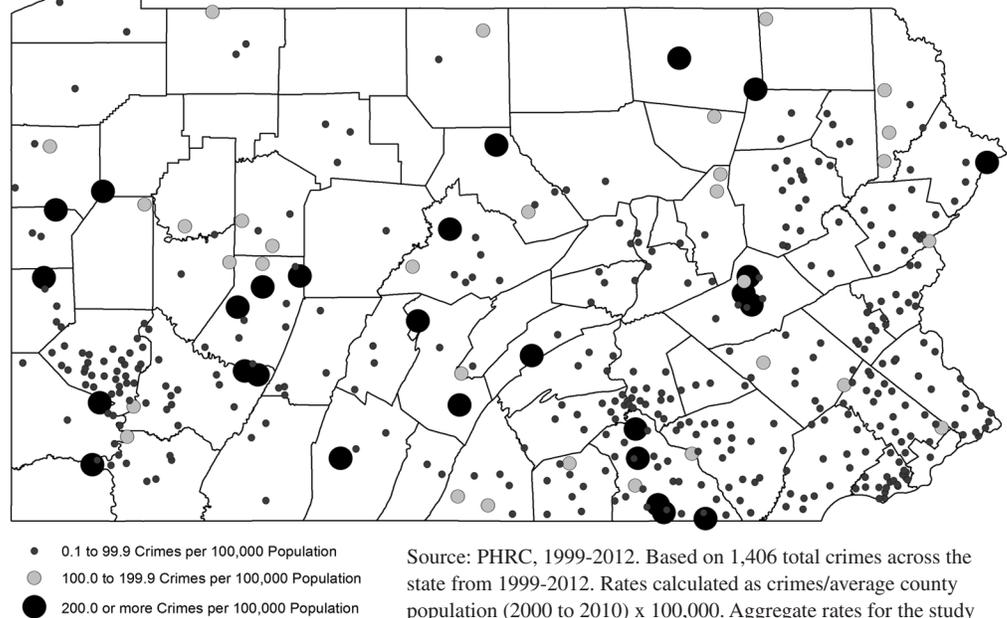
The patterns at the county-level were very similar. There were no statistically significant differences in rates between rural and urban counties, whether across all years or in any given year. This pattern indicates that while urban municipalities had a higher count of hate crimes, the rates of hate crimes - adjusting for the size of the population - did not significantly differ between rural and urban places.

### Hate Crimes in Relation to Crime Trends Generally

According to the research, hate crimes are rare in comparison to other types of crime. It is possible that hate crimes are often subsumed into other crime categories because of prosecutorial difficulties in proving that the offender was motivated by bias.

The research also found that the hate crime rates within counties were only slightly associated with the UCR violent crime rate and were not correlated with the property crime rate.

Figure 14. Hate Crime Rate per 100,000 Population by Municipality, 1999-2012



Source: PHRC, 1999-2012. Based on 1,406 total crimes across the state from 1999-2012. Rates calculated as crimes/average county population (2000 to 2010) x 100,000. Aggregate rates for the study period only.

Table 9: Rural/Urban Differences in Municipal Rates of Hate Crimes per 100,000 Population

	Rural	Urban
Measure	Mean	Mean
Annual mean <sup>1</sup>	.72	.85
Total mean <sup>2</sup>	10.02	11.50
By Year		
1999	.19	.23
2000	.73	.48
2001	1.39	.64
2002	.98	.55
2003	.28	.46
2004	1.09	.50
2005	.44	.53
2006	1.61	.98
2007*	.32	.77
2008	.75	1.02
2009	.52	1.03
2010	.83	3.37
2011	.88	.93

Source: PHRC, 1999-2011. *N* = 2,554 municipalities for which population counts were available. <sup>1</sup> Yearly = count in a year/population in that year x 100,000. <sup>2</sup> Total = total crime rate for all years/average population x 100,000. \*A test of the difference between rural and urban areas was significant, *p* < .05.

Table 10: Rural/Urban Differences in County Rates of Hate Crimes per 100,000 Population

	Rural	Urban
Measure	Mean	Mean
Annual mean <sup>1</sup>	.68	.71
Total mean <sup>2</sup>	9.54	9.99
By Year		
1999	.25	.46
2000	.89	.87
2001	1.03	.84
2002	.79	.74
2003	.38	.66
2004	.62	.68
2005	.34	.49
2006	.95	.96
2007	.63	.66
2008	.49	.60
2009	.85	.83
2010	1.15	.89
2011	.88	.95

Source: PHRC, 1999-2011. *N* = 67 counties. <sup>1</sup> Yearly = count in a year/population in that year x 100,000. <sup>2</sup> Total = total count for all years/average population x 100,000.

10. Total mean rate = total crime count from 1999 to 2012/average population in 2000 and 2010 x 100,000.

11. Annual mean rate = average number of crimes per year/average population x 100,000.

## Type of Criminal Incident

According to the data, most of the criminal incidents involved property crimes, which include both personal and institutional vandalism. Personal vandalism

**Table 11: Type of Offense by Rural/Urban Municipality, 1999-2012**

Type of Offense	Rural		Urban	
	#	%	#	%
Personal				
Murder	1	0.4	40	2.4
Aggravated Assault	11	4.7	97	5.8
Simple Assault	26	11.2	293	17.4
Intimidation	44	18.9	193	11.5
Property				
Institutional Vandalism	64	27.5	267	15.9
Personal Vandalism*	49	21.0	318	18.9
Non-Criminal Incident				
Rallies	9	3.9	76	4.5
Handing out literature*	29	12.4	398	23.7
Total	233	100.0	1,682	100.0

Source: PHRC, 1999-2012. *N* = 3,830 incidents. Type of offense coding replicated from Wilson and Ruback (2003).  
\*A test of the difference between rural and urban areas was significant, *p* < .05.

includes incidents of damage or destruction to personal property while institutional vandalism refers to damage of public or commercial buildings. A large number of offenses also included simple assault and intimidation. Only a very small proportion of offenses involved the very serious offenses of murder or aggravated assault (See Table 11).

Table 12 shows the type of offense by the type of victim. Anti-black incidents were mainly personal crimes and property crimes, anti-white incidents were mostly personal crimes, and anti-LGBT incidents were mostly noncriminal incidents. While rare, mutual black-white exchanges - where individuals of each race are both the offender and the victim - were mostly personal crimes.

Table 13 shows the type of incidents by the type of victim by rural and urban municipalities for 1999-2012. Whereas most anti-LGBT incidents in rural municipalities were criminal, most anti-LGBT incidents in urban municipalities were noncriminal, representing anti-LGBT rallies and distribution of anti-LGBT literature. Similarly, a higher proportion of anti-Jewish incidents in urban municipalities were noncriminal compared to rural municipalities, although criminal incidents were

**Table 12: Type of Victim by Type of Offense Statewide, 1999-2012**

Type of Victim	Personal Crime		Property Crime		Noncriminal Incident		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Anti-Black	241	45	219	41	76	14	536	100
Anti-White	47	66	19	27	5	7	71	100
Anti-Hispanic	56	48	33	28	27	23	116	100
Anti-Asian	26	57	10	22	10	22	46	100
Anti-LGBT	64	31	36	17	107	52	207	100
Anti-Jewish	41	16	115	45	98	39	254	100
Offenses against multiple groups	41	29	44	31	56	40	141	100
Mutual black-white exchanges	17	65	7	27	2	8	26	100
Total	533		483		381		1,397	100

Source: PHRC, 1999-2012. *N* = 1,397 incidents for which bias type was indicated and for which the incident type fit into one of the three categories. Replication of coding from Wilson and Ruback (2003).

**Table 13: Type of Victim by Type of Offense by Rural/Urban Municipality, 1999-2012**

Type of Victim	Rural			Total	Urban			Total
	Personal	Property	Noncriminal	%	Personal	Property	Noncriminal	%
Anti-Black	48%	41%	11%	100	45%	41%	15%	100
Anti-White	82%	18%	0%	100	63%	28%	8%	100
Anti-Hispanic	48%	38%	14%	100	48%	26%	25%	100
Anti-Asian	43%	29%	29%	100	59%	21%	21%	100
Anti-LGBT	36%	27%	36%	100	31%	17%	53%	100
Anti-Jewish	23%	62%	15%	100	15%	43%	41%	100
Offenses against multiple groups	48%	33%	19%	100	26%	31%	43%	100
Mutual black-white exchanges	86%	14%	0%	100	58%	32%	11%	100
Total	82	68	25		451	415	356	

Source: PHRC, 1999-2012. *N* = 1,397 incidents for which a bias type was indicated and for which the incident type fit into one of the three categories. Replication of coding from Wilson and Ruback (2003).

the most common type of anti-Jewish incidents in both rural and urban municipalities. While some rural and urban differences in the percentages of personal and property crimes and noncriminal incidents were apparent, there were no statistically significant differences between rural and urban locations.

## Incident Locations

Of the 1,406 crimes from 1999 to 2012, 71 percent (1,001) had an identifiable incident location (Table 14). Of these crimes, most (80 percent) occurred in a school, home, or business. Significantly more crimes occurred at urban compared to rural colleges, and significantly more crimes occurred at rural parks or other recreational areas

**Table 14: Criminal Incident Locations by Rural/Urban Municipality, 1999-2012**

Location	Rural		Urban	
	#	%	#	%
House of Worship	20	13.9	85	9.9
School	24	16.7	202	23.6
Private Residence	66	45.8	343	40.0
Higher Education Institution*	0	0.0	50	5.8
Park/Recreational Area*	12	8.3	27	3.2
Business	21	14.6	139	16.2
Other Site	1	0.7	11	1.3
Total	144	100.0	857	100.0

Source: PHRC, 1999-2012. *N* = 1,001 criminal incidents for which an explicit location was identified. \*A test of the difference between rural and urban areas was significant, *p* < .01.

compared to urban parks or other recreational areas. The other types of sites exhibited no significant differences.

Table 15 shows the incident locations by the type of incident, such as personal crimes, property crimes, intimidation and threat incidents, and non-criminal incidents. Personal crimes primarily happened at schools, homes, and businesses, while property crimes mostly occurred at private residences. Intimidation and threat incidents were also most common at schools, homes, and businesses. Noncriminal incidents, such as discrimination and other civil law violations, occurred primarily in schools and businesses.

### Victim Characteristics

Table 16 shows the characteristics of victims of criminal incidents by rural and urban municipalities. Of the 1,406 crimes in the dataset, a specific victim was mentioned in 1,009 reports (72 percent).

Overall, 33 percent of the victims were black, 10 percent were Jewish, 8 percent were LGBT, 7 percent were Hispanic and 3 percent were Muslim.

In both rural and urban municipalities, most of the victims were individuals.

Compared to urban municipalities, a greater proportion of victims in rural municipalities were families and business. Christians were also targeted more often in rural municipalities compared to urban. And victims who were in interracial relationships were significantly more likely to be targets in rural municipalities than urban, although the number of interracial victims was extremely low overall.

Jewish victims were more likely than any other group to be targeted for their religion in both rural and urban municipalities.

**Table 15: Site Location by Type of Incident, 1999 -2012**

	Personal Crime		Property Crime		Intimidation		Non-Criminal Incident	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
House of Worship	11	3.1	84	15.6	18	3.5	44	5.5
School	135	37.9	76	14.1	193	37.3	216	27.2
Private Residence	101	28.4	259	48.0	112	21.6	120	15.1
Higher Education Institution	22	6.2	23	4.3	18	3.5	79	9.9
Park/rec. Area	9	2.5	27	5.0	13	2.5	28	3.5
Business/employment	76	21.3	62	11.5	162	31.3	297	37.4
Other	2	.6	9	1.7	2	.4	10	1.3
Total	356	100.0	540	100.0	518	100.0	794	100.0

Source: PHRC, 1999-2012. *N* = 2,323 incidents. Incidents without location information are not presented.

**Table 16: Criminal Incidents by Victim Characteristics by Rural/Urban Municipality, 1999-2012**

	Rural		Urban	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Specific Victim Mentioned	141	70.5	868	72.0
Victim Type <sup>1</sup>				
Family	25	17.7	93	10.7
Business/Organization/Church	28	19.9	114	13.1
Individual(s)	88	62.4	659	75.9
Unknown/Not Mentioned	0	0.0	2	0.0
Total	141		868	
Gender <sup>1</sup>				
Male	53	37.6	328	37.8
Female	17	12.1	163	18.8
Mixed Sex <sup>2</sup>	19	13.5	47	5.4
Unknown/Not Mentioned	52	36.9	330	38.0
Total	141		868	
Race/Ethnicity <sup>1</sup>				
Black	50	35.5	286	32.9
White	19	13.5	103	11.9
Hispanic	13	9.2	59	6.8
Arabic	2	1.4	19	2.2
Asian	3	2.1	31	3.6
Unknown/Not Mentioned	54	38.3	370	42.6
Total	141		868	
Religion <sup>1</sup>				
Jewish	14	9.9	87	10.0
Christian	13	9.2	25	2.9
Muslim	1	0.0	29	3.3
Other	7	5.0	12	1.4
Unknown/Not Mentioned	106	75.2	715	82.4
Total	141		868	
Other Characteristics <sup>1</sup>				
Immigrant	6	4.3	23	2.6
LGBT	6	4.3	74	8.5
Interracial Relationship	10	7.1	20	2.3
Total	22		117	

Source: PHRC, 1999-2012. *N* = 1,406 crimes and 1,009 for which a victim was reported. <sup>1</sup> Proportions for each category (excluding specific victim mentioned) represent the proportion of all cases in which a victim was mentioned, not the proportion out of all incidents. Proportions may not sum to 100, as any given incident could have no, or multiple, victim characteristics. <sup>2</sup> Mixed sex refers to groups of victims in which there were both male and female victims. \*A test of the difference between rural and urban areas was significant, *p* < .05.

**Table 17: Criminal Incident Offender Characteristics by Rural/Urban Municipality, 1999-2012**

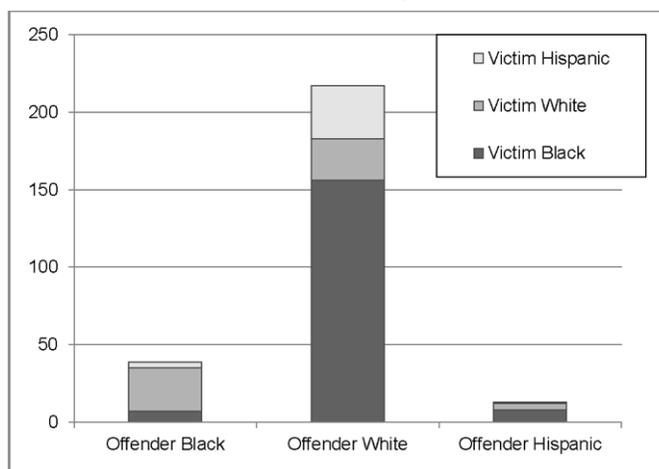
	Rural		Urban	
	#	%	#	%
Specific Offender Mentioned	84	42.0	565	46.8
Offender Type <sup>1</sup>				
Individual	34	40.5	261	46.2
Group of Individuals	38	45.2	224	39.6
Hate Group	9	10.7	34	6.0
Police/Government Agency	1	1.2	33	5.8
Employer	1	1.2	12	2.1
Unknown/Not Mentioned	1	1.2	1	0.2
Gender				
Male	53	63.1	305	54.0
Female	3	3.6	27	4.8
Unknown/Not Mentioned	28	33.3	233	41.2
Race				
Black*	3	3.6	55	9.9
White	49	58.3	233	41.1
Other Race	1	1.2	22	3.9
Unknown/Not Mentioned	31	36.9	255	45.1
Total	200	100.0	1,206	100.0

Source: PHRC, 1999-2012. *N* = 1,406 crimes and 649 for which an offender was identified. <sup>1</sup> Proportions for each category (excluding specific offender mentioned) represent the proportion of all cases in which a specific offender was mentioned, not the proportion out of all incidents. \*A test of the difference between rural and urban areas was significant, *p* < .05.

### Offender Characteristics

Most of the criminal incidents in both rural and urban municipalities involved an individual offender or a group of offenders (Table 17). Most offenders were white males. Black offenders were particularly unlikely in rural municipalities. Finally, hate groups accounted for a very small proportion of offenders in criminal incidents.

**Figure 15. Race of Victim-Offender for Criminal Incidents, 1999-2012**



Source: PHRC, 1999-2012

**Table 18: Disposition of Criminal Incidents by Rural/Urban Municipality, 1999-2012**

	Rural		Urban	
	#	%	#	%
Agency Responded	108	54.0	489	40.5
Local PD <sup>1</sup>	34	31.5	332	67.9
PSP	68	63.0	48	9.8
Other Agency	4	3.7	86	17.6
Civil Rights	2	1.9	23	4.7
Disposition Type <sup>2</sup>				
Under Investigation	47	23.5	223	18.5
Arrest	29	14.5	149	12.4
Civil	6	3.0	24	2.0
Unknown/Not Mentioned	118	59.0	810	67.2
Total	200	100.0	1206	100.0

Source: PHRC, 1999-2012. *N* = 1,406 crimes and 597 for which an agency responded. <sup>1</sup> Proportions for each category (excluding “Agency Responded”) represent the proportion of all cases in which an agency responded (*N* = 597), not the proportion out of all incidents. <sup>2</sup> Total is out of all criminal incidents (*N* = 1,406).

Figure 15 displays the victim-offender racial relationship for crimes. The distribution of offender-victim race for criminal incidents was similar to the distribution of offender-victim incidents overall. The majority of offenders were white, and many of the victims of white offenders were black. Similarly, most of the victims of black offenders were white. This suggests that hate- and bias-motivated crime is largely interracial, as would be expected.

### Disposition

The disposition of criminal incidents was similar to the disposition patterns for incidents overall, with most urban incidents being handled by local police departments, and most rural incidents covered by PSP (Table 18). Several agencies that responded to bias incidents overall (i.e., private coalition) had to be combined into the “other agency” category to examine frequencies meaningfully. Most of the agency responses to criminal incidents involved police departments. There were no significant differences in the disposition type across locations, with most of the cases in which a disposition was mentioned either described as under investigation or as an offender arrested.

### Bias Motivations

Four groups, in particular, were subjected to the majority of criminal activity (Table 19). About one third of criminal incidents involving obvious bias were anti-black. A large proportion of criminal incidents (about one in eight) were motivated by anti-Jewish sentiment. Anti-Hispanic and anti-LGBT motivations accounted

for an additional combined 15 percent of criminal incidents. The frequencies of most types of bias motivations were not significantly different between rural and urban municipalities. However, there were significantly more crimes involving anti-LGBT, anti-biracial, and anti-Christian motivations in urban compared to rural locations.

### Community Characteristics

The researchers attempted to determine if municipal and county characteristics were predictors of hate and bias motivated crime rates. Because hate crimes were primarily concentrated in few municipalities, and because the number of hate crimes in any given year was low, rates in any given municipality in any year were extremely small. Therefore, the researchers used the average rate of hate crimes across all years from 1999 to 2012. The analyses yielded no significant effects for time, suggesting that rates did not substantially change, on average, between years. Therefore, the analysis used only aggregate rates across the full study period.

The analysis of rates of hate crimes indicated that several municipal and county Census predictors significantly affected the rate of hate crimes. In particular, rural municipalities had about a 41 percent lower hate crime rate than urban municipalities. Rural counties were not significantly different in terms of the rate of hate crimes compared to urban counties, suggesting that county-level analyses were not likely to detect differences based on rurality because they mask within-county differences.

There were two county predictors that significantly predicted rates of hate crime, however. First, counties with more social capital had less hate crime, as measured by the Goetz et al. (2012) index. For reference, social capital is a composite measure of the total associations per 10,000 people, number of not-for-profit organizations per 10,000 people, Census mail response rate, and votes cast for president in 2004 divided by the total population of those age 18 and over in 2005. Secondly, hate crime rates were associated with county violent crime rates but not property crime rates. This pattern suggests that although hate crimes were much rarer than violent crimes, hate crime rates were generally higher in counties with more violent crimes.

The analyses also indicated that all social disorganization indicators - racial heterogeneity, residential

Table 19: Bias Motivation in Criminal Incidents by Rural/Urban Municipality, 1999-2012

	Rural		Urban	
	#	%	#	%
Multiple Biases	15	7.5	79	6.6
Anti-Black	68	34.0	416	34.5
Anti-White	8	4.0	54	4.5
Anti-Hispanic	15	7.5	77	6.4
Anti-Jewish	24	12.0	146	12.1
Anti-LGBT*	8	4.0	106	8.8
Anti-Biracial*	5	2.5	8	0.7
Anti-Interracial	7	3.5	20	1.7
Anti-Christian*	11	5.5	29	2.4
Anti-Immigrant	5	2.5	20	1.7
General Tension	8	4.0	63	5.2
Other/Unidentified	26	13.0	188	15.6
Total	200	100.0	1,206	100.0

Source: PHRC, 1999-2012. Note:  $N = 1,406$  crimes. \*A test of the difference between rural and urban areas was significant,  $p < .05$ .

instability, and concentrated disadvantage - were associated with higher hate crime rates. For instance, a 10 percentage point increase in instability (percentage of renters) yielded a 32 percent increase in the rate of hate crimes<sup>12</sup>. Thus, places with more residential instability had higher rates of hate crimes. A 10 percentage point increase in concentrated disadvantage (the composite index of percentages of the population in poverty, female headed households, unemployed, and those receiving public assistance income) was associated with a 67 percent increase in the municipal-level rate of hate crimes. Hate crime rates were also higher in places with a more racially-diverse population.

### Agency Response

According to the data, two types of agencies typically responded to hate- and bias-related incidents: formal law enforcement agencies and civil rights organizations. The researchers determined an incident to have received law enforcement response if any local or state police agency, the FBI, or a police hate crimes task force was identified in the incident report as a responding agency. The researchers determined an incident to have received a civil rights organization response if the data mentioned any of the following as responding agencies: the Anti-Defamation League; NAACP; the American Civil Liberties Union; the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development; various

12. The coding of the municipal-level percentage variables (all measures except rural and income) makes interpretation of the regression coefficients difficult. To assess the effect of a 1 percent increase in the predictor on the rate of hate crimes, the coefficient must be divided by 100. Similarly, the coefficient must be divided by 10 to reflect a 10 percent increase in the predictor. Then, the coefficients can be exponentiated to get the change in rates. For example, a 10 percent increase in disadvantage is reflected by a coefficient of .512;  $e^{.512} = 1.669$ , a 67 percent increase in the hate crime rate.

Table 20: Number of Hate Crimes by Police Jurisdiction Type, 1999-2012

Number of Incidents	State Police		Other Coverage		Total % (N)
	Rural % (N)	Urban % (N)	Rural % (N)	Urban % (N)	
0	91.9 (1,047)	73.3 (88)	88.7 (401)	70.8 (600)	83.5 (2,136)
1	6.1 (70)	20.0 (24)	8.8 (40)	15.6 (132)	10.4 (266)
2 to 10	1.9 (22)	6.7 (8)	2.2 (10)	12.3 (104)	5.6 (144)
11 or more	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.2 (1)	1.4 (12)	0.5 (13)
Total	100.0 (1,139)	100.0 (120)	100.0 (452)	100.0 (848)	100.0 (2,559)
	42.3*		60.6*		191.8*

Source(s): PHRC, 1999-2011; Pennsylvania Department of Community and Economic Development, Governor's Center for Local Government Services (GCLGS). *N* = 2,559 municipalities for which coverage data were available. \*A test of the difference between rural and urban areas was significant,  $p < .001$ .

nonprofit organizations; local Human Relations Commissions/Councils; the Council on American-Islamic Relations; the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission; or any of PHRC's special housing or intake units.

According to the data, both law enforcement and civil rights agency responses increased over time, but especially for civil rights organizations. Both types of agencies were likely to respond to anti-black incidents compared to other incidents with non-anti-black motivations. Both types of agencies also increasingly responded to intimidation and threat incidents, such as harassment, slurs, bomb threats, and cross-burnings.

Law enforcement agencies also tended to respond to incidents that occurred at a home or business than incidents that occurred at other sites. Interestingly, if the victim was white, law enforcement agencies were more likely to respond than if the victim was non-white. Law enforcement agencies were also more likely to respond if the victim was Jewish compared to other non-Jewish and non-Muslim victims. Law enforcement agencies were much less likely to respond if the offender was either the police or an employer compared to if the offender was an individual. If the incident was motivated by an anti-LGBT bias, law enforcement response tended to be greater. Not surprisingly, law enforcement agencies were substantially more likely to respond to all types of criminal incidents compared to noncriminal events.

Civil rights agencies were no more or less likely than law enforcement agencies to respond to personal crimes or when an incident occurred at a home or at work compared to other sites. Civil rights agencies also tended to respond if the victim was Jewish or Muslim and when the offender was a group of individuals, the police or government, or an employer than when the offender was an individual. Civil rights agencies were also more likely to respond to instances of intimidation and threat than to noncriminal incidents.

## Police Coverage

As part of the analysis, the researchers explored the capacity for police agencies to respond in rural and urban municipalities.

The research indicated that, while the number of criminal incidents reported from 1999 to 2012 differed by jurisdiction type (See Table 20), there were no significant differences between the types of police coverage within rural and urban municipalities. That is, rural municipalities served exclusively by PSP did not significantly differ in the frequency of hate and bias incidents from rural municipalities served by the other types of agencies; the same is true for comparisons between service types in urban municipalities. In sum, the findings suggest that hate and bias incidents were more common in urban municipalities than rural municipalities, regardless of the type of police coverage in each municipality.

## Law Enforcement Training

In a report for the Bureau of Justice Assistance, Wessler and Moss (2001) found that campus police officers needed better training in identifying and responding to hate crimes. They suggested that the training should be half-day or full-day courses. That such training has an effect is suggested by Stotzer and Hossellman's (2012) finding that colleges and universities located in states with mandatory hate crime training for law enforcement personnel had higher rates of hate crimes reported.

Thus, training for the handling of hate crime incidents is important. To assess the training available to law enforcement in Pennsylvania, the researchers consulted with the PSP and the Justice and Safety Institute (JASI) at Penn State University.

A captain at the Pennsylvania State Police Academy stated that cadets are given about one hour of instruction on Pennsylvania hate crime and ethnic intimidation laws. In addition, state police officers receive annual diversity training.

## JASI Interviews

The JASI director provided basic information on hate crime training. While most Pennsylvania law enforcement officers receive training in the identification of hate crimes and ethnic intimidation, training is not governed by a single state oversight agency. For example, training for local police officers is governed by the Municipal Police Officers Education and Training Commission (MPOETC), training for deputy sheriffs is provided by the Pennsylvania Commission on Crime and Delinquency (PCCD), and training for PSP is provided by PSP. Thus, training is not uniform, although the researchers were told that all three training groups cover hate crimes.

Extending beyond official information, the researchers were told that police agencies have become particularly “keen on the topic, as they view bias-related crime as particularly disruptive to any community policing initiatives,” (Zettlemoyer, 2013). Police agencies also view hate crimes as particularly disruptive to community perceptions that policing agencies are able to serve all of the diverse communities within their jurisdiction. Because of the disruption caused, police agencies apply ethnic intimidation charges when possible to prevent future bias crimes, as ethnic intimidation laws typically upgrade the crime to the next higher offense level, increasing penalties.

PCCD’s associate director of Law Enforcement

Table 21: Type of Incident  
(Higher Education Sites Only)  
by Rural/Urban Municipality, 1999-2012

Incident Type	Rural		Urban	
	#	%	#	%
Criminal Incident	0	0.0	50	33.1
Civil Incident	3	50.0	44	29.1
Hate Group Incident	0	0.0	12	7.9
Tension	3	50.0	45	29.8
Total	6	100.0	151	100.0

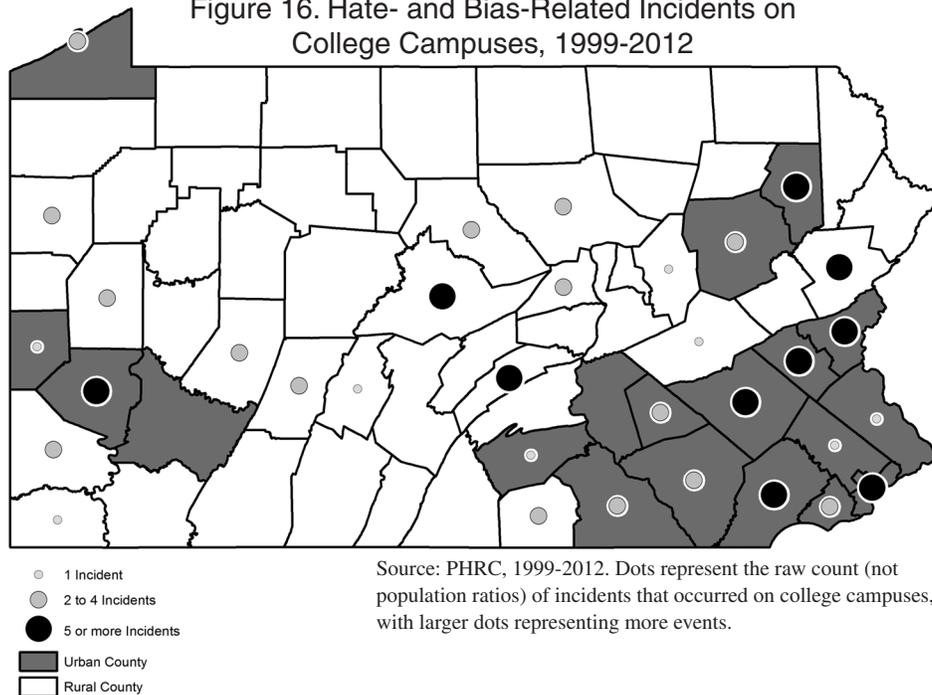
Source: PHRC, 1999-2012. *N* = 157. No significant rural/urban differences exist.

Training Programs provided course materials from the Basic Academy Course on cultural diversity (Stonis, 2013). PCCD is the sole provider of basic training for deputy sheriffs in Pennsylvania. Altogether, training includes a 45-minute course involving 30 minutes on hate crimes and 15 minutes on hate groups<sup>13</sup>. A longer unit used to be employed for training, but the module has been shortened in recent years.

## Colleges, Religion, Civil Law Protections and Offender Motivation

In addition to the general analyses of PHRC data, the researchers also examined the following special topics: hate and bias incidents on college campuses; religious victimization; and acts of discrimination under civil law

Figure 16. Hate- and Bias-Related Incidents on College Campuses, 1999-2012



Source: PHRC, 1999-2012. Dots represent the raw count (not population ratios) of incidents that occurred on college campuses, with larger dots representing more events.

13. Officers may also receive training from continuing education programs, although the researchers had no information on any mandatory continuing education programs in the state.

protections. They also attempted to examine hate crime offender motivations, but could not fully test Levin and McDevitt's (1993) and McDevitt and colleagues' (2002) models because of insufficient information in the PHRC database.

### Hate and Bias Incidents on Campus

College and university campuses have the potential to bring students and professionals from a variety of racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds together. However, this experience also increases the opportunity for bias incidents to occur.

Of the 3,830 incidents from 1999 to 2012, 4 percent (158) occurred at higher education institutions. Roughly 32 percent of the 158 campus incidents were criminal and 30 percent were civil incidents (Table 21 on Page 25). Only seven incidents occurred on campuses in rural municipalities, perhaps because most colleges are located in places classified as urban. There were no significant differences in the frequency of each incident type between campuses in rural and urban municipalities. Most incidents (100, or 63 percent) that occurred on a college campus were in urban counties (See Figure 16 on Page 25).

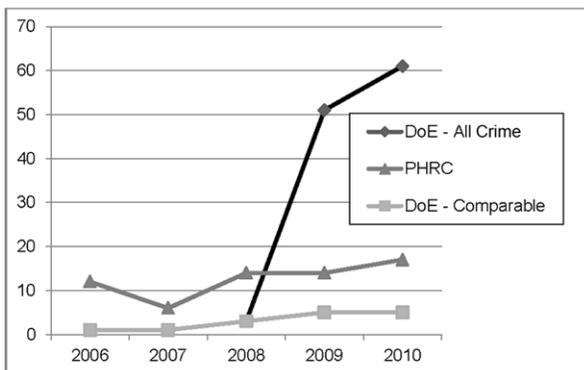
The PHRC database captured more types of hate- and bias-related incidents on college campuses than official sources of data, such as the U.S. Department of Education's (DoE) hate crime statistics, which record only criminal events (Figure 17). The U.S. DoE data are lim-

ited to serious violent and property Index crimes<sup>14</sup>. By comparison, the PHRC data catalogues other criminal incidents including vandalism and noncriminal or civil events. As noted earlier, most bias activity on campus was not criminal. Thus, the PHRC data catalogued approximately 10 additional incidents per year compared to the DoE statistics reporting only crimes (the DoE - Comparable).

Note that the "DoE - All Crime" trend line reflects changes in the recording of hate crimes by colleges in 2009 to include, in addition to the Index offenses, hate-motivated larceny, intimidation, and vandalism; accordingly, an artificial spike in hate activity appeared between 2008 and 2009. Because of this definitional change, which results in a more complete picture of hate and bias incidents, future users would benefit from reporting both the new DoE hate crime statistics as well as the PHRC incidents. The extent of the overlap between these two statistics is unknown (i.e., whether the incidents reported by PHRC are included in the DoE statistics and vice versa), suggesting that a more accurate depiction of hate- and bias-related incidents on campuses can be presented by leveraging both sources of data.

Figure 17 shows that reported numbers of hate crimes and bias incidents on campus generally increased from 2006 to 2010, according to both PHRC and DoE. Whether this reflects a true change in rates of hate activity, a change in reporting policies, or a change in

Figure 17. College Incidents According to Different Sources, 2006-2010



Sources: PHRC; U.S. Department of Education's Office of Post-secondary Education. DoE counts refer to reported hate crimes occurring on campus at all higher education campuses in Pennsylvania. DoE statistics reflect only serious violent and property Index crimes. In 2009, DoE recording policies expanded the definition of crime to include larceny-theft, intimidation, and vandalism. The spike between 2008 and 2009 for the "DoE-All Crime" trend line is an artifact of the addition of these three crimes. The "DoE - Comparable" trend line contains only those types of crimes also reported in 2006-2008.

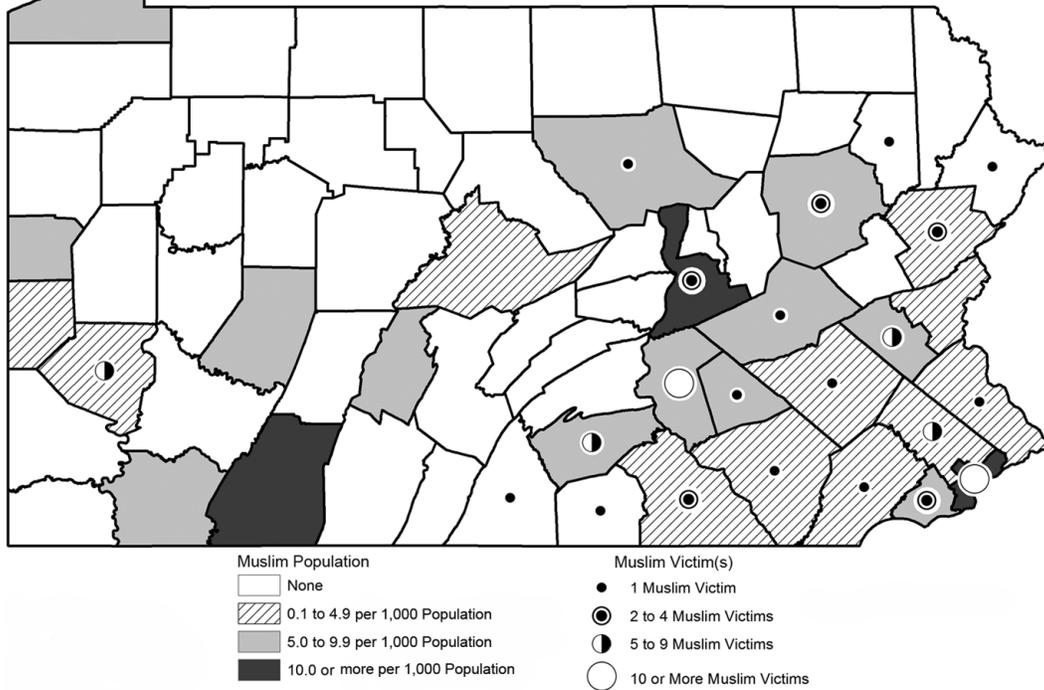
Table 22: Religious Adherence<sup>1</sup> by County

Measure	Average
2000 Adherence Rate	
Christian <sup>2</sup>	507.9
Muslim <sup>3</sup>	1.3
Jewish <sup>4</sup>	7.0
2010 Adherence Rate	
Christian <sup>2</sup>	476.3
Muslim <sup>3</sup>	2.7
Jewish <sup>4</sup>	2.7

Source: 2010 U.S. Religion Census: Religious Congregations and Membership Study. Collected by the Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies and distributed by the Association of Religion Data Archives. Rates are specific to religious affiliations in Pennsylvania. *N* = 67 counties. Measures not available below the county level. <sup>1</sup>Adherence rate = number of adherents in a group per 1,000 total population; includes members and children. <sup>2</sup>Includes Evangelical Protestant, Black Protestant, mainline Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox denominations. <sup>3</sup>Estimate only. <sup>4</sup>Includes Conservative, Orthodox, Reconstructionist, and Reform Judaic denominations.

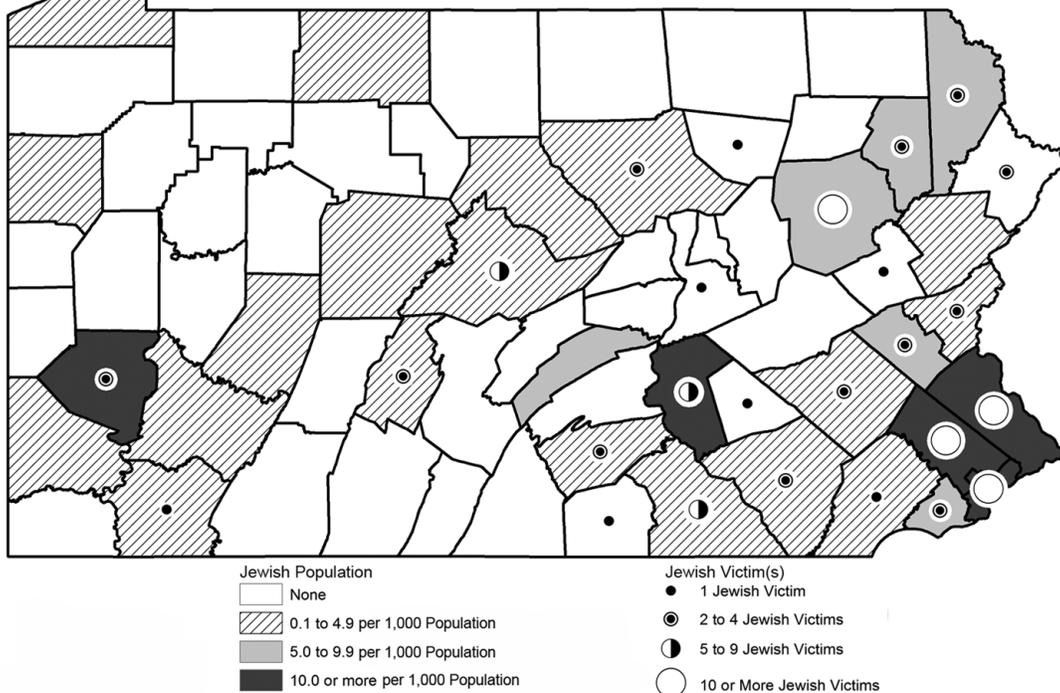
14. The exhaustive list of these crimes includes: murder, manslaughter, forcible and non-forcible sex offenses, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, motor vehicle theft, arson, and simple assault.

Figure 18. Incidents with Muslim Victims by Islamic Adherence Rate per 1,000 Population, 2010



Sources: PHRC, 1999-2012, and the Association of Religion Data Archives (ARDA) religious adherence data, 2010.  $N = 78$  incidents with a reported Muslim victim across 67 counties. Dots represent raw counts (not population ratios) of incidents in each county, with larger dots representing more incidents. Shades represent the religious adherence rate of Islamic mosques per 1,000 population in 2010.

Figure 19. Incidents with Jewish Victims by Jewish Adherence Rate per 1,000 Population, 2010



Sources: PHRC, 1999-2012, and the Association of Religion Data Archives (ARDA) religious adherence data, 2010.  $N = 159$  incidents with a reported Jewish victim across 67 counties. Dots represent raw counts (not population ratios) of incidents in each county, with larger dots representing more incidents. Shades represent the religious adherence rate of Jewish synagogues per 1,000 population in 2010.

**Table 23: Discrimination Incidents  
by Type of Offender**

Offender Type	Rural		Urban	
	#	%	#	%
Individual	14	20.9	95	9.4
Group of Individuals	6	9.0	68	6.8
Hate Group	0	0.0	4	0.4
Police/Government Agency	13	19.4	238	23.6
Employer	27	40.3	528	52.4
Offender Undefined	7	10.4	74	7.3
Total	67	100.0	1,007	100.0

Source: PHRC, 1999-2012. *N* = 1,074 discrimination incidents.

educational awareness about hate crime in general is unknown.

### Religious Victimization

The researchers compared related information on the religious composition of counties to the rates of hate and bias incidents. This data came from the Association of Religion Data Archives (ARDA), which has congregational membership information in every county in the U.S. Greater religious diversity may increase contact with others, decreasing the relative alienation of each group, and decreasing the incidence of hate crime.

Table 22 on Page 26 presents the average adherence rate, defined as the number of members per 1,000 general population, for the three largest religious affiliations across Pennsylvania in 2000 and 2010. Christianity had the largest number of adherents in both time periods. Religious adherence generally declined from 2000 to 2010 across the state<sup>15</sup>.

Figures 18 and 19 on Page 27 present the number of incidents in which an anti-Muslim or anti-Jewish motivation was present compared to the rate of adherence of the respective religions. Not surprisingly, Figure 18 demonstrates that incidents with a reported Muslim victim were generally more common in counties with higher rates of those practicing Islam, while Figure 19 similarly indicates that Jewish victimization was more common in counties with higher Jewish adherence rates.

### Civil Discrimination

Table 23 shows that the majority of civil discrimination incidents involved an employer as the primary offender. A large proportion of discrimination incidents

also involved the police or a government agency as the primary offender. While these figures are worrisome, the reader should keep in mind that discrimination suits against an employer, or a police officer, are often based upon a perceived affront by the offender and do not have to be founded (i.e., validated by an independent authority) to appear in the PHRC dataset.

## CONCLUSIONS

### Statewide Findings

The research found that hate- and bias-related crimes are generally rare events. A large portion of Pennsylvania municipalities experienced no bias-motivated criminal incidents within the study period. Further, most of the bias-motivated criminal incidents across the state were property crimes (vandalism, in particular), and to a lesser extent simple assaults. While bias-motivated violence is always serious, and has a disproportionate effect relative to the crime itself, very few bias-motivated incidents were of the most serious types: homicide or aggravated assault.

Consistent with prior literature, blacks were the single largest victim group of hate crime incidents (33 percent). Anti-black incidents were also more likely to be criminal compared to other bias-motivated incidents. Taken together, these results indicate that blacks were more likely to experience bias incidents in general, and the incident was generally more serious (i.e., criminal) when it did occur.

Hispanic, Jewish, and LGBT victims were also fairly prevalent. About 3 percent of the victims were Muslim, representing a significant increase in anti-Muslim victimization compared to prior research using the same data (Wilson and Ruback, 2003). The researchers suspect that this trend occurred because of hostility toward Islamic and perceived Islamic individuals following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. Anti-Muslim incidents were less likely to be criminal, however, than non-anti-Muslim incidents. Very few victims were Asian or non-Islamic Arabic.

Most victims were individuals. Individuals may represent the most suitable targets, as the individual is typically less able to protect him/herself than are groups or organizations. Further, most bias incidents in Pennsylvania were interracial. For example, black victims were typically victimized by a non-black offender. Further, white males represented the most typical offenders.

The research found support for the conventional white offender-black victim hate crime. Where the current study diverges from prior conceptions, however, is

15. Though the estimated Muslim adherence rate doubled from 2000 to 2010, the ARDA cautions that this may be partially an artifact of data collection methods.

in the examination of hate group activity. Hate group activity was much more likely to be a non-criminal incident than a criminal incident, a civil incident, or an intimidation incident. Only 11 percent of the hate group activity in Pennsylvania involved a crime, and this number is further reduced when vandalism (graffiti, in particular) is considered. Very little hate group activity was violent crime. Instead, most incidents involved the distribution of literature and pamphlets, meetings, or white power events.

Hate group activity in Pennsylvania is still largely white supremacist in nature, the most active hate groups being the KKK and skinhead organizations. The Aryan Brotherhood is also active, particularly in rural municipalities. It should also be noted that the locations of hate group activity according to the PHRC data do not correspond well with information given by the SPLC. Both the PHRC and SPLC indicate hate group activity in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Harrisburg, but the PHRC indicates more hate group activity in rural municipalities than is recorded by the SPLC.

Criminal incidents that are perpetrated by hate groups are much more likely than other incidents to result in the arrest of the offenders. This suggests that, while criminal offending by hate groups is rare, when hate groups do commit crimes, the public reaction to the crimes is severe.

The study indicated that two types of agencies responded to bias incidents most often: law enforcement agencies and civil rights organizations. The frequency of response increased over time for both agencies, but especially for civil rights organizations, perhaps reflecting increasing awareness and emphasis on responding to bias-motivated incidents in the past decade.

Civil rights organizations and law enforcement agencies typically responded to different incidents, however. Civil rights organizations were particularly likely to become involved when the victim was Jewish or Muslim. In the findings, anti-Muslim incidents were less often criminal than other incidents, so it is perhaps understandable why civil rights organizations rather than law enforcement agencies were the primary respondents to these types of incidents. These findings about civil rights organizations suggest that promoting such interest groups may be an effective way to help deal with hate crimes (Haider-Markel, 2006).

Law enforcement agencies were more likely to respond to bias-motivated incidents when they were anti-black or anti-LGBT motivated. The black and LGBT communities represent two historically oppressed populations, and it may be that more resources are available

for dealing with incidents that are prejudiced against these two communities. Dealing with historically victimized populations in a swift and decisive manner is particularly emphasized by law enforcement agencies.

The municipalities in which hate crimes did occur were typically characterized by two different community-level characteristics: (1) low social capital and (2) social disorganization. The current analysis found that counties with more social capital had fewer hate crime. And, all three major tenets of social disorganization theory (residential instability, ethnic heterogeneity, and economic deprivation) were significantly associated with the rates of hate crime in a municipality. Municipalities with a highly mobile population, more racial diversity among residents, and poor economic conditions had increased rates of hate crime compared to more stable, more homogeneous, and less disadvantaged communities.

## Rural vs. Urban

As expected, much more hate and bias incidents occurred in urban than rural municipalities. While rural hate and bias incidents were less common, they were significantly more likely to be criminal than urban incidents. It is possible that this finding is the product of differential reporting rates. Informal social control may be more common in rural municipalities than urban municipalities, leading to the reporting of only the most serious (i.e., criminal) incidents. In urban municipalities, less serious bias motivated incidents (i.e., discrimination) may come to the attention of the PHRC more often.

Several incident characteristics also varied across the urban/rural context. In particular, the rural offender was more likely than the urban offender to be male and white. Black offenders were particularly unlikely in rural municipalities. The urban incidents were also significantly more likely than rural incidents to be anti-gay, anti-biracial, or anti-Christian.

## POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

### Increase Reporting

This research demonstrated that, through a comparison of the PHRC data to other official sources, there is significant underreporting of hate crimes in Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania Commission on Sentencing (PCS) had the lowest number of estimates per year. The Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) was more similar to the PHRC data but showed a decrease in recent years, while the PHRC remained relatively stable. The differ-

ences between the PCS and UCR data, and the divergent trends in the UCR and PHRC data, clearly indicate that estimates of hate crime based on official data are underreported. To accurately estimate the prevalence of hate crime, it is important to consider additional non-official data sources, such as that available in the PHRC data.

Moreover, possible efforts to increase reporting may include additional training for law enforcement agencies on the importance of identifying and recording crimes motivated by hate and bias.

### Written Policies for Police Agencies

This research has possible policy implications for police agencies. In particular, formal training and explicit policies may increase the ability of individual police officers to identify and deal with hate- and bias-motivated incidents (Boyd et al., 1996).

Rather than a statutory matter, what constitutes a hate crime is primarily the determination made by law enforcement (Jenness, 2009). Although these judgments are subject to officers' discretion, official policy

is a better predictor of hate crime reporting than are community or agency factors (Grattet and Jenness, 2008). Other studies (e.g., King, 2007) have found that compliance with hate crime reporting laws was higher in local police departments with community policing, suggesting that organizational factors about local police departments can have large effects on how hate crimes are handled. Thus, to increase official reporting, it is important for local police agencies to have written, standardized policies for handling hate crimes.

By establishing PHRC and passing a law against ethnic intimidation, Pennsylvania has declared that hate crimes and bias incidents will be taken seriously and acted upon appropriately. Greater recognition and reporting of these crimes and incidents will help victims know that their complaints are being taken seriously and acted upon by the criminal justice system, and will ultimately reduce the number of hate crimes and bias incidents in the state.

Regularly monitoring and analyzing data and increasing education on hate crimes are important steps in advancing these goals.

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