ANTI-LGBTQ HATE CRIME:
AN ANALYSIS OF OFFENDER AND SITUATIONAL VARIABLES
ACROSS CRIME MEASURES

by

JILL ALLYN KEHOE

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Jill Allyn Kehoe

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime:

An Analysis of Offender and Situational Variables Across Crime Measures

By JILL ALLYN KEHOE

Dissertation Director:

Dr. Mercer L. Sullivan

The current study aimed to augment the scant body of literature on anti-LGBTQ hate violence by providing an in-depth examination of anti-LGBTQ hate incident perpetrators and situational characteristics. This study analyzed demographic variables of anti-LGBTQ hate violence offenders including age, gender, race, and sexual orientation to understand which demographic groups were responsible for sexual orientation and gender identity based violence. This study also explored the situational dynamics of anti-LGBTQ hate violence including crime type, offender substance use, number of offenders, victim-offender relationships, injury severity, medical attention, and location of the incident. In addition to casting light upon the offending profile and situational characteristics of anti-LGBTQ hate violence, the use of four distinct datasets allowed for the opportunity to make comparisons, both between and within datasets.

It was found that anti-LGBTQ hate crime perpetrators generally adhered to the profile of a typical offender offered in the academic literature; white, heterosexual men under the age of 30. Unexpectedly, the proportion of these offender demographic groups among

anti-LGBTQ hate offenders were not consistently larger than amongst general crime and hate crime offenders. Analysis of situational dynamic variables, however, did provide support for the notion that anti-LGBTQ hate is a distinct type of criminal incident. Significantly increased levels of offender substance use, number of offenders, crimes perpetrated by acquaintances, crimes taking place in open spaces, and crimes against persons substantiated the theory that anti-LGBTQ hate crime is qualitatively unique, typified by different characteristics than other forms of crime. The data in this study also supports that anti-LGBTQ hate crime is not a homogenous phenomenon. Significant numbers of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes committed by known offenders including friends, family, and intimates, crimes committed in private locations such as residences, and crimes committed by non-heterosexual individuals suggests that multiple dynamic processes may underlie this type of crime.

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Team Friday - A little nonsense now and then, is cherished by the wisest men

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CHAPTER 1

1.1 Background and Introduction

Violence against lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) individuals is not a new phenomenon, with researchers dating anti-LGBTQ hate violence back to the Middle Ages (Boswell, 1980). Currently, bias-motivated violence against LGBTQ individuals is one of the fastest growing forms of hate violence in the United States (Berrill, 1992). In his historical account of the history of homophobia, Fone (2000) discussed the emergence and development of the gay rights movement in the United States. "Both in literature and in social activism, homosexuals began to revolt, first in the 1950s and then definitively in 1969 with the rebellion at New York City's Stonewall Inn [a clash between youth and law enforcement at a Greenwich Village gay bar, which is recognized as the catalyst that rekindled the modern gay rights movement]. Liberation produced a new gay culture, which took root in manifold areas of American life. In the 1970s, gay culture often took the form of social protest and political activism, but it also potently influenced education, religion, entertainment, the media, and material culture in what was called the homosexualization of America" (p. 11). Through relentless activism, the gay rights movement fought against discrimination at various levels, and sought to improve legal protections and eliminate the stigma associated with homosexuality. The gay rights movement embodied Eskridge's (2000) politics of recognition, "whereby the minority group seeks to change social and legal norms

privileging majority status and devaluing the minority" (p. 1336). Noteworthy accomplishments of the early gay rights movement included the inclusion of sexual orientation in non-discrimination directives, the repeal or modification of laws criminalizing sodomy, and removal of the ban on homosexual employment in the Federal Civil Service (Bernstein, 1997; Fetner, 2001). The gay rights movement brought greater visibility of the LGBTQ community and made significant strides in the struggle for equality. But, with the solidification of the gay rights movement and its achievements in the political, legal, and social arenas, came considerable backlash in the form of anti-gay rhetoric, the formation of anti-gay organizations, the push for anti-gay legislation and legal rulings, and persistence of bias motivated hate crime.

Risk of victimization varies according to membership in different demographic groups (Cohen & Felson, 1979). Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer individuals are frequently the target of prejudice, hostility, and violence for their sexual orientation and/or gender identity. Potok (2010) found that LGBTQ individuals are 2.4 times more likely to be the victim of a hate crime than Jews, 2.6 times more likely than blacks, 4.4 times more likely than Muslims, 13.8% times more likely than Latinos, and 41.5 times more likely than whites. Herek, Gillis, and Cogan (1999), in a study of 2,259 subjects, found that approximately one in four gay men and one in five lesbian women reported being the victim of an anti-LGBTQ hate crime during their adult lives. Similarly, Berrill (1992) found that 80% of LGBTQ respondent were verbally harassed, 44% were threatened with violence, 33% were chased or followed, 25% were pelted with objects, 19% experienced vandalism, 17% were physically assaulted, 13% were spat on, and 9% were assaulted with an object or weapon. Despite several recent gay rights

advances, compared to other categories of American minorities, members of the LGBTQ community face a higher risk of hate crime victimization (Potok, 2010).

The anti-hate-crime movement came forth in the late twentieth century, stimulated by the civil rights, women's rights, gay rights, and crime victim's rights movements of the 1970s and early 1980s. "The incorporation of concerns about violence into a larger antidiscrimination agenda established the terms of the anti-hate-crime movement, which relies heavily on the image of hate crime as an expression of discrimination" (Jenness & Grattet, 2001, p. 26). Congress passed the 28 U.S.C. § 534 Hate Crime Statistics Act on April 23, 1990, to "address heightened concern over the bias crime problem" (Lawrence, 1999, p. 22). According to the Hate Crime Statistics Act (1990), "the Attorney General shall acquire data, for each calendar year, about crimes that manifest evidence of prejudice based on race, gender and gender identity, religion, disability, sexual orientation, or ethnicity, including where appropriate the crimes of murder, non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, aggravated assault, simple assault, intimidation, arson, and destruction, damage or vandalism of property" (para. 1). Supporters of the Hate Crime Statistics Act thought it would raise awareness of hate crimes, stimulate research, promote the development of other hate crime legislation, assist law enforcement efforts to combat crime, and encourage victims to come forward and seek the necessary assistance (Nolan & Akiyama, 1999). Soon after its passage, the Attorney General designated the responsibility of data collection to the FBI. The following year, the FBI developed guidelines for hate crime data collection and analysis and implemented the National Hate Crime Data Collection Program. The development of the NIBRS program, to collect more comprehensive crime data than the summary data

included in the UCR, began in 1988. "Where hate crime reporting is an adjunct to the

Summary UCR, it is structurally a part of NIBRS" (Nolan, Akiyama, & Berhanu, 2002).

In 1991, the first year the FBI collected hate crime data, 2,215 law enforcement agencies

participated in the program, covering 51% of the population (Nolan, Akiyama, &

Berhanu, 2002). By 2014, 15,494 law enforcement agencies participated in the program,

covering over 90% of the US population (FBI, 2015a).

Partially in response to UCR shortcomings including a lack of 100% law

enforcement participation, some law enforcement agencies reporting zero hate crimes in a

given year, and the potential of law enforcement biases tainting data, the US Department

of Justice's Bureau of Justice Statistics added hate crime questions to the National Crime

Victimization Survey (NCVS) in 2000 (Nolan, Akiyama, & Berhanu, 2002). The

inclusion of hate crime questions in the NCVS allowed for collection of detailed

information on the frequency and character of hate crimes, both those reported and not

reported to law enforcement. "The NCVS hate crime questions ask victims about the

basis for their belief that the crime they experienced was motivated by prejudice or

bigotry, as well as the specific behavior of the offender or evidence which may have led

to the victim's perception of bias" (Strom, 2001, p. 3).

In addition to government implemented hate crime data collection programs,

various advocacy groups also collect data on hate crimes. The Anti Defamation League,

Human Rights Campaign, Southern Poverty Law Center, National Gay and Lesbian Task

Force, and Partners Against Hate are a few non-governmental organizations that compile

data on hate incidents (Shively, 2005). The National Coalition of Anti-Violence

Programs (NCAVP), established in 1995, is one such organization that collects data on

anti-LGBTQ hate crimes. Taking over the duties from the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, the NCAVP has collected data from victimization prevalence surveys since 1997. "A national coalition of local member programs, affiliate organization and individual affiliates who create systemic and social change…[NCAVP] strive[s] to increase power, safety and resources through data analysis, policy advocacy, education and technical assistance" (NCAVP, 2012, para. 1). While recognizing the efforts of the government to capture hate crime data, the NCAVP argues that there is an overwhelming lack of data on LGBTQ hate. "The FBI reported only 23 hate crimes that had anti-transgender motivation and only 8 such crimes against gender non-conforming people, while, NCAVP in 2013 documented 12 hate violence homicides against transgender women alone" (NCAVP, 2015, p. 18).

Efforts by both government and non-government entities to gather data on hate crimes have been accompanied by various efforts by scholars and organization sponsored research. Empirical studies on anti-LGBTQ hate violence perpetrators and situational dynamics are extremely limited. Despite recent political movements promoting LGBTQ rights in the fields of marriage, adoption, job protections, and discrimination, this focus has not been applied to research on sexual orientation and gender identity bias hate crime. "When sexual orientation bias crimes are studied it is typically in the psychological literature, primarily focusing on the emotional consequences for the victim, the attitudes of people toward these crimes and their victims, or at times descriptive analyses of the correlates of these crimes" (Stacey, 2011, p. 3014). As hate crimes motivated by racial bias historically represent over half of the annual total of hate crimes, criminological research has generally focused on this form of bias crime. While racially based bias

crime has amassed a substantial body of criminological literature, it is unwise to assume that findings regarding this form of prejudice carry over to other bias motivations. As Stacey (2011) questions, "is it sufficient for the purpose of understanding bias crime to focus on one type, even if it is the most prevalent, or are there differences between the types of bias motivation that may lead to separate explanations of bias crime" (p. 3014)?

In addition to an overall lack of information regarding hate crime perpetrators and situational dynamics, Perry (2001) argued that "in spite of the centrality of violence as a means of policing the relative boundaries of identity, few attempts have been made to understand theoretically the place of hate crime in the contemporary arsenal of oppression. It is not an area that has been examined seriously through a theoretical lens" (p. 2). Criminological research, instead, principally focused on the criminality and criminalization of minority groups. Green, McFalls, and Smith (2001), in their evaluation of the hate crime research agenda, claimed that the existing scholarship on hate crime leaves readers still questioning the nature and origins of bias motivated violence. Largely due to limitations in defining and measuring hate crime and the relatively recent identification of bias motivated crime as a critical social problem, there is a lack of solid empirical information about hate crime. This deficiency of empirical research has restricted efforts to develop a sound theoretical framework for the commission of hate crimes. Concisely stated by Perry (2003), "without the raw materials, there is no foundation for theorizing" (p. 14).

Using four national level datasets, the FBI's Uniform Crime Report and National Incident Based-Reporting System, the Bureau of Justice Statistic's National Crime Victimization Survey, and the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Project's Report on

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, and HIV-Affected Hate Violence, this project aimed to augment the scant body of literature on anti-LGBTQ hate violence by providing an in-depth examination of anti-LGBTQ hate incident perpetrators and situational characteristics. This study analyzed demographic variables of anti-LGBTQ hate violence offenders including age, gender, race, and sexual orientation to understand which demographic groups were responsible for sexual orientation and gender identity based violence. This study also explored the situational dynamics of anti-LGBTQ hate violence including crime type, offender substance use, number of offenders, victim-offender relationships, injury severity, medical attention, and location of the incident.

In addition to casting light upon the offending profile and situational characteristics of anti-LGBTQ hate violence, the use of four distinct datasets allowed for the opportunity to make comparisons, both between and within datasets. Highlighting similarities and disparities may suggest that the distinct collection protocol and methodology of each dataset captured different aspects and/or amounts of anti-LGBTQ hate. Furthermore, within datasets, comparisons were made between the offending patterns and situation dynamics of general crime, hate crime, and anti-LGBTQ hate crime. Revealing specific offender and situational differences between general crime, hate crime, and anti-LGBTQ hate crime is crucial to understanding anti-LGBTQ hate crime as a qualitatively distinct phenomenon. By situating the analysis in the emergent theoretical framework of hate crime and anti-LGBTQ hate crime, this study explained the offending and situational characteristics of anti-LGBTQ hate, including parallels to and discrepancies from general crime and hate crime.

1.2 Literature Review

Anti-LGBTQ Hate Violence Perpetrators

As mentioned above, the research on anti-LGBTQ bias incidents typically focused on victim characteristics and impact of victimization. The available research was limited to a few landmark studies that focused on anti-LGBTQ hate violence offender and situational characteristics including gender, race, age, offending partnerships, relationship to the victim, and alcohol/drug use. Studies on hate crime perpetrators that disregarded bias motivation were not referenced in this study. Anti-LGBTQ hate violence is a specific phenomenon that merits its own distinct research. Analyzing aggregate hate violence motivated by different types of prejudice has the potential to obscure any unique characteristics of anti-LGBTQ hate.

Age

By and large, empirical studies agreed that most anti-LGBTQ hate violence offenders are adolescents or in their twenties. Comstock (1991) found that 46% of offenders were 21 years of age and younger, 34% were between the ages of 22 and 28, and 29% were age 29 or older. LeBlanc (1991) found that 42% of offenders in his study were adolescents and 45% were in their twenties, while only 2% were 10 or younger and 11% were over the age of 30. Herek, Cogan, and Gillis (2002) found that of the 304 victims who were able to provide an approximate age of their victimizer, 61% estimated the offender was between 13 and 25 years of age. San Francisco's Community United Against Violence organization found that of the 418 perpetrators whose age could be estimated by the victim, 54% were identified as under the age of 21 (Lu, 1991).

Gender

Research studies on anti-LGBTQ hate victimization overwhelmingly agreed that males perpetrated the vast majority of incidents, both against male and female targets. Worthy of note, include the following studies conducted by Comstock (1991), LeBlanc (1991), Herek, Cogan, and Gillis (2002), and San Francisco's Community United Against Violence organization (Lu, 1991) as they included substantial numbers of respondents in their analysis of anti-LGBTQ hate violence. Comstock (1991) found that 93% of anti-LGBTQ attacks were perpetrated by males, 3% by females, and 5% by coed groups. LeBlanc's (1991) study of anti-LGBTQ victimization found 92% of offenses were perpetrated by males, 4% by females, and 4% by both male and female offenders acting together. Herek, Cogan, and Gillis (2002) found that of the over 300 study participants who could identify the perpetrator's gender, 99% of male victims and 90% of female victims of anti-LGBTQ hate violence named at least one male perpetrator. A large-scale study conducted by San Francisco's Community United Against Violence organization found that of the 920 offenders whose gender was known, 92% were males (Lu, 1991). Currently there is no known study that includes an analysis of transgender perpetrators of anti-LGBTQ hate violence. While Stotzer (2009) denoted that 12% of transgender victims of sexual assault were victimized by transgender perpetrators, this report did not include whether such incidents were motivated by anti-LGBTQ bias or should be classified as another form of violent offense such as intimate-partner violence.

Sexual Orientation

Kelley and Gruenewald (2015) pointed out that while acts of anti-LGBTQ hate violence are theoretically constructed as ways of expressing hegemonic heterosexual

masculinity, "to date, there is limited research in the United States that combines theoretical application of sociological and criminological theory with empirical analysis of fatal acts of violence against the LGBT community" (p. 2). The literature resoundingly agreed upon the significant role of cultural and psychological heterosexism and establishing masculine identity in triggering anti-LGBTQ hate violence, suggesting that the majority of anti-LBGTQ hate violence perpetrators should identify as heterosexual. However, illustrated by the cases of 19-year-old John Cordova and 20-year-old Anthony Fortunato, homosexual and bisexual individuals are capable of perpetrating anti-LGBTQ hate violence. Cordova fatally stabbed Robert Hillsborough, a 33-year-old gay man while shouting the word faggot (Herek, 1992). Fortunato helped lure 29-year-old Michael Sandy from a gay chatroom with the promise of sex only to beat him and chase him, until he was fatally hit by a car (Cloud, 2008). Both Cordova and Fortunato secretly experimented sexually with men. While it is clear that heterosexual, homosexual, and bisexual individuals are capable of committing anti-LGBTQ hate violence, what is yet unknown is the relative composition of various sexual orientations amongst anti-LGBTQ hate violence offenders.

Race

Fewer studies documented and analyzed anti-LGBTQ hate violence offender race/ethnicity, as these offender characteristics are sometimes unknown or unclear to the victim reporting the incident. Despite the difficulty in obtaining such information, LeBlanc (1991) found that of the 637 perpetrators whose race/ethnicity could be identified, 80% were white, 16% black, 4% Hispanic, and 1% Asian. Herek, Cogan, and Gillis (2002) found that of the 302 victims who could name at least one perpetrator's

race/ethnicity, 69% identified one or more white offenders, 17% identified one or more black offenders, and 19% identified one or more Hispanic offenders. Only four victims identified an Asian offender and two victims identified a Native American offender. San Francisco's Community United Against Violence organization's study found that of the 801 perpetrators whose race/ethnicity could be identified, 40% were white, 30% were black, 23% were Latino, and 5% were Asian/Pacific Islander (Lu, 1991). This majority of white offenders was echoed in Comstock's (1991) classic study of anti-LGBTQ hate violence at 67% of offenders. The picture painted by past research is not clear regarding offender race with white offenders ranging from 40% to 80% of perpetrators. The categorization of Hispanic offenders in a separate category further muddles this picture.

Comparison to Non-Hate Violence: Perpetrator Demographics

Comstock's (1991) landmark national study of violence against gays and lesbians is the one empirical work in which the researcher analyzed demographic differences between perpetrators of anti-LGBTQ hate violence and general non-hate interpersonal violence. Comparing data from his own study of anti-LGBTQ hate violence and the 1984 National Crime Victimization Survey, Comstock (1991) found that while 87% of perpetrators of crimes of non-hate violence were male, 94% of perpetrators of anti-LGBTQ hate violence were male. Regarding age, 29% of perpetrators of crimes of non-hate violence were under the age of 22 while 46% of perpetrators of anti-LGBTQ hate violence were under the age of 22. Comparison of the racial identities of hate and non-hate violence perpetrators revealed a general similarity with Caucasians perpetrating 69% of non-hate violence and 67% of anti-LGBTQ hate violence.

While several studies documented the demographic characteristics of anti-LGBTQ hate violence perpetrators, no others made direct comparisons with non-hate violence perpetrators. However, as the National Criminal Victimization Survey contains demographic information on non-hate violence perpetrators, comparisons could still be made. The aforementioned LeBlanc and Lu studies were published in 1991; therefore comparisons were made with 1991 NCVS data to illustrate the difference between hate and non-hate violence perpetrator demographics. Regarding age, LeBlanc (1991) found that 2% of anti-LGBTQ hate violence perpetrators were under the age of 10, 42% were adolescents under the age of 20, 45% were in their 20s, and 11% were over the age of 30. Lu (1991) found that 54% of anti-LGBTQ hate violence perpetrators were under the age of 21. Among the general non-hate violence documented in the 1991 NCVS report, 0.7% of perpetrators were under the age of 12, 7.6% were 12-14, 10.2% were 15-17, 14.0% were 18-20, 30.9% were 21-29, and 31.5% were 30 or above. Combining age categories to make direct comparisons revealed that hate perpetrators tended to be younger than non-hate perpetrators. LeBlanc's (1991) hate violence perpetrators were more likely to be under the age of 30 (89%) than non-hate violence perpetrators (63.4%). Similarly, Lu's (1991) hate violence perpetrators were more likely to be under the age of 21 (54%) than non-hate perpetrators (32.5%). Regarding gender, LeBlanc (1991) found that 94% of anti-LGBTQ hate offenders were male while Lu (1991) found that 92% were male. The 1991 NCVS report details that 85% of non-hate violence perpetrators were male. Regarding race, LeBlanc (1991) found that 80% of anti-LGBTQ hate violence perpetrators were white and 16% were black while Lu (1991) found that 69% of anti-LGBTQ hate violence perpetrators were white while 17% were black. The 1991 NCVS

report found 63.7% of violence perpetrators were white and 27.9% were black. Unfortunately, the LeBlanc (1991) and Lu (1991) studies only included acts of anti-LGBTQ violence from specific geographic areas, Boston and San Francisco respectively. Therefore comparisons between these studies and the national data collected by the NCVS should be made with caution. Regarding sexual orientation, while homosexual and bisexual perpetrators of anti-LGBTQ hate violence have been documented in news articles and case studies, no study attempted to quantitatively analyze the sexual orientation of anti-LGBTQ hate violence perpetrators or the sexual orientation differences between anti-LGBTQ hate violence perpetrators and non-hate violence perpetrators. In sum, anti-LGBTQ hate violence perpetrators appeared to be younger than non-hate motivated violence perpetrators. Anti-LGBTQ hate violence perpetrators were more likely to be male. Additional research is needed to make a comparison between the race/ethnicity and sexual orientation of anti-LGBTQ hate violence perpetrators and non-hate violence perpetrators.

Anti-LGBTQ Hate Violence Situational Variables

Substance Use

It is widely recognized that alcohol consumption facilitates aggression and violence in various situations (Parrott & Miller, 2009). However, the use of alcohol by anti-LGBTQ hate violence offenders has only been analyzed in a limited number of studies. Mouzos and Thompson (2001) found that perpetrators of male gay-hate related homicides consumed alcohol in 38.6% of incidents, similar to the 37.5% of other male homicide incidents in which the perpetrator consumed alcohol. Anecdotal evidence from

the Human Rights Campaign (2000) frequently connected alcohol consumption with aggression against sexual minorities. While 84% of anti-LGBTQ assailants in Franklin's (2000) survey of college students denied consuming alcohol before or during the hate incidents, Franklin found a significant relationship between social drinking and committing anti-LGBTQ bias. Parrott, Gallagher, Vincent, and Bakeman (2010) found similar results in a self-report study, with results indicating that anti-LGBTQ violence was twice as likely on a day when participants reported alcohol consumption than on days when participants did not consume alcohol. In a rare inclusion of drug use, Gruenewald (2012) noted that many anti-LGBTQ homicides "developed very quickly and occurred within the context of recreational alcohol and drug use" (p. 3618). A subsequent article by Kelley and Gruenewald (2015) found that 18 (14.9%) of 121 anti-LGBTQ homicides involved an offender that was under the influence of alcohol and/or drugs.

Number of Co-Offenders

Another area of academic interest regarding anti-LGBTQ violence is the tendency of perpetrators to commit offenses in groups. However, in contrast to the research on anti-LGBTQ hate violence offender gender, age, and race/ethnicity, research on the number of offenders per incident was more inconsistent. While Comstock (1991) found 48% of incidents involved multiple perpetrators, San Francisco's Community United Against Violence organization found 57% involved multiple perpetrators (Lu, 1991), and LeBlanc (1991) found an overwhelming 78% involved multiple perpetrators. Herek, Cogan, and Gillis's (2002) more recent study found 46% of anti-LGBTQ hate incidents

against persons involved multiple offenders while 68% of anti-LGBTQ hate incidents against property involved multiple offenders.

Crime Location

Comstock's (1991) seminal study of anti-LGBTQ hate violence found that victimization was most likely to occur in public with 26% of offenses occurring in settings identified as LGBTQ establishments, 21% in the street, and 15% in other public places. LGBTQ victims were also likely to be targeted in their own home or another's home, comprising 17% and 12% respectively. Kuehnle and Sullivan (2001) echoed the previous conclusions noting 30% of anti-LGBTQ crimes occurred in the street and 18.4% occurred in various other public settings (public transportation, public accommodations, LGBTQ areas, and cruising locations). Another 27.8% occurred in private residences. Smaller percentages occurred in the workplace (5.9%) and school (1.3%).

Victim-Offender Relationship

Comstock (1991), Herek, Cogan, and Gillis (2002), and Kuehnle and Sullivan (2001) questioned anti-LGBTQ hate violence victims regarding their relationship with their victimizer. Comstock (1991) found that 66% of respondents reported a perpetrator who was unknown to the victim while Herek, Cogan, and Gillis (2002) found that 62% of incidents involved an unknown perpetrator. Kuehnle and Gillis (2001) found that strangers perpetrated 44.5% of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes. In their comparison of gay hate-related homicides and other male homicides over a ten-year period in New South Wales, Mouzos and Thompson (2001) discovered that victim-offender relationship differed significantly. Family members were responsible for 0.0% of gay hate-related homicides and 8.4% of other male homicides, friends/acquaintances were responsible for

52.3% of gay hate-related homicides and 36.7% of other male homicides, and strangers were responsible for 45.5% of gay hate-related homicides and 28.2% of other male homicides. Kuehnle and Sullivan (2001) also found that approximately 50% of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were committed by acquaintances, 1% were committed by relatives, and 5% were committed by former or current intimates.

Injury/Medical Attention

Hate crimes against members of the LGBTQ community were often more severe than hate crimes targeting other demographic groups and are likely to result in death (Berrill, 1992; Comstock, 1991; Dunbar, 2006, Levin & McDevitt, 1993). Annual reports issued by the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force consistently depicted disproportionately high numbers of anti-LGBTQ homicides with evidence of overkill. Over 60% of anti-LGBTQ homicides exhibited "rage/hate-fueled extraordinary violence…(such as dismemberment, bodily and genital mutilation, use of multiple weapons, repeated blows from a blunt object, or numerous stab wounds" (NGLTF, 1995, p. 18). Miller and Humphreys's (1980) analysis of homosexual victims of violence found that "an intense rage is present in nearly all homicide cases involving gay male victims. A striking feature…is their gruesome, often vicious nature. Seldom is the homosexual victim simply shot. He is more apt to be stabbed a dozen or more times, mutilated and strangled" (p. 179).

Crime Type

Only Herek, Cogan, and Gillis (2002) and Kuehnle and Sullivan (2001) documented the type of criminal activity experienced by anti-LGBTQ hate victims. Herek, Cogan, and Gillis found that 66.23% of anti-LGBTQ hate victimizations were

crimes against persons while 33.77% were crimes against property. Kuehnle and

Sullivan (2001) found that 91.45% of anti-LGBTQ hate victimizations were crimes

against persons while 8.51% were crimes against property.

Comparison to Non-Hate Violence: Situational Variables

Studies by Mouzos and Thompson (2001) and Herek, Cogan, and Gillis (2002)

provided information concerning the differences between select situational dynamics of

anti-LGBTQ and non-hate violence. Mouzos and Thompson (2001) found that anti-gay

hate homicides were more likely than non-hate homicides to occur in the street or other

open areas (31.0% vs. 19.5%) and on residential premises (62.0% vs. 51.4). Herek,

Cogan, and Gillis (2002) similarly found that anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were more likely

to occur in public places (60% vs. 32%). Unlike Mouzos and Thompson (2001), Herek,

Cogan, and Gillis (2002) found that anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were less likely than non-

hate crimes to occur inside private residences. Regarding co-offending patterns, Mouzos

and Thompson's (2001) study of anti-LGBTQ and non-hate homicides in New South

Wales found that anti-LGBTQ hate murders were more likely to involve multiple

perpetrators than non-hate murders (55% versus 48%). Herek, Cogan, and Gillis (2002)

found that 46% of study respondents were victimized by multiple offenders. This

percentage was considerably larger than the 17% of respondents of non-hate violence

who were victimized by multiple offenders. Regarding victim-offender relationship,

Mouzos and Thompson (2001) found that "a greater proportion of both gay hate-related

homicide victims and other male homicide victims were killed by a friend or

acquaintance. However, a much higher proportion of gay hate-related homicide victims

were killed by a stranger in comparison to other homicide victims (45.5% versus 28.2%)"

(p. 321). Herek, Cogan, and Gillis (2002) found a higher percentage of stranger perpetrated anti-LGBTQ hate incidents, but similarly asserted that incidents of anti-LGBTQ hate violence were more likely to be committed by strangers than incidents of non-hate violence (70% versus 58%). Regarding victim injury, Mouzos and Thompson (2001) stated, "another important difference between the two types of homicides is that the gay hate related homicides of men are significantly more likely to involve a high level of brutality. For example, it is not uncommon to find that male victims of gay hate-related homicide have been repeatedly stabbed to death" (p. 318). Empirical studies comparing offender substance use during anti-LGBTQ hate violence with non-hate violence data have yet to be conducted. However, available research comparing hate crime incidents motivated by various biases (ex. race, religion, sexuality, disability) from the National Incident-Based Reporting System suggests that violence motivated by hate is more likely to involve offender substance use than non-hate violence (Messner, McHugh, & Felson, 2004). While the research is scant, available data suggests that anti-LGBTQ hate violence is more likely to involve multiple offenders, offenders who are unknown to the victim, offender alcohol and/or drug use prior to the incident, and a heightened level of victim injury and need for medical attention as compared to non-hate violence.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 Theoretical Framework

Theory of Hate Crime

There is a general dearth of information regarding the theoretical underpinnings of hate crime. Historically, a lack of sound empirical data due to problems defining and measuring hate crime, lead to considerable difficulty in constructing a conceptual framework (Berk, Boyd, & Hamner, 1992; Jenness & Broad, 1997; Perry, 2009). Succinctly put, "Without the raw materials, there is no foundation for theorizing" (Perry, 2009, p. 56). Furthermore, traditional criminological theories regularly failed to address victimization of subordinate groups motivated by prejudice.

However, in recent years a basic theoretical framework of hate crime has emerged. Articulated by Perry, (2001) hate crime is fundamentally a tool for "doing difference." Individuals construct their own identity within their social context. Human beings create their social identity through their actions and interactions with others and their environment. Dimensions of identity, such as race, gender, and sexuality, must be accomplished, managed, and interpreted by others in accordance with society's approved hegemonic ideologies. Identity must be established and reestablished in various contexts in order for an individual to be viewed as adhering to the standards of the social context. Those that do difference correctly attain membership in dominant sociocultural strata and uphold the current power structure. However, those that do difference inappropriately and violate normative concepts of identity are viewed as threats as they contradict

traditional boundaries of identity and social hierarchies. "The threat must be repressed, and the dominance of the hegemonic group reaffirmed. It is in this context that hate crime emerges as a resource for doing difference, and punishing those who do difference inappropriately…Hate crime, then, is a forceful illustration of what it is to engage in situated conduct" (Perry, 2001, pp. 55-6). Perpetrators of hate violence are simultaneously asserting their identity as a member of a dominant sociocultural identity while punishing those individuals who assert subordinate sociocultural identities and seemingly attempt to threaten existing hierarchies of power.

Theory of Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime

The Social Construction of Heterosexism and Homophobia

Heterosexism is an "ideological system that denies, denigrates, and stigmatizes any nonheterosexual forms of behavior, identity, relationship, or community" (Herek, 1990, p. 316). Notions of gender and sexual orientation are culturally constructed and must be viewed within a social psychological context. Heterosexist views of gender and sexuality are endorsed by cultural beliefs, practices, and norms, and have traditionally been maintained by major social institutions including religion, the legal system, mental health, and mass media (Ehrlich, 1990; Herek, 1990). Through the words and actions of these social institutions, homosexuality is historically concealed from mainstream view or publically criticized and denounced. Many religions, including the majority of Judeo-Christian denominations, label homosexuality as an unnatural or sinful practice based on the inability for homosexual acts to result in procreation. Religious institutions have refused to recognize same-sex relationships and families, restricted homosexuals from

becoming members of the clergy, and limited civil rights protections (Herek, 1990).

Legal heterosexism is evident in the myriad of past and current laws that prohibit private,

consenting homosexual activity, place limitations on the legal status of same sex partners

and parents, and exclude sexual orientation as a class of individuals protected from

discrimination (Herek, 1990). The classification of homosexuality as a form of mental

illness for the majority of the 20th century, and its lingering stigma of pathology despite

its current exclusion from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual, shows the presence of

heterosexism in the field of mental health. In addition, the mass media includes

infrequent portrayals of homosexual characters, many of which are negative depictions or

are only included in the plot for their sexuality (Gross, 1984). "As these examples show,

homosexuality is normally kept invisible and, when it becomes visible, is condemned and

attacked by cultural institutions" (Herek, 1990, p. 93).

Doing Gender and Sexuality

Sexuality is not a predetermined feature of the self, but something that must be

demonstrated. Sexuality is not a biological attribute, but a social construction achieved

through human agency (Messerschmidt, 1993; West & Zimmerman, 1987). "What a

person *does* sexually defines who the person *is*, and negative evaluations were attached to

people who did not do what they were supposed to do and who thus were not what they

were supposed to be" (Herek, 1986, p. 568). Through social interaction, the presentation

of one's attitudes and beliefs to others allows for the development of one's sense of self.

Heterosexuals are under intense pressure to "do" gender, to define their heterosexuality

and reestablish their heterosexual identity in various situations and conditions. Sexuality

is essentially an ongoing accomplishment that must be consciously pursued and

demonstrated in the public sphere (Messerschmidt, 1997; West & Zimmerman, 1987).

Consequently, many individuals, especially young men, feel compelled to publically

display their heterosexuality by adhering to heterosexist gender roles and norms of

sexuality and/or expressing disapproval for alternative gender and sexual identities

(Herek, 1986, Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009).

Gender Hierarchies

In society, there exists a hierarchy of masculinities consisting of a hegemonic

masculinity and various subordinate masculinities. According to Goffman (1963), the

hegemonic male is "a young, married, white, urban northern, heterosexual Protestant

father, of college education, fully employed, of good complexion, weight and height, and

a recent record in sports" (p. 128). Qualities associated with the quintessential male

include strength, competitiveness, endurance, authoritativeness, heterosexism, control,

individualism, aggressiveness, independence, and sexual prowess (Messerschmidt, 1993,

West & Zimmerman, 1987). Subordinate masculinities are those that fail to meet this

ideal either through "speech, dress, physical appearance, activities, and relations with

others" (Messerschmidt, 1993, p. 83). Men who reflect subordinate masculinities in a

social setting are subject to judgment.

Homosexuals are typically judged as belonging to a subordinate masculinity.

"Gay men are, in fact, doing gender, just as are heterosexuals. They are constructing

their own masculinity, albeit an alternate form of masculinity that is culturally

subordinate to its heterosexual counterpart. On this basis, they are vulnerable to social

disapprobation because they are seen to be gender traitors" (Perry, 2001, p. 110).

Homosexuals are viewed as possessing those traits and behaviors rejected by hegemonic

masculinity. "Individuals perceived as male but who construct practices defined as feminine, such as sexually desiring boys or simply practicing celibacy ('fag'), being passive, compliant, or shy ('sissy'), and /or being physically weak or unadventurous ('wimp'), likewise are seen as polluting 'normal' and 'natural' hegemonic gender and sexual relations" (Messerschmidt, 2012, p. 39). Homosexual men are criticized and marginalized for doing the male gender inappropriately.

If homosexual men are the victims of hate violence due to their inappropriate presentation of masculinity, why are homosexual women also the target of hate violence? While gay men are more often the targets of anti-LGBTQ violence, gay women are victimized as well (Berrill, 1992; Comstock, 1991; Herek, Gillis, & Cogan, 1999). There are several theories as to why homosexual woman appear to be at lower risk of hate victimization including that men in general are at greater risk for violent victimization, that homosexual men are more publically visible than homosexual women as seen in their greater number of establishments and organizations, that homosexual men come out earlier in life resulting in living more of their lives open to the public about the sexual orientation, that homosexual women are more likely to modify their public behavior to minimize the risk of victimization, and that violence against homosexual women may be more difficult to differentiate from typical violence against women if explicit anti-LGBTQ sentiments are not indicated by the offender (Berrill, 1992; Gross, Aurand, & Adessa, 1988; Perry, 2001; von Schulthess, 1992). Explanations of hate violence against homosexual women generally focus on two main arguments. First, gay women are victimized for the same reason as gay men. LGBTQ women are also perceived as individuals who are incorrectly portraying their gender and sexuality. While most

researchers agree that females are allowed more flexibility than men in how they choose to express their femininity, they too are held accountable to social standards of how a woman should act. Women may be able to engage in socially acceptable same-sex bonding, affection, and physical contact to an extent beyond that of males, but they too must not violate the basic tenets of womanhood (Connell, 1987). Second, hate violence against LGBTQ women may also be anti-woman. Von Schulthess (1992), in her empirical study of hate incidents against lesbians found that "attacks often began as anti-woman and then added an anti-lesbian dimension…[so] I conceptualize lesbianism as an extension of gender and conceptualize anti-lesbian violence as an extension of misogynistic violence" (pp. 70-71).

Structured Action

As all men are not the same, there are different ways of doing gender and asserting one's masculinity. "Specific forms of masculinity are available, encouraged, and permitted, depending upon one's class, race, and sexual preference. Masculinity must be viewed as structured action – what men do under specific constraints and varying degrees of power" (Messerschmidt, 1993, p. 81). Belonging to particular social groups influences an individual's heterosexist norms as well as that individual's resources for acting out and accomplishing masculinity. As Chambliss (1973) discovered in his landmark study of adolescent boys, belonging to different demographic groups influenced the boys' perception of hegemonic masculinity as well as placed restrictions on the resources available for constructing that type of masculinity in a public setting. Echoed in Messerschmidt (1993) and Connell (1989), white middle-class boys construct a form of masculinity focused on academic success and participation in athletics. White

working-class boys "come to school armed with traditional notions of white-working-class masculinity: the idea that 'real men' choose manual, not mental labor," deem school as irrelevant and emasculating, and resort to vandalism, truancy, intimidation, drinking, and physical aggression to assert their masculine identity (p. 97). Racial minority lower-working class boys are denied social, academic, and occupational avenues to pursue their masculine identity and therefore must resort to violent behavior, formation of street groups, and street crime to publically display masculine ideals. The construction of an archetype of masculinity and typical avenues for establishing such an identity is not limited to adolescent boys. Social action, in this instance the accomplishment of masculinity, is shaped by the possibilities and restrictions created by an individual's class, race, age, sexual orientation and gender status in society.

Anti-LGBTQ Hate Violence

Hate crimes against the LGBTQ community in the United States are best understood by examining both the heterosexist culture context in which they occur and the psychological context of those who perpetrate them. From a cultural perspective, anti-LGBTQ hate crimes can be viewed as radical extensions of common American heterosexism and its bearing on quests to prove heterosexuality. Heterosexist views grounded in American history and continued by modern social institutions promote the stigmatization of nonheterosexual behavior regarding gender and sexuality and encourage the need to establish a socially observed heterosexual identity. From an individual perspective, attitudes of heterosexism and homophobia serve distinct psychological and social functions. According to Perry (2001), "Gay-bashing provides young men in particular with a very useful resource for doing gender, especially for accomplishing

hegemonic masculinity…As an activity it is tailor-made for this construction of masculinity since it allows the visible demonstration of the most salient features of manliness: aggression, domination, and heterosexuality" (pp. 107-108). Attacking a homosexual allows the perpetrator to establish his own gender identity by exhibiting his own masculinity and by displaying the subordinate or inappropriate masculinity of his homosexual victim. Franklin (1998) agreed, calling the homosexual victim a "dramatic prop" and a "vehicle for ritualized conquest through which assailants demonstrate their commitment to heterosexual masculinity and male gender norms" (p. 12). When amplified, social and psychological heterosexism and homophobia result in prejudice, discrimination, and in the most extreme cases, bias crime.

Empirical literature asserted that individuals attempt to establish and reaffirm their gender identity through displays of hegemonic masculinity. Membership in different demographic groups, with varying power and resources, dictates masculine behavior depending upon which avenues for social action are available. Anti-LGBTQ hate crimes and acts of violence are theorized to be mechanisms for constructing masculinity as they allow for an individual to establish himself as an idealized heterosexual male while subjugating other subordinate forms of masculinity. Acts of anti-LGBTQ hate are unique from others forms of interpersonal aggression (Craig, 2002). Theoretically, perpetrators of anti-LGBTQ simultaneously seek to visually communicate their prejudice, punish perceived violators of traditional notions of sexual orientation and gender identity, and establish themselves as belonging to acceptable social categories of heterosexual and cisgendered individuals.

Theory of Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime Variables

Offender Race

Theoretically, similar to gender, hate crime is a mechanism for constructing race. Race is not simply a set individual trait, but something that must be accomplished in social settings (West & Festermaker, 1995). Just as the dominant male social class uses hate crime to maintain the social hierarchy that places them in a position of power, bias motivated violence serves the same purpose for white individuals (hooks, 1995; Perry, 2001). "Hate crime becomes a way to assert whiteness as a sign of privilege… Correspondingly, hate crime is also a way in which people of color and other ethnic and religious minorities are reminded of 'their place'" (Perry, 2001, p. 5). Victimization of subordinate groups by the dominant white bloc perpetuates the hierarchical status quo. This theory predicts that hate crime offenders will include a larger proportion of white individuals than general crime, a prediction supported by hate crime literature's consistent description of the "typical hate crime offender" as white (Craig, 2002; Dunbar, 2003; Nolan, Akiyama, & Berhanu, 2002).

In contradiction to the aforementioned theory of white predominance amongst hate crime offenders, structured action theory predicts that racial minorities may engage in more hate crime behavior. Due to social structures that restrict the field of possibilities for constructing masculinity, racial minorities turn to alternate forms of expressing masculinity such as forming street gangs and committing predatory acts of aggression and violence. "Young boys from marginalized racial-minority communities are typically denied masculine status in the educational and occupational spheres…Because they are available gender resources and because sex category is heightened in situations of

structural disadvantage, these youths come to rely more frequently on behaviors that include fighting and other forms of physical intimidation with which to construct their masculinity" (Messerschmidt, 1993, p. 112). The lack of educational and occupational avenues to assert masculinity may influence individuals in the racial-minority to utilize hate crime as a tool for doing difference.

In regards to anti-LGBTQ crime, the ever-important role of sex category in economically marginal environments may further compel individuals in racial minority groups to commit sexual orientation and gender identity bias crimes. Identification as a hegemonic male becomes paramount. "He is a manly man, virile, strong, heterosexual, and in control of at least these aspects of his life. If he is to be held accountable to his gender identity – given the limits imposed by his racial identity – at least he can make the claim to have acted in accordance with the prerequisites of aggressive heterosexuality" (Perry, 2001, p. 133).

Conflicting theories of the role that race plays in hate crime perpetration makes predictions difficult. On one hand, the theory that belonging to and wanting to preserve the status of the dominant social class may drive white individuals to commit hate crime predicts more white hate crime offenders. On the other hand, structured action theory and the notion that individuals of racial minority groups utilize hate crime as a tool to assert masculinity due to society's circumscription of other educational and occupational options predicts more racial minority hate crime offenders. Neither theory, despite purporting to elucidate the motivations behind white and minority hate crime perpetration, suggests how the racial composition of hate crime or anti-LGBTQ hate crime does or might compare to general crime. Also of note, nowhere in the hate crime

theory literature does it mention the influence that the racial composition of the U.S. population may have on the racial composition of hate crime offenders. Suggesting that the typical hate crime offender is white, may incorrectly give the reader the perception that whites are more likely to be perpetrators of hate crimes than other types of crimes, of which whites are also the majority offending group largely due to population ratios.

Offender Gender

The proportion of male offenders was widely cited in the literature as larger amongst hate crime than general crime. "The reality that crime is primarily a male endeavor has been recognized by criminologists for some time…It should not be surprising, then, that bias crimes are committed primarily by males" (Bufkin, 2009, p. 158). Theoretically, males may be more likely than women to commit bias crime due to the role that hate crime plays in doing gender. Hate crime is a valuable tool for allowing men to assert their hegemonic masculinity and distance themselves from normative feminine behavior. Hate crime is a resource for doing gender through its display of aggressiveness and violence, typical characteristics of hegemonic masculinity. Furthermore, victims of hate violence, whether they are of gender, racial, ethnic, sexual, or other minority status, are members of subordinate identities in the social hierarchy. "The offender becomes what his victim is not by attacking him/her. By negating the right of these victims to exist via assaults on their person and destruction of their property, the bias crime perpetrator ensures his right to rule, to be aggressive, to be the ultimate competitor. In turn, he is perpetuating the structured subordination of his victim. The bias crime offender essentially separates himself from all that is non-hegemonic by attacking members of structurally oppressed groups" (Bufkin, 2009, p. 159). Female

perpetrators of bias crime are in the minority, especially as instigators and lone participants (Comstock, 1991; Herek, Cogan, & Gillis, 2002; LeBlanc, 1991, Lu; 1991). Those females that do choose to commit hate crime are trying to gain power using the social means prescribed for men. Female perpetrators of hate crime are acting in an unstereotypical and nontraditional manner of doing gender, making it an anomaly rather than the norm.

The proportion of male offenders amongst anti-LGBTQ hate crime may even be larger than hate crime, with prior research citing male offenders as comprising over 90% of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders (Comstock, 1991; Herek, Cogan, & Gillis, 2002; LeBlanc, 1991, Lu; 1991). Anti-LGBTQ bias crime adds an additional advantage to doing gender through hate. Perpetrators of anti-LGBTQ hate assert their hegemonic masculinity and social dominance through displays of aggression and violence as well as expressing disapproval towards inappropriate demonstrations of gender and sexuality. By selecting a hate victim that is a member of the LGBTQ community, the offender is not just overpowering any subordinate identity, but an individual who is not embodying society's conception of masculinity. Essentially, anti-LGBTQ hate crime is a mechanism for constructing masculinity, "by establishing what a man *is not* and what he *is*" (Perry, 2001, p. 108).

Consequently, the theory of hate crime predicts that male offenders will comprise a larger percentage of offenders than general crime as it provides a useful resource in doing gender. Since anti-LGBTQ hate crime provides the additional advantage of sending a message of disapproval directed at subordinate or incorrect masculinities, anti-LGBTQ hate crime should include an even larger percentage of male offenders.

Offender Age

Crime is committed at a higher rate among adolescent offenders, with criminality increasing in late childhood until it peaks in the latter teenage years. Factors such as poor decision-making, impulsivity, immaturity, peer pressure, and unsupervised leisure time contribute teenage crime and delinquency (Farrington, 1986). Hate crime offenders are often noted to be young as well. Adolescence is a precarious time period characterized by the constant need to prove oneself personally and to others. Unsure of themselves or of their position in society, young men find it essential to prove their commitment to hegemonic ideals of masculinity. As adolescents are limited in their ability to display masculinity through occupational status, material wealth, and autonomous lifestyle, hate crimes are a way young men can demonstrate their masculinity (Messerschmidt, 1993).

Anti-LGBTQ hate crime, specifically, is a way of asserting masculine characteristics while expressing aversion to non-hegemonic sexual orientations and gender identities. "It provides immediate status rewards in the eyes of one's peers because, unlike verbal reports of sexual conquest, it provides direct and corroborated evidence of one's virility…Gay-bashing serves to validate one's maleness in the areas of both violence and sexuality" (Harry, 1992, p. 115). Augmented by the relatively low risk of injury and arrest (due to frequent group offending and infrequent reporting), anti-LGBTQ hate crime "offers a nearly ideal solution to the status needs of the immature male" (Harry, 1992, p. 115). As future men, boys must offer evidence of their forthcoming masculinity. Anti-LGBTQ hate provides proof of manliness in an age group constantly seeking to establish their virility through the demonstration of aggression, violence, and heterosexuality. Again, while theory predicts a considerable proportion of

hate and anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders to be adolescents, it is unclear if the percentage of adolescent hate offenders should exceed the percentage of adolescent general crime offenders as participating in general crime also provides significant psychosocial advantages.

Offender Sexual Orientation

Perhaps due to the fact that victims may be unaware of the sexual orientation of their attacker or the intrusiveness of asking the perpetrator him/herself, perpetrator sexual orientation is not information that is typically collected in hate crime data. Despite the lack of empirical data on perpetrator sexual orientation, the literature consistently agreed that hate crime was a potential mechanism for asserting hegemonic masculinity, including identification as a heterosexual. However, it is not wise to exclude non-heterosexual individuals as potential perpetrators of hate crime. Non-heterosexual individuals may commit hate crimes against other racial, ethnic, religious, and other minority groups. Membership to one minority group does not eliminate prejudicial views toward all other minority groups. Non-heterosexual individuals may still choose hate crime as a way of doing difference through asserting membership in a dominant sociocultural group and rebuking a subordinate sociocultural group.

The cases of John Cordova and Anthony Fortunato reveal that anti-LGBTQ hate crimes may be perpetrated by non-heterosexual individuals. In anecdotal accounts of Cordova and Fortunato's crimes, Herek (1992) suggests that anti-LGBTQ hate can serve to affirm masculinity and heterosexuality for individuals who view their own same-sex attractions or gender identity as problematic. Characterized as "ego-defensive," non-heterosexual perpetrated anti-LGBTQ hate violence may be "an attempt to deny any trace

of femininity in themselves…a way of dealing with his own unresolved and conflictual sexual interests" (Herek, 1992, pp. 161-162). In another potential explanation of non-heterosexual perpetrated anti-LGBTQ hate violence, situational factors may be responsible for instigating the incident. Instead of psychological heterosexism or homophobia, peer pressure, interpersonal conflict, or other social circumstances may play a primary role. As was the case in an interview conducted by Weissman (1992), a young man attributed his participation in an anti-LGBTQ attack to peer pressure. "We were trying to be tough to each other. It was like a game of chicken – someone dared you to do something and there was just no backing down" (Weissman, 1992, p. 172). In the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's "The National Intimate Partner Violence and Sexual Violence Survey," Black et al. (2011) found that stalking, sexual violence, and intimate partner violence among same sex couples frequently involved anti-LGBTQ bias. Membership to a minority sexual orientation and/or gender identity group may be viewed as a weak spot or flaw to target by someone looking to inflict emotional harm. Consequently, interpersonal conflict may be accompanied by language that is identified as anti-LGBTQ. While the participation of non-heterosexual perpetrators of anti-LGBTQ has been documented in select cases and theoretically speculated, the extent of participation by such offenders was not quantified. However, based upon the amount of attention paid to non-heterosexual offenders in the literature and its incongruence with the generally accepted hegemonic masculinity motivation theory for anti-LGBTQ hate crime, it would seem that this offending group is in the vast minority.

Offender Substance Use

The role of alcohol in facilitating violent and criminal behavior has been well established. Alcohol is often cited as a factor contributing to cognitive, physiological, and emotional changes that increase the probability of aggression (Bushman & Cooper, 1990). As hate crime is a type of aggression, it too has been associated with alcohol use. Empirical research asserted that perpetrators of hate crime frequently consumed alcohol prior to attacks (Comstock, 1991; Hamm, 1993; Bjorgo, 1993, 1994; Levin and McDevitt, 1993; Aronowitz, 1994; Bowling, 1994; Dunbar, 2003). The link between alcohol use and aggression suggests that perpetrators of hate violence are likely to consume alcohol prior to the incident.

Independent of the link between alcohol and aggression, alcohol may also incite anti-LGBTQ hate due to an association between drinking alcohol and masculinity. "Alcohol consumption factors into the equation because such behavior is practically universally associated with being a man or achieving manhood…Males equate drinking with masculinity and, perhaps, more importantly, this male bonding exercise is often laced with violence" (Bufkin, 2009, p. 166). From Dyck's (1980) barroom scrapping to Vigil's (1998) gang members drinking to get loco to Hamm's (1993) drinking beer and going berserk, excessive drinking, manliness, and violence are inextricably linked. Drinking is a key element in the construction of masculinity, an element that facilitates not just aggression, but "higher levels of sexual prejudice and masculine gender role stress" (Parrott, Gallagher, Vincent, & Bakerman, 2010, p. 520). The association between alcohol consumption, aggression, and masculinity appears to predict an

increased proportion of anti-LGBTQ hate offenders that consume alcohol prior to the commission of the incident.

Number of Offenders

Similar to other types of group-perpetrated violence, group-perpetrated hate crime has parallel advantages, namely dilution of blame, endorsement of prejudicial attitudes, anonymity, and a lower risk of counterattack. Summed up by Levin and McDevitt (1993), "the hatemongers who instigate an altercation believe that they are less likely to be hurt in a group because they have their friends to protect them. The group also grants a certain degree of anonymity. If everyone participated, then no one person can easily be singled out as bearing primary responsibility for the attack. Because they share it, the blame is diluted. Finally, the group gives its members a dose of psychological support for their blatant bigotry" (p. 17). These psychological and physical advantages of general crime group offending are analogous to hate crime group offending.

In addition to the aforementioned advantages, the theoretical underpinnings of hate violence motivation suggest another reason for group offending. Demonstration of hegemonic masculinity in the presence of others is key to establishing an identity that is viewed as in line with sociocultural normative expectations. "To the extent that members of society know their actions are accountable, they will design their actions in relation to how they might be seen and described by others" (West & Fenstermaker, 1997, p. 25). An individual's commitment to traditional notions of gender is ideally perceived by others and deserving of positive feedback. As such, "bias offending provides an opportunity for a collective of predominantly males to accomplish hegemonic masculinity…[in which] recognition and membership in that group are enhanced when

the Other is attacked" (Bufkin, 2009, p. 163). If an act of hate is not perceived by others, it does nothing to further the perpetrator's outward hegemonic appearance. Furthermore, the decreased likelihood of a counterattack by the victim in a group-perpetrated attack minimizes the potential for an offender to fail, look weak, or lose the fight. "What could be worse for individuals who are trying to accomplish hegemonic masculinity than being defeated by someone who is weak and/or effeminate" (Bufkin, 2009, p. 163)? The selection of an anti-LGBTQ hate victim is often based on that individual's subordinate masculine status and supposed feminine attributes. By offending in a group and choosing a victim that is a member of the LGBTQ community, perpetrators are attempting to increase the odds of successfully displaying an outward expression of hegemonic masculinity. As group-perpetrated hate crime provides the advantages associated with general crime as well as an increased guarantee of establishing hegemonic masculinity, theory predicts more co-offending amongst hate crime and anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders.

Crime Location

Hate crime, just like general crime, can occur anywhere including home, work, school, and public places. Some hate crime researchers argued that hate crime was most likely occur in the course of routine daily life. "Generally speaking there is no particular place that can be categorized as constituting the typical location for hate crimes…since they tend to occur in many different locations" (Bleich, 2008, p. 48). On the other hand, other researchers suggested that hate crimes may occur more often in public spaces for three distinct reasons. First, hate crimes are more likely than non-bias crimes to be perpetrated by unknown assailants and, therefore, more likely to take place outside the

home where strangers interact (Berk, Boyd, & Hamner, 1992; Stacey, 2011). Second, hate crimes, in part, serve to send a message to a minority community that they are of inferior value. Hate crime "is not only to subordinate the victim, but also subdue his or her community, to intimidate a group of people" (Perry, 2001, p. 10). Spreading an ideology of hate is better achieved when there is an audience, in addition to the victim, to hear the message. Third, Comstock (1991) asserted that public locations that were "gay identified" such as lesbian or gay bars, discos, or bathhouses were common sites for an anti-LGBTQ hate crime because victims could more easily be identified as belonging to the LGBTQ community. These theories predict that hate crime is more likely to occur in public locations than general crime.

In recent literature, researchers attempted to disaggregate the motivations behind hate crime. In the examination of anti-LGBTQ hate murder, Kelley and Gruenewald (2015) and Tomsen (2009) argued that while each attack involved the perpetrator's attempt to establish masculinity, two different scenarios were likely. The first anti-LGBTQ hate murder scenario involved predatory attacks, lacking victim provocation. These incidents, similar to the public bias attacks described above by Berk, Boyd, Hamner (1992), Perry (2001), and Stacey (2011), were either carried out to send a message of hatred toward LGBTQ individuals or to target allegedly weak LGBTQ victims for an instrumental purpose. As spreading an anti-LGBTQ message required an audience to view the offense or to join in participating, it was more likely to occur in a public space. Also, an instrumental crime in which the victim was selected for his or her LGBTQ identity, was likely to occur in a public space where strangers came into contact with one another (Kelley & Gruenewald, 2015; Tomsen, 2009). The second anti-LGBTQ

hate murder scenario involved a violent response to a challenge of sexuality. Undesired sexual advances, cases of mistaken gender or sexual identity, or perceptions of wrongdoing on the part of the victim triggered the perpetrator to try and save face and restore his hegemonic masculinity. These attacks, as they involved intimate contact and personal confrontation, were more likely to occur in a private location such as a residence (Kelley & Gruenewald, 2015). The development of two alternate motivations for hate, one public and predatory and one personal and reactive, suggests that the percent of crimes taking place in public may not be as overwhelming as the above earlier developed theories predicted.

Victim/Offender Relationship

Most definitions of hate crime included that the victim was chosen purely based on his or her membership in a particular minority group (Mason, 2005; Medoff, 1999; Perry, 2001). Two explanations of why stranger-perpetrated hate crimes were likely to occur dominate the literature. First, the individual identity of the victim was not significant to the offender. "The victim simply represents the Other in generic terms. That he or she is a member of the hated or demonized group is enough to leave them vulnerable to attack. Further knowledge of their identity, personality, or intent was unnecessary" (Perry, 2001, p. 29). The symbolic status of the victim, not his or her personal identity or relationship to the offender, was important. Franklin (1998) argued that the victim's identity, other than his or her membership in a particular minority group, could be of so little importance that the victim was fundamentally a "dramatic prop" or a "vehicle for ritualized conquest" (p. 12). Second, Berk, Boyd, and Hamner (1992) suggested that preexisting stereotypes dominated the perpetrator's view of the victim.

Without particular information about the victim that contradicted negative stereotypes, it was easier to express hostility and aggression. The victim's humanity and other positive attributes were not acknowledged due to the interpersonal distance between the victim and offender.

Despite the frequent categorization of hate crime as a form of "stranger danger," Mason (2005) asserted that several empirical studies have effectively challenged this conception. Perpetrators may, in fact, be more likely than not to be someone the victim knows (Bowling, 1993; Mason, 1997; Stanko, 2001; Tomsen & Mason, 2001; von Schultess, 1992). Stanko (2001) suggested that conceptualizing hate crime as only motivated by prejudice was misleading. Hate may intersect with social context and interpersonal relationships. "The use of race or homophobic hatred is somehow 'purely' political and discriminatory, uncontaminated by social contexts that may characterize [a] dispute as really about argumentative neighbors than about intolerance toward a person who is racially, ethnically different or different because of sexuality" (Stanko, 2001, p. 322). Hate crime may happen in entirely ordinary situations, distinctly different from the stranger danger scenario, and involving perpetrators the victim knows. Labeling a hate crime offender as a stranger serves to "manage that uncontrollable fear by displacing the figure of the stranger and thereby revaluing it, controlling it, marginalizing it, willing it away" (Moran, 2007, p. 434). Simultaneously, this creates a safe space occupied by known individuals in which the potential victim exists with minimal risk (Moran, 2007; Chakraborti & Garland, 2009).

Regarding anti-LGBTQ hate crimes, research is just as mixed. Several researchers cited strangers as being the primary perpetrators of anti-LGBTQ hate (Berk,

Boyd, & Hamner, 1992; Comstock, 1991; Perry, 2001). However, just as with hate crimes in general, other researchers asserted the role that known offenders can play in perpetrating anti-LGBTQ hate crime. Schoolmates, workmates, relatives, intimates, friends, and acquaintances have all been included in the pool of potential anti-LGBTQ hate offenders.

Opposing views regarding the relationship between a hate crime perpetrator and his or her victim make predictions difficult. While the stranger danger paradigm predicts more unknown perpetrators the theory that hate is likely to occur during routine activities between people who at least vaguely know each other would not predict such a large proportion of unknown perpetrators.

Victim Injury/Medical Attention

Hate crime is frequently described as excessively brutal, inflicting more severe injury and requiring more medical attention than non-bias crime (Berk, Boyd, & Hamner, 1992; Gerstenfeld, 2011; Levin & McDevitt, 1993). Offending in groups, use of weapons, surprising the victim, attacking from behind, and victim vulnerability due to substance use were perpetrator advantages used to guarantee a positive outcome (Bufkin, 2009). Offenders also desired to make a statement by inflicting the greatest harm possible. "The statement appears to be that the offender(s) is a worthy human being, while the victim(s) is not. Through torture, rape, and mutilation, bias crime offenders gain status and prestige. The victim's suffering makes these offenders whole" (Bufkin, 2009, p. 165). Bar-Tal (1989) and Mouzos and Thompson (2000) added that offenders classified the victim as belonging to a group existing outside acceptable norms. As a result, offenders placed blame on the victims for their own victimization. Going even

further, identifying the victim as inhuman made it becomes easier to use excessive or lethal violence. The offending dynamics coupled with perpetrators' desire to negate the existence of the victim suggests that hate crimes will result in more significant victim injury and need for medical attention.

Frequently anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were designated as resulting in the worst physical injuries. The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (1995) found consistent evidence of "rage/hate-fuelled extraordinary violence…such as dismemberment, bodily and genital mutilation, use of multiple weapons, repeated blows from a blunt object, or numerous stab wounds" (p. 18). When an anti-LGBTQ hate crime resulted in death, it consistently involved overkill, with mutilation and/or dismemberment occurring after death (NGLTF, 1995). Appearing as "real men," humiliating, harming, and eliminating a subordinate man accomplished the offender's goal of asserting masculinity and doing gender. Quoting a hospital official in New York City, Berrill (1992) wrote, "attacks against gay men were the most heinous and brutal I encountered…They frequently involve torture, cutting, mutilation, and beating, and showed the absolute intent to rub out the human being because of his [sexual] preference" (p. 25). The desire to display the ultimate masculine identity may prompt excessive violence against non-heterosexual individuals, those that are doing gender incorrectly and whose existence is an affront to the very masculinity so prized by the perpetrators. This unique situation involving a perpetrator seeking to display hegemonic masculinity and a victim who belongs to a subordinate masculine group predicts that anti-LGBTQ hate crime will involve more significant injuries and an increased need for medical attention beyond that of general crime and other types of bias crime.

Crimes Against Persons/Property

Hate crime is more likely to involve violence against persons than property crime, an inverse of general crime. While property crime undoubtedly victimizes members of a minority group through vandalism, arson, or theft, physical violence allows for the offender to better satisfy the goal of displaying masculinity as physicality and aggressiveness are key features of a hegemonic masculine identity. Violent crime also allows the offender to maximize the amount of physical and psychological trauma experienced by the victim (Here, Gillis, & Cogan, 1999).

By physically attacking an anti-LGBTQ victim, hate crime offenders not only send a message that the victim is doing gender incorrectly, it allows for the offender to display his willingness to participate in violence. Similar to the theory behind why anti-LGBTQ hate crimes often result in augmented levels of violence severity, anti-LGBTQ hate offenders are more likely to engage in violent crimes than property crimes as violent crimes offer the opportunity to physically negate the existence of the victim. Furthermore, violence augments the expression of "hostility, condemnation, and disgust toward gay people [that] has the effect of terrorizing the individual victim as well as the entire lesbian and gay community" (Herek, 1992, p. 164). Consequently, hate crimes are more likely than general crimes to involve violence. Anti-LGBTQ hate crimes, in particular, are the most likely to include crimes against persons.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 Research Questions and Methods

Overview

Using four national level datasets, this study investigated two previously overlooked aspects of anti-LGBTQ hate violence: (1) the demographics of the individuals who participate in anti-LGBTQ hate incidents and (2) the situational dynamics of these expressions of anti-LGBTQ bias. This analysis provided a comprehensive picture of anti-LGBTQ offenders and how anti-LGBTQ hate violence transpires. Comparisons were made between the UCR, NIBRS, NCVS, and NCAVP datasets using available and relevant anti-LGBTQ demographic and situational hate violence variables, taking into consideration each dataset's sample size, scope, method of collection, and definition of variables. As three of these datasets also included data for general crime and hate crimes of all motivations (race, religion, ethnicity/nationality, disability, gender, sexual orientation, and gender identity), comparisons were made across these specific crime types. This study provides evidence of both similarities and differences between the perpetrator and situational characteristics of general crime, hate crime, and anti-LGBTQ hate crime. The previously discussed theory served as a framework for reviewing the offending and situational characteristics of anti-LGBTQ hate crime and how they compared to general crime and hate crime.

Research Questions

The current research aimed to address four principal research questions regarding offender demographics and situational dynamics of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes and how these variables compare to other forms of crime:

1. *What are the predominant offender demographic characteristics (race, gender, age, sexual orientation) of perpetrators of anti-LGBTQ hate violence according to four different national crime datasets?*

2. *What are the predominant situational dynamics (offender substance use, number of offenders, victim injury, victim medical attention, crime location, victim/offender relationship, crime type) associated with anti-LGBTQ hate violence according to four different national crime datasets?*

3. *Do the aforementioned datasets present similar or disparate pictures of anti-LGBTQ violence in terms of offender demographics and situational dynamics?*

4. *How do the offender demographics and situational dynamics of anti-LGBTQ hate violence differ from offender demographics and situational dynamics of general crime and from hate violence including all bias motivations?*

Datasets

As mentioned above, empirical studies on anti-LGBTQ hate violence are limited. Despite this lack of research, three major national-level crime datasets administered by the U.S. Department of Justice include variables regarding anti-LGBTQ hate incidents. In addition to government administered measures, the annual nationwide study of anti-LGBTQ hate incidents compiled by the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs is considered to be "the most in-depth information to date on anti-LGBTQ and HIV-affected hate violence available throughout the U.S." (NCAVP, 2015, p. 17). The current study utilized select variables included in these datasets to provide a comprehensive picture of anti-LGBTQ hate violence perpetrator demographics and situational dynamics. The four datasets are: (1) the Uniform Crime Report; (2) the National Incident-Based Reporting System; (3) the National Crime Victimization Survey; and (4) the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Project's Report on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, and HIV-Affected Hate Violence.

Uniform Crime Report (UCR)

The Uniform Crime Report (UCR) is compiled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and includes crimes known to law enforcement. The UCR includes data collected annually from over 18,000 city, university/college, county, state, tribal, and federal law enforcement agencies (FBI, 2015b). The UCR program provides data on eight Part I offenses reported to law enforcement including murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson. Relevant to the aims of this study, in addition to crime type, the UCR presents data on the race of persons arrested for these reported Part I crimes. While

the UCR also contains data on the age and gender of perpetrators, these were not utilized

in the current study since they are not included for hate crimes and anti-LGBTQ hate

crimes. The inability to make comparisons between general crime, hate crime, and anti-

LGBTQ hate crime regarding these attributes made it unnecessary to include in this

project. Since 1990, the UCR has also collected data about crimes motivated by biases

regarding race, gender, gender identity, religion, disability, sexual orientation, and

ethnicity. As the UCR's hate crime data collection was structured akin to the National

Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS), the FBI's other data collection program, it

deviates from UCR's methodology. UCR's hate crime data includes numerous additional

criminal offenses for analysis, detailed below in the discussion of NIBRS data, as well as

the relevant variables of crime location and number of offenders. As the UCR

distinguishes the specific bias motivation behind each hate crime, an analysis of all hate

crimes and anti-LGBTQ hate crimes was conducted.

National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS)

The National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) also consists of crimes

known to law enforcement and is compiled by the FBI. The NIBRS program provides

data on 23 offense categories comprised of 49 specific Group A offenses. As of 2014,

NIBRS collects data on 58 elements, of which several are related to the scope of this

study: offender race, offender gender, offender age, offender substance use, number of

offenders, victim injury, crime location, victim/offender relationship - known/unknown,

victim/offender relationship – known type, and crime type. The integration of law

enforcement reported hate crimes, organized by bias motivation, allowed for the analysis

of hate crimes in general and specifically anti-LGBTQ hate crimes using the same aforementioned variables included in the NIBRS dataset.

The NIBRS dataset included four distinct segments corresponding to different units of analysis: incident-level, victim-level, offender-level, and arrestee-level. In order to completely portray the various characteristics of a criminal incident, multiple segments were merged. The methodology delineated in Messner, McHugh, & Felson (2004) was followed for each of the seven years included in this study.

> To simplify the merging procedure across files, we established a selection criterion for incidents with multiple offenses. Because bias crimes are rare and are central to our analysis, we included all incidents in which bias motivation was identified for any of the offenses associated with that incident, and characterized the incident with reference to the offense involving bias. A given incident that involved more than one bias offense was characterized in terms of the bias offense recorded first in the offense file….Bias and nonbias incidents may of course have multiple victims, all of whom are included in our analyses. (Messner, McHugh, & Felson, 2004, pp. 594-5)

Select victim-level (characteristics about each crime victim) and offender-level (characteristics about each offender) variables were merged with the incident-level file (characteristics about each offense included in the incident).

National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)

The National Crime Victim Survey (NCVS) is a data collection of crime victimization survey results gathered by the Bureau of Justice Statistics. Data is obtained from "a nationally representative sample of about 90,000 households, comprising nearly 160,000 persons, on the frequency, characteristics, and consequences of criminal victimization in the United States" (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2016a, para. 3). Crime data collected by the NCVS included the following relevant variables: offender race,

offender gender, offender age, offender substance use, number of offenders, victim injury, victim medical attention, crime location, victim-offender relationship (known/unknown), known victim-offender relationship type, and crime type. The NCVS included victim reported hate crimes categorized by bias motivation allowing for the analysis of both hate crimes and anti-LGBTQ hate crimes across these perpetrator and situational variables. Relevant variables were obtained from the NCVS's incident-level files from 2007 through 2013.

National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs (NCAVP)

While UCR, NIBRS, and NCVS datasets are frequently utilized in academic research, the data behind the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs' (NCAVP) Report on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, and HIV-Affected Hate Violence had never been released for analysis prior to this study. As this is the first use of NCAVP hate violence data, more information is included about the organization and its collection of data. Since 1998, the NCAVP has issued an annual report on LGBTQ hate violence "to document and raise awareness of the prevalence of this violence, advocate for public policy and funding changes that will increase resources to address LGBTQ violence, and recommend strategies to prevent, respond to, and end this violence" (NCAVP, 2012, para. 4). Each annual NCAVP Hate Violence Report included data collected by NCAVP member and ally organizations during an individual calendar year. The number of contributing organizations varied by year ranging from thirteen to sixteen organizations per year for each year of data included in the current study (see APPENDIX A). Each contributing organization collected information from surviving victims of anti-LGBTQ hate violence. Such information was obtained after the victim contacted the organization

in person, via a telephone hotline, or by filling out a report online. Most of the NCAVP's

member organizations utilized the standard NCAVP Uniform Incident Reporting Form

(see APPENDIX B) to collect data, while the other organizations adapted and

incorporated the NCAVP Uniform Incident Reporting Form into other data collection

systems. NCAVP staff compiled and coded the data submitted by each contributing

organization into SPSS spreadsheets, each containing data for one calendar year. The

NCAVP Uniform Incident Reporting Form included several sections to denote a range of

LGBTQ hate violence offender characteristics. The variables that will be included in this

study are offender race, offender gender, offender age, offender sexual orientation,

offender substance use, number of offenders, victim injury, victim medical attention,

victim-offender relationship (known/unknown), type of known victim-offender

relationship, crime location, and crime type As the NCAVP dataset only included anti-

LGBTQ hate incidents, comparisons could not be made within this source regarding

general crime and hate crimes of other motivations.

3.2 Measurement and Analytical Framework

Years Included

The National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs contributed seven years of

anti-LGBTQ hate incident data ranging from 2007 through 2013. UCR, NIBRS, and

NCVS data was compiled from 2007 through 2013 as well to allow for comparisons

across datasets in the same time frame. The inclusion of seven years of data helped to

increase the sample size of select variables. Sexual orientation and gender identity hate

crimes comprise the second largest bias motivation category at approximately 15-20% of annual hate crime totals, depending on the dataset and its chosen methodology. Even at 15-20% of annual hate crimes, the total number of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes may be small in number. Compiling data for seven years helped to create a large enough sample to be confident in the results of the current analysis.

Variables

Offender demographic variables and situational dynamic variables were selected based on two criteria: (1) theoretical relevance; and (2) inclusion in the NCAVP dataset. While UCR, NIBRS, and NCVS data have been analyzed before in various contexts, this is the first time the NCAVP data has been made available for outside analysis. Since the inception of the NCAVP data collection initiative in 1997, the nationally collected data has only been evaluated in self-published annual reports. These reports offer preliminary descriptive information regarding select variables. Special consideration was given to ensure optimal analysis of this dataset. Consequently, variables were selected from the UCR, NIBRS, and NCVS datasets for inclusion in this study if they were included in the NCAVP dataset. Furthermore, the formation of variable categories in the UCR, NIBRS, and NCVS datasets was dictated by the variable categories utilized in the NCAVP dataset. As this study endeavored to compare offender demographics and situational dynamics within and across datasets, it was important to match variable categories to achieve maximum correspondence.

The following variables were included for analysis in the current study: (1) offender race; (2) offender gender; (3) offender age; (4) offender sexual orientation; (5) offender substance use; (6) number of offenders; (&) victim injury; (8) victim medical

attention; (9) victim/offender relationship – known/unknown; (10) victim/offender relationship – known type; (11) crime location; and (12) crime type. Offender race, offender gender, offender sexual orientation, offender substance use, crime location, victim/offender relationship – known/unknown, victim/offender relationship – known type, victim injury, victim medical attention, and crime type were nominal in each dataset. Offender age was a ratio variable in the NIBRS dataset, but was ordinal in the NCVS and NCAVP datasets. Number of offenders was a ratio variable in the UCR, NIBRS, and NCVS datasets, but was ordinal in the NCAVP dataset.

Offender Demographic Variables

Table 1: Offender race variable categories

Offender Race				
	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
White	White	White	White	White
				Arab/Middle Eastern
				Latino*
Black	Black	Black	Black	Black/African American
				Latino*
Other	American Indian or Alaska Native	American Indian or Alaska Native	American Indian or Alaska Native	Native American/American Indian/Indigenous
	Asian	Asian	Asian	Asian/Pacific Islander
	Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	Other

In the NCAVP dataset, Latinos were included as a separate category. According to 2010 US Census Data, 53.0% of Latinos identify as white, 2.5% identify as black, and 36.7% identify as other (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011). Instead of excluding this category, the offenders identified as Latinos were reassigned to other racial categories based upon the US Census Data. Fifty three percent of the Latino offenders were reclassified as white, 2.5% were reclassified as black, and 36.7% were reclassified as other. In the UCR dataset, multiracial groups were excluded from analysis. For each year of the NCVS dataset, three variables were combined to reach a total race category number: (1) single offender race; (2) multiple offender race; and (3) multiple offenders race of most.

Table 2: Offender gender variable categories

Offender Gender				
	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
Male	Male	Male	Male	Male
Female	Female	Female	Female	Female

For each year of the NCVS dataset, three variables were combined to reach a total gender category number: (1) single offender sex; (2) multiple offenders sex; and (3) multiple offenders mostly male or female.

Table 3: Offender age variable categories

Offender Age				
	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
≤ 18*		1 - 18	Under 12	14 or under
			12 - 14	15 - 18
			15 - 17	
19 - 29*		19 - 29	18 - 20	19 - 29
			20 - 29	
≥ 30		30 - 98	≥ 30	30 - 39
		Over 98		40 - 49
				50 - 59
				60 - 69
				70 - 79
				80 and over

The NCVS dataset included age groups that did not match exactly with the categories used in this study. Instead of ≤ 18, the first category was ≤ 17, comprised of three age groups (under 12, 12 - 14, and 15 - 17) and instead of 19 - 29, the second category was 18 - 29, comprised of two age groups (18 - 20 and 20 - 29). The use of these age categories prohibited the exact matching of NCVS ages to the other three datasets. For each year of the NCVS dataset, three variables were combined to reach a total age category number: (1) single offender age; (2) multiple offenders age of youngest; and (3) multiple offenders age of oldest.

Table 4: Offender sexual orientation variable categories

Offender Sexual Orientation				
	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
Heterosexual				Heterosexual
Non-Heterosexual				Bisexual
				Gay
				Lesbian
				Queer
				Questioning/Unsure
				Self-Identified

The only dataset that included offender sexual orientation was the NCAVP. Consequently, this variable was only used to illustrate the extent of heterosexual and non-heterosexual perpetrated anti-LGBTQ hate. Comparisons between datasets and within datasets were not possible. However, as no other known study has empirically examined offender sexual orientation in the context of anti-LGBTQ hate crime, it was included in the present study and can offer great insight into the dynamics of anti-LGBTQ offending.

Situational Dynamic Variables

Table 5: Offender substance use variable categories

Offender Substance Use				
	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
Yes		Alcohol	Yes	Yes
		Drugs/Narcotics		
No		No	No	No

For each year of the NCVS dataset, two variables were combined to reach a total substance use category number: (1) single offender drinking/drugs; and (2) multiple offenders drinking/drugs. For each year of the NIBRS dataset, three variables were used to create the substance use variable: (1) offender(s) suspected of using 1; (2) offenders(s) suspected of using 2; and (3) offender(s) suspected of using 3. Each variable denoted whether an offender was suspected of using alcohol, drugs/narcotics, or computer equipment. Computer use was not utilized in the current study.

Table 6: Number of offenders variable categories

Number of Offenders				
	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
1	1	1	1	1
≥ 2	≥ 2	≥ 2	≥ 2	2 - 4 / 2 - 5
				5 - 9 / 6 - 9
				≥ 10

The number of offenders variable contained three categories in the NCAVP

dataset. Some years utilized the categories 2 - 4, 5 - 9, and ≥ 10, while others used the

categories 2 - 5, 6 - 9, and ≥ 10. This inconsistency prompted the ultimate number of

offenders categories to be 1 and ≥ 2, to ensure that data was combined accurately.

Table 7: Crime location variable categories

Crime Location				
	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
Residence	Residence / Home	Residence / Home	In respondent's own home or lodging	Private residence
	Shelter - Mission/Homeless	Shelter - Mission/Homeless	Near own home	Shelter
			Friend's / relative's / neighbor's home	
Commercial	Amusement park	Amusement park	Commercial space	LGBTQ venue
	Arena / Stadium / Fairgrounds / Coliseum	Arena / Stadium / Fairgrounds / Coliseum		Non-LGBTQ venue
	ATM separate from bank	ATM separate from bank		Workplace
	Auto dealership new / used	Auto dealership new / used		
	Daycare facility	Daycare facility		
	Gambling facility / Casino / Race track	Gambling facility / Casino / Race track		
	Bank / Savings and loan	Bank / Savings and loan		
	Bar / Nightclub	Bar / Nightclub		
	Commercial / Office building	Commercial / Office building		
	Convenience store	Convenience store		
	Department store /	Department store /		

Crime Location				
	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
	Discount store	Discount store		
	Drug store / Doctors office / Hospital	Drug store / Doctors office / Hospital		
	Grocery / Supermarket	Grocery / Supermarket		
	Hotel / Motel	Hotel / Motel		
	Liquor store	Liquor store		
	Rental storage	Rental storage		
	Restaurant	Restaurant		
	Service station	Service station		
	Specialty store	Specialty store		
	Farm facility	Farm facility		
	Industrial site	Industrial site		
	Shopping mall	Shopping mall		
Open space	Abandoned / Condemned structure	Abandoned / Condemned structure	Parking lot / Garages	Cruising area
	Camp / Campground	Camp / Campground	Open areas, on street or public transportation	Street
	Park / Playground	Park / Playground		Public transportation
	Rest area	Rest area		Parade / Rally
	Parking lot / Garage	Parking lot / Garage		
	Highway / Road / Alley / Street / Sidewalk	Highway / Road / Alley / Street / Sidewalk		
	Air / Bus / Train terminal	Air / Bus / Train terminal		
	Field / Woods	Field / Woods		
	Construction site	Construction site		
	Lake / Waterway	Lake / Waterway		
	Dock / Wharf / Freight terminal	Dock / Wharf / Freight terminal		
School	School / College	School / College	School	School
	School - College / University	School - College / University		
	School - Elementary / Secondary	School - Elementary / Secondary		
Other	Church /	Church /	Other	Police

Crime Location				
	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
	Synagogue / Temple	Synagogue / Temple		custody
	Government / Public building	Government / Public building		Other
	Military installation	Military installation		
	Jail / Prison	Jail / Prison		
	Tribal lands	Tribal lands		
	Community center	Community center		
	Other	Other		

Table 8: Victim / Offender relationship - Known / Unknown variable categories

V/O - Known / Unknown				
	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
Known		Known	Known	Known
Unknown		Unknown	Unknown	Unknown

For each year of the NCVS dataset, two variables were combined to reach a total victim/offender relationship - known/unknown category number: (1) single offender stranger; and (2) multiple offenders all strangers. For the latter variable, only those cases that selected the "all known" and "all strangers" options were included in the analysis. Groups of offenders comprised of some known offenders and some unknown offenders were excluded from the present study. For each year of the NIBRS dataset, the dataset included ten variables to denote the relationship between the victim and each offender. Each of these ten variables was coded denoting that the victim and one of his or her offenders were strangers. The total number of unknown offenders was calculated by adding together the number of strangers listed for each variable.

Table 9: Victim / Offender relationship - Known type variable categories

Known Type				
	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
Family		Parent	Parent or step-parent	Relative / Family
		Child	Own child or step-child	
		Sibling	Brother / Sister	
		Grandparent	Other relative	
		Grandchild		
		In-law		
		Step-parent		
		Step-child		
		Other family		
		Child of boy / girlfriend		
Intimate		Spouse	Spouse at time of incident	Ex-Lover
		Common-law spouse	Ex-spouse at time of incident	Lover / Partner
		Ex-spouse	Boyfriend / Girlfriend	Pick-up
		Boyfriend / Girlfriend	Ex-boyfriend / Ex-girlfriend	
		Homosexual relationship		
Acquaintance		Friend	Roommate or border	Acquaintance / Friend
		Neighbor	Schoolmate	Employer / Co-worker
		Babysitter	Neighbor	Landlord / Tenant / Neighbor
		Employee	Customer / Client	Law enforcement
		Employer	Other nonrelative	Roommate
		Other	Patient	Security
			Supervisor	Service provider
			Employee	Other
			Coworker	
			School staff	

For each year of the NCVS dataset, two variables were combined to reach a total known victim/offender relationship type category number: (1) how did respondent know offender; and (2) relation to multiple offenders. As mentioned above, for each year of the NIBRS dataset, the dataset included ten variables to denote the relationship between the victim and each offender. All relationships were included in the present study, summing together these ten variables to form the total number of each known victim/offender relationship type.

Table 10: Victim injury variable categories

Victim Injury				
	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
Yes		Apparent broken bones	Rape injuries	Yes
		Possible internal injury	Attempted rape injuries	
		Severe laceration	Sexual assault injuries	
		Apparent minor injury	Knife, stab wounds	
		Other major injury	Gun shot, bullet wounds	
		Loss of teeth	Broken bones or teeth	
		Unconsciousness	Internal injuries	
			Knocked unconscious	
			Bruises, cuts	
			Other injuries	
No		No	No	No

Table 11: Victim medical attention variable categories

Victim Medical Attention				
	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
Yes			Yes	Yes
No			No	No

Table 12: Crime type variable categories

Crime Type				
	UCR*	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
Crimes Against Persons	Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter	Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter	Completed rape	Murder
	Negligent manslaughter	Negligent manslaughter	Attempted rape	Attempted murder
	Kidnapping / Abduction	Kidnapping / Abduction	Sexual attack with serious assault	Physical violence
	Forcible rape	Forcible rape	Sexual attack with minor assault	Attempted physical violence
	Forcible sodomy	Forcible sodomy	Completed robbery with injury from serious assault	Robbery
	Sexual assault with object	Sexual assault with object	Completed robbery with injury from minor assault	Attempted robbery
	Forcible fondling	Forcible fondling	Attempted robbery with injury from serious assault	Sexual violence
	Aggravated assault	Aggravated assault	Attempted robbery with injury from minor assault	Attempted sexual violence
	Simple assault	Simple assault	Attempted	Drugging

Crime Type				
	UCR*	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
			robbery without injury	
	Intimidation	Intimidation	Completed aggravated assault with injury	Threats
	Incest	Incest	Attempted aggravated assault with weapon	
	Statutory rape	Statutory rape	Threatened assault with weapon	
	Robbery**	Robbery**	Simple assault completed with injury	
			Sexual assault without injury	
			Unwanted sexual contact without force	
			Assault without weapon without injury	
			Verbal threat of rape	
			Verbal threat of sexual assault	
			Verbal threat of assault	
Crimes Against Property	Burglary / Breaking and entering	Burglary / Breaking and entering	Completed purse snatching	Extortion / Blackmail
	Pocket-picking	Pocket-picking	Attempted purse snatching	Arson
	Purse-snatching	Purse-snatching	Pocket picking	Theft
	Theft from building	Theft from building	Completed burglary, forcible entry	Vandalism
	Theft from coin operated machine or device	Theft from coin operated machine or device	Completed burglary, unlawful entry without force	Other property violence
	Theft from	Theft from	Attempted	

Crime Type				
	UCR*	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
	motor vehicle	motor vehicle	forcible entry	
	Theft of motor vehicle parts	Theft of motor vehicle parts	Completed motor vehicle theft	
	All other larceny	All other larceny	Attempted motor vehicle theft	
	Counterfeit / Forgery	Counterfeit / Forgery	Completed theft less than $10	
	False pretenses / Swindle / Confidence game	False pretenses / Swindle / Confidence game	Completed theft $10 - $49	
	Credit card / ATM fraud	Credit card / ATM fraud	Completed theft $50 - $249	
	Impersonation	Impersonation	Completed theft $250 or greater	
	Welfare fraud	Welfare fraud	Completed theft value NA	
	Wire fraud	Wire fraud	Attempted theft	
	Embezzlement	Embezzlement		
	Stolen property offenses	Stolen property offenses		
	Arson	Arson		
	Destruction / Damage / Vandalism	Destruction / Damage / Vandalism		
	Extortion / Blackmail	Extortion / Blackmail		
	Bribery	Bribery		
Crimes Against Society	Drug / Narcotic violations	Drug / Narcotic violations		
	Drug equipment violations	Drug equipment violations		
	Prostitution	Prostitution		
	Pornography / Obscene material	Pornography / Obscene material		
	Betting / Wagering	Betting / Wagering		
	Operating / Promoting / Assisting	Operating / Promoting / Assisting		

Crime Type				
	UCR*	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
	gambling	gambling		
	Gambling equipment violations	Gambling equipment violations		
	Sports tampering	Sports tampering		
	Assisting / Promoting prostitution	Assisting / Promoting prostitution		
	Purchasing prostitution	Purchasing prostitution		
	Weapon law violation	Weapon law violation		
Discrimination				General discrimination
				Housing discrimination
				Financial discrimination
				Employment discrimination
				Medical discrimination
				Sexual discrimination

Several clarifications need to be made regarding the crime type variable. First, as robbery was considered a crime against persons in the NCVS and NCAVP datasets, it was coded as such in the UCR and NIBRS datasets, despite being classified as a crime against property in their own methodologies. Crimes against society were included in the UCR and NIBRS datasets, but not in the NCVS and NCAVP datasets, as these were victimization surveys, not law enforcement reported data. The NCAVP dataset included incidents that were discriminatory in nature, but were not included in the other three datasets. Consequently, crimes against society and incidents of discrimination were

excluded for a cross-dataset comparison of crime type. However, crimes against society and discrimination were not excluded from the analysis as a whole. Their inclusion was taken into consideration during the data analysis portion of the project. Having crimes against society and incidents of discrimination included in only one dataset each presented a potential issue for comparison across datasets.

Analytical Framework

The descriptive portion of this study utilized three crime type categories: general crime, hate crime, and anti-LGBTQ hate crime. As hate crime is a form of general crime, incidents of hate crime were included in the general crime category. As anti-LGBTQ hate crime is a form of hate crime, incidents of anti-LGBTQ hate crime were included in the hate crime category. Proportions of offender demographic and situational dynamic characteristics were calculated based on these crime types.

Since all variables in the current study were categorical, chi-square tests were appropriate to elucidate the statistical significance of the relationship between crime type (general crime, hate crime, and anti-LGBTQ hate crime) and each offender demographic and situational dynamic variable (offender race, offender gender, offender age, offender substance use, number of offenders, victim injury, victim medical attention, crime location, victim/offender relationship: known/unknown, victim/offender relationship: known type, and crimes against persons/property). In order to conduct these tests of statistical significance, the crime type categories had to be modified. Each crime type needed to be coded based on its membership to one crime type category (general crime = 1, hate crime = 2, and anti-LGBTQ hate crime = 3). However, despite the membership of

hate crimes to both groups 1 (general crime) and 2 (hate crime) according to the definitions utilized in the descriptive portion of this study, they could only be included in one crime type category for this analysis. Hate crimes, therefore, were coded as belonging to group 2 (hate crime) and were excluded from group 1 (general crime). Similarly, anti-LGBTQ hate crimes belonged to both group 2 (hate crime) and group 3 (anti-LGBTQ hate crime) according to the definitions utilized in the descriptive portion of this study. Anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were coded as belonging to group 3 (anti-LGBTQ hate crimes) and were excluded from group 2 (hate crime). Since anti-LGBTQ hate crimes comprised a minor portion of the hate crime group (15.35%, 16.78%, and 19.43%) and hate crimes comprised an even smaller portion of the general crime group (0.05%, 0.06%, and 1.39%), it was unlikely that these nested subgroups drove the higher-order group they were removed from. Even though removing hate crimes from the general crime type category and anti-LGBTQ hate crime category created different groups than the descriptive analysis, forming distinct crime type categories was necessary to conduct the chi-square analyses and likely resulted in minimal divergence.

Chapter 4

4.1 Data Analysis and Results

Crime Category Totals

From 2007-2013, the UCR recorded 73,774,079 Part I Offenses, NIBRS recorded 43,004,865 Group A Offenses, and NCVS recorded 60,109 criminal victimizations. During this same time frame, the UCR recorded 47,399 hate crimes, NIBRS recorded 21,555 hate crimes, and NCVS recorded 834 criminal victimizations identified as hate crimes. When these hate incidents were classified by bias motivation, the UCR recorded 9,209 anti-LGBTQ hate crimes, NIBRS recorded 3,618 anti-LGBTQ hate crimes, NCVS recorded 128 anti-LGBTQ hate victimizations, and NCAVP recorded 17,999 anti-LGBTQ hate victimizations. General crime and hate crime totals are absent for the NCAVP dataset as it only included anti-LGBTQ hate incidents.

Table 13: Crime Category Totals

	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
General Crime	73,774,079	43,004,865	60,109	NA
Hate Crime	47,399	21,555	834	NA
Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime	9,209	3,618	128	17,999

(see APPENDIX C for comparison charts)

Offender Race

Table 14: Offender Race

	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
General Crime	N = 70,092,217	N = 25,147,943	N = 14,229	
White	69.28%	64.62%	62.93%	
Black	28.22%	33.80%	29.51%	
Other	2.50%	1.58%	7.55%	
Hate Crime	N = 26,150	N = 11,585	N = 591	
White	74.58%	66.82%	51.27%	
Black	23.06%	31.83%	38.41%	
Other	2.37%	1.36%	10.32%	
Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime	N = 5,883	N = 1,982	N = 92	N = 4,326
White	65.58%	67.81%	66.30%	60.38%
Black	32.31%	30.68%	25.00%	37.39%
Other	2.16%	1.51%	8.70%	2.23%

Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime Profile

All four datasets yielded somewhat similar results regarding the racial

composition of anti-LGBTQ hate offenders. White individuals comprised 65.58% of

UCR, 67.81% of NIBRS, 66.30% of NCVS, and 60.38% of NCAVP anti-LGBTQ hate

offenders. Black individuals comprised 32.31% of UCR, 30.68% of NIBRS, 25.00% of

NCVS, and 37.39% of NCAVP anti-LGBTQ hate offenders. Individuals belonging to

other racial categories comprised 2.16% of UCR, 1.51% of NIBRS, 8.70% of NCVS, and

2.23% of NCAVP anti-LGBTQ hate offenders.

Crime Category Comparison

The racial composition of offenders included in the UCR general crime dataset consisted of 69.28% white offenders, 28.22% black offenders, and 2.50% other race offenders. The racial composition of offenders included in the NIBRS general crime dataset consisted of 64.62% white offenders, 33.80% black offenders, and 1.58% other race offenders. The racial composition of offenders included in the NCVS general crime dataset consisted of 62.93% white offenders, 29.51% black offenders, and 7.55% other race offenders.

Chi-square analyses revealed that the relationship between offender race and crime type within the UCR, NIBRS, and NCVS datasets were statistically significant (UCR: χ^2 (4, N = 70,093,498) = 161.749, p < .001, NIBRS: χ^2 (4, N = 24,019,593) = 32.664, p < .001, NCVS: χ^2 (4, N = 13,056) = 70.00, p < .001). See APPENDIX D for all chi-square results regarding the relationship between crime type and offender demographic/situational dynamic variables within each dataset.   Despite this significance, there was no consistent directional trend evident throughout the three datasets. In the UCR dataset, white offenders constituted 65.58% of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders, less than the 69.28% of white general crime offenders and the 74.58% of white hate crime offenders. In the NIBRS dataset, white offenders constituted 67.81% of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders, more than the 64.62% of white general crime offenders and the 66.82% of white hate crime offenders. In the NCVS dataset, white offenders constituted 66.30% of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders, more than the 62.93% of white general crime offenders and considerably more than the 51.27% of white hate crime offenders. Based on the data gathered from the UCR, NIBRS, and

NCVS for general crime, hate crime, and anti-LGBTQ hate crime, there is no clear
pattern across crime type with regards to offender race.

Offender Gender

Table 15: Offender Gender

	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
General Crime		N = 25,950,615	N = 14,716	
Male		72.82%	77.67%	
Female		27.18%	22.33%	
Hate Crime		N = 11,976	N = 602	
Male		73.38%	78.57%	
Female		26.62%	21.43%	
Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime		N = 2,039	N = 102	N = 7,550
Male		73.32%	78.43%	78.16%
Female		26.68%	21.57%	21.84%

Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime Profile

The NIBRS, NCVS, and NCAVP datasets presented similar pictures regarding the
gender of anti-LGBTQ hate perpetrators. NIBRS documented 73.32% male offenders
and 26.68% female offenders, NCVS documented 78.43% male offenders and 21.57%
female offenders, and NCAVP documented 78.16% male offenders and 21.84% female
offenders. The UCR did not collect data on offender gender regarding hate crime
victimization.

Crime Category Comparison

The gender composition of offenders remained remarkably consistent across the
three crime categories in the NIBRS and NCVS datasets. In the NIBRS data set, males
comprised 72.82% of general crime offenders, 73.38% of hate crime offenders, and

73.32% of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders. In the NCVS dataset, males comprised 77.67% of general crime offenders, 78.57% of hate crime offenders, and 78.43% of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders. The percentages of male general crime, hate crime, and anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders were within 0.5% of each other in the NIBRS dataset and 1.0% in the NCVS dataset. Chi-square analyses revealed that the relationship between offender gender and crime type within the NIBRS and NCVS datasets were not statistically significant (NIBRS: χ^2 (2, $N = 24,795,587$) = 3.164, $p = .21$, NCVS: χ^2 (2, $N = 14,668$) = 70.00, $p = .24$).

Offender Age

Table 16: Offender Age

	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
General Crime		N = 24,593,213	N = 16,191	
≤ 18		20.64%	22.89%	
19 - 29		39.10%	41.46%	
≥ 30		40.27%	35.65%	
Hate Crime		N = 11,393	N = 751	
≤ 18		20.62%	24.63%	
19 - 29		38.76%	39.68%	
≥ 30		40.62%	35.69%	
Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime		N = 1,932	N = 111	N = 3,954
≤ 18		21.43%	18.02%	18.76%
19 - 29		37.78%	46.85%	38.25%
≥ 30		40.79%	35.14%	42.99%

Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime Profile

The NIBRS, NCVS, and NCAVP datasets were again somewhat consistent with each other, this time in their depiction of the age of anti-LGBTQ hate offenders. Offenders 18 years of age and younger (17 and younger for NCVS) comprised the

smallest portion of anti-LGBTQ offenders at 21.43% of NIBRS anti-LGBTQ hate offenders, 18.02% of NCVS anti-LGBTQ hate offenders, and 18.87% of NCAVP anti-LGBTQ hate offenders. NIBRS reported that 37.78% of anti-LGBTQ offenders are between the ages of 19 and 29, while NCVS (ages 18-29) reported 46.85% and NCAVP reported 38.25%. Regarding offenders 30 years of age and older, NIBRS, NCVS, and NCAVP reported 40.79%, 35.14%, and 42.99%, respectively.

Crime Category Comparison

The NIBRS dataset documented consistent proportions of offender age groups across general crime, hate crime, and anti-LGBTQ hate crime. Regarding general crime, NIBRS found 20.64% of offenders were 18 years of age and younger, 39.10% were between the ages of 19 and 20, and 40.27% of offenders were 30 years of age and older. For hate crime and anti-LGBTQ hate crime, these numbers stayed relatively the same with 20.62% and 21.43% of offenders 18 years of age and younger, 38.76% and 37.78% of offenders between the ages of 19 and 29, and 40.62% and 40.79% of offenders 30 years of age and older. The age profiles of hate crime offenders and anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders were equivalent to the age profile of general crime offenders in the NIBRS dataset. A chi-square analysis revealed that the relationship between offender gender and crime type within the NIBRS dataset was not statistically significant (NIBRS: χ^2 (4, $N = 24{,}196{,}678$) = 1.20, $p = .88$). The NCVS dataset showed a minimal amount of fluctuation with offenders age 17 and younger comprising 22.89%, 24.63%, and 18.02% of offenders of general crime, hate crime, and anti-LGBTQ hate crime. Offenders between the ages of 18 and 29 comprised 41.46%, 39.68%, and 46.85% of offenders while offenders 30 years of age and older comprised 35.65%, 35.69%, and 35.14% of

offenders. <mark>Despite these slight differences, a chi-square analysis revealed that the relationship between offender gender and crime type within the NCVS dataset was also not statistically significant (NCVS: χ^2 (4, N = 12,812) = 9.41, p = .05).</mark>

Offender Sexual Orientation

Table 17: Offender Sexual Orientation

	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
General Crime				
Heterosexual				
Non-Heterosexual				
Hate Crime				
Heterosexual				
Non-Heterosexual				
Anti-LGBTQ				N = 754
Hate Crime				
Heterosexual				79.97%
Non-Heterosexual				20.03%

Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime Profile

Only the NCAVP dataset included information about the offender's sexual orientation. Of the 754 anti-LGBTQ hate crimes in which the victim was able to report his or her offender's sexual orientation, 79.97% indicated that the offender was heterosexual. The remaining 20.03% were identified as gay, lesbian, bisexual, queer, questioning/unsure, or self-identifying. Coinciding with the previous conclusion regarding the majority of male offenders, the majority of non-heterosexual offenders were identified as gay. The NCAVP reported smaller proportions of bisexual and lesbian offenders and very few offenders identified as queer, questioning/unsure, or self-identifying.

Offender Substance Use

Table 18: Offender Substance Use

	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
General Crime		N = 39,442,390	N = 8,020	
Yes		9.51%	48.68%	
No		90.49%	51.32%	
Hate Crime		N = 19,911	N = 316	
Yes		11.41%	60.13%	
No		88.59%	39.87%	
Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime		N = 3,346	N = 54	N = 168
Yes		13.36%	83.33%	19.05%
No		86.64%	16.67%	80.95%

Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime Profile

  The percentages calculated regarding substance use did not present a uniform

picture on the extent of perpetrator substance use before the commission of an act of anti-

LGBTQ hate. While the NIBRS and NCAVP datasets revealed a somewhat similar

breakdown of 13.36% and 19.05% of offenders identified as being under the influence of

a substance during an anti-LGBTQ attack, the NCVS shows an alarming 83.33% of

offenders were identified as being under the influence. The number of cases in the

NCVS dataset in which an anti-LGBTQ hate crime victim reported whether the offender

used substances prior to the incident was relatively small at 54. This may be responsible

for the skewed results, but further investigation is needed to make a more substantial

conclusion.

Crime Category Comparison

Chi-square analyses revealed that the relationship between offender substance use and crime type within the NIBRS and NCVS datasets were statistically significant (NIBRS: χ^2 (2, N = 39,544,686) = 84.35, p < .001, NCVS: χ^2 (2, N = 8,773) = 34.06, p < .001). Both the NIBRS and NCVS datasets, while showing disparate representations of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offender substance use, showed the same offender substance use trends across general crime, hate crime, and anti-LGBTQ hate crime. The NIBRS dataset showed that 9.51% of general crime offenders, 11.41% of hate crime offenders, and 13.36% of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders used substances prior to the incident. The NCVS dataset showed that 48.68% of general crime offenders, 60.13% of hate crime offenders, and 83.33% of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders used substances prior to the incident. While these findings show a considerably dissimilar picture of substance use among offenders of general crime (9.51% vs. 48.68%), hate crime (11.41% vs. 60.13%), and anti-LGBTQ hate crime (13.36% vs. 83.33%), they both show increased offender use of substances among hate crime offenders and even more so among anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders.

Number of Offenders

Table 19: Number of Offenders

	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
General Crime		N = 28,474,213	N = 15,566	
1		79.76%	81.48%	
2+		20.24%	18.52%	
Hate Crime	N = 31,356	N = 13,522	N = 599	
1	75.11%	79.69%	63.44%	
2+	24.89%	20.31%	36.56%	
Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime	N = 7,001	N = 2,290	N = 88	N = 4,253
1	70.46%	81.05%	57.95%	73.38%
2+	29.54%	18.95%	42.05%	26.62%

Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime Profile

All four datasets included information regarding the number of offenders

responsible for perpetrating each anti-LGBTQ hate crime. The UCR, NIBRS, NCVS,

and NCAVP found that 70.46%, 81.05%, 57.95%, and 73.38% of anti-LGBTQ hate

incidents were perpetrated by only one offender. The remaining 29.54%, 18.95%,

42.05%, and 26.62% of anti-LGBTQ hate incidents were perpetrated by two or more

offenders. The four datasets showed significant variation between the number of single

offender and multiple offender anti-LGBTQ hate crimes. NIBRS reported the highest

number of single offender anti-LGBTQ hate crimes at 81.05% and the lowest number of

multiple offender anti-LGBTQ hate crimes at 18.95%. Conversely, the NCVS reported

the lowest number of single offender anti-LGBTQ hate crimes at 57.95% and the highest

number of multiple offender anti-LGBTQ hate crimes at 42.05%. These two datasets

diverged by a significant 23.1%. Of note, while the NCVS dataset did reveal a sizable

portion of multiple perpetrator anti-LGBTQ hate crimes, the sample size for this crime

category was considerably smaller than the other datasets at only 88.

Crime Category Comparison

The NIBRS dataset indicated that 79.76% of general crimes, 79.69% of hate

crimes, and 81.05% of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes involved one offender and 20.24%,

20.31%, and 18.95% involved two or more offenders. A chi-square analysis revealed

that the relationship between number of offenders and crime type within the NIBRS

dataset was not statistically significant (NIBRS: χ^2 (2, N = 28,364,905) = 3.95, p = .14).

However, chi-square analyses revealed that the relationship between number of offenders

and crime type within the UCR and NCVS datasets were statistically significant (UCR:

UCR: χ^2 (1, N = 31,356) = 104.27, p < .001, NCVS: χ^2 (2, N = 15,727) = 112.15, p <

.001). Regarding hate crimes, the UCR found 75.11% were perpetrated by one offender

and 24.89% were perpetrated by two or more offenders, while 70.46% of anti-LGBTQ

hate crimes were perpetrated by one offender and 29.54% were perpetrated by two or

more offenders. The UCR only included a co-offending variable in its collection of hate

crime information, making the number of offenders of general crime unavailable for

analysis. The NCVS found 81.48% of general crimes, 63.44% of hate crimes, and

57.95% of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were perpetrated by one offender, while 18.52% of

general crimes, 36.56% of hate crimes, and 42.05% of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were

perpetrated by two or more offenders. As compared to hate crime, the UCR shows an

increase in the number of multiple perpetrator anti-LGBTQ hate crimes. Similarly, the

NCVS shows that multiple perpetrators were involved in a higher percentage of hate

crimes than general crimes, and even more anti-LGBTQ hate crimes. While the number

of hate crimes and anti-LGBTQ hate crimes committed by multiple perpetrators did not
constitute the predicted majority, these two datasets showed that anti-LGBTQ hate crimes
were more likely to involve multiple perpetrators than hate crimes and general crimes.

Injury/Medical Attention

Table 20: Victim Injury

	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
General Crime		N = 1,154,074	N = 4,970	
Yes		48.45%	56.76%	
No		51.55%	43.24%	
Hate Crime		N = 3,943	N = 408	
Yes		49.43%	61.03%	
No		50.57%	38.98%	
Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime		N = 648	N = 26	N = 7,191
Yes		52.16%	57.68%	34.43%
No		47.84%	42.32%	65.57%

Table 21: Victim Medical Attention

	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
General Crime			N = 2,821	
Yes			43.64%	
No			56.36%	
Hate Crime			N = 259	
Yes			50.19%	
No			49.81%	
Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime			N = 15	N = 4,003
Yes			60.00%	30.60%
No			40.00%	69.40%

Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime Profile

All three datasets that included victim injury and the two that included medical attention information showed a significant portion of anti-LGBTQ victims experienced an injury and sought medical treatment. The NIBRS, NCVS, and NCAVP indicated 52.16%, 57.68%, and 34.43% of anti-LGBTQ crimes resulted in some form of injury. NCVS and NCAVP data indicated that 60.00% and 30.60% of victims required either outpatient or inpatient medical attention.

Crime Category Comparison

While injury data gathered from the NIBRS dataset showed that slightly more injuries occurred to anti-LGBTQ hate crime victims (52.16%) than hate crime victims (49.43%) and general crime victims (48.45%), the relationship between injury and crime type in the NIBRS dataset was not statistically significant (NIBRS: χ^2 (2, $N = 8,188,435$) $= 2.54$, $p = .28$). The NCVS dataset showed that hate crime victims (61.03%) had more injuries than general crime victims (56.76%) and that the percentage of anti-LGBTQ hate crime victims (57.68%) with injuries was slightly higher than general crime victims (56.76%), but lower than hate crime victims (61.03%). However, despite these small differences, the relationship between injury and crime type in the NCVS dataset was also not statistically significant (NCVS: χ^2 (2, $N = 4,970$) $= .24$, $p = .89$). Again, these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the small sample size of anti-LGBTQ hate crime victims in the NCVS dataset.

The NCVS dataset was the only national measure to include victim medical attention for general crime, hate crime, and anti-LGBTQ hate crime. While the NCVS data showed that general crime resulted in 43.64% of victims seeking medical attention, hate crime resulted in 50.19% of victims seeking medical attention and anti-LGBTQ hate

crime resulted in 60.00% of victims seeking medical attention, the relationship between medical attention and crime type was not statistically significant (NCVS: χ^2 (2, $N =$ 2,821) = 1.64, $p =$ .44).

Crime Location

Table 22: Crime Location

	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
General Crime		N = 36,741,116	N = 60,109	
Residence		47.52%	66.31%	
Commercial		21.06%	6.08%	
Open Space		26.44%	15.44%	
School		3.23%	6.99%	
Other		1.75%	5.18%	
Hate Crime	N = 13,575	N = 18,699	N = 821	
Residence	36.36%	38.21%	47.87%	
Commercial	12.01%	16.16%	9.38%	
Open Space	31.34%	29.34%	24.00%	
School	13.22%	10.03%	11.21%	
Other	7.07%	6.26%	7.55%	
Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime	N = 8,161	N = 3,157	N = 128	N = 8,295
Residence	36.45%	40.26%	50.00%	33.39%
Commercial	14.23%	16.85%	9.38%	21.53%
Open Space	36.31%	31.61%	28.13%	27.45%
School	10.53%	8.93%	8.59%	8.04%
Other	2.49%	2.34%	3.91%	9.58%

Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime Profile

All four datasets presented relatively analogous information regarding anti-LGBTQ crime location. Each dataset indicated that the most amount of anti-LGBTQ hate crime occurred in residential settings and in open spaces such as streets, sidewalks, and parking lots. The UCR, NIBRS, NCVS, and NCAVP reported 36.45%, 40.26%, 50.00%, and 33.39% of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes occurred in the victim's home or someone else's home. An additional 36.31%, 31.61%, 28.13%, and 27.45% occurred in open spaces. The third most likely location for anti-LGBTQ crime was commercial locations. Smaller percentages occurred at schools and in other location such as government buildings, religious sites, and in law enforcement custody.

Crime Category Comparison

Both the NIBRS and NCVS datasets included crime location information for all three crime categories, while the UCR included crime location for the hate crime and anti-LGBTQ hate crime categories. All three datasets yielded statistically significant relationships between crime type and crime location (UCR: χ^2 (4, $N = 13,575$) = 965.94, $p < .001$, NIBRS: χ^2 (8, $N = 44,629,351$) = 3,450,82, $p < .001$, NCVS: χ^2 (8, $N = 60,109$) =130.02, $p < .001$). The most substantial trend was the increased number of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes occurring in open spaces such as streets, sidewalks, parks, and parking facilities. UCR documented 31.34% of hate crimes and 36.31% occurring in open spaces. NIBRS documented crime in open spaces occurring in 26.44% of general crime, 29.34% of hate crime, and 31.61% of anti-LGBTQ hate crime. NCVS documented crime in open spaces occurring in 15.44% of general crime, 24.00% of hate crime, and 28.13% of anti-LGBTQ hate crime.

Victim/Offender Relationship

Table 23: Victim-Offender Relationship – Known/Unknown

	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
General Crime		N = 9,794,574	N = 14,311	
Known		83.96%	65.73%	
Unknown		16.04%	34.27%	
Hate Crime		N = 4,748	N = 538	
Known		84.34%	61.45%	
Unknown		15.66%	38.55%	
Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime		N = 830	N = 76	N = 10,444
Known		81.69%	64.47%	57.86%
Unknown		18.31%	35.53%	42.14%

Table 24: Victim-Offender Relationship – Known Type

	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
General Crime		N = 8,223,471	N = 8,309	
Acquaintance		49.11%	63.57%	
Intimate		31.34%	20.98%	
Family		19.55%	15.45%	
Hate Crime		N = 4,013	N = 108	
Acquaintance		49.61%	84.01%	
Intimate		31.50%	7.06%	
Family		18.89%	8.92%	
Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime		N = 678	N = 35	N = 5,961
Acquaintance		51.92%	87.76%	80.41%
Intimate		27.43%	0.00%	10.18%
Family		20.65%	12.24%	9.41%

Anti-LGBTQ Profile

The three datasets that offered information on anti-LGBTQ hate crime victim/offender relationship created a disparate picture. NIBRS found that 81.69% of victim knew their offender, NCVS found that 64.47% knew their offender, and NCAVP found that 57.86% knew their offender. While these varied considerably, they did present the important conclusion that many anti-LGBTQ hate crime victims were victimized by people they know.

When known offenders were classified based on their previous relationship with the victim, all three datasets indicated that offenders were most likely to be a friend or acquaintance (ex. neighbor, workmate, etc.). Family members comprised 20.65% of anti-LGBTQ hate offenders in the NIBRS dataset, 12.24% in the NCVS dataset, and 9.41% of the NCAVP dataset. The small sample size of NCVS offenders did not include any intimates or former intimates of the victims, however, both NIBRS and NCAVP did. NIBRS and NCAVP found 27.43% and 10.18% of offenders were the current or former lover of the victim.

Crime Category Comparison

NIBRS and NCVS also presented varying descriptions of victim/offender relationships as they changed across general crime, hate crime, and anti-LGBTQ hate crime. NIBRS showed that 83.96% of general crime offenders were known to their victims, 84.34% of hate crime offenders were known to their victims, and 81.69% of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders were known to their victims. On the other hand, NCVS showed that 65.73% of general crime offenders were known to their victims, 61.45%% of

hate crime offenders were known to their victims, and 64.47% of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders were known to their victims. The relationship between victim/offender relationship: known/unknown offenders and crime type was not statistically significant in either the NIBRS or NCVS datasets (NIBRS: χ^2 (2, N =8,136,241) = .82, p =.66, NCVS: χ^2 (2, N = 14,308) = 4.04, p =.13).

Within the NCVS dataset, anti-LGBTQ hate crimes involved more acquaintances as known offenders at 87.76% than hate crime at 84.01% and general crime at 63.57%. Anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were also the least likely to involve current or former intimates at 0.00% as compared to 7.06% and 20.98% of hate and general crime, respectively. The relationship between known offender type and crime type was statistically significant in the NCVS dataset (NCVS: χ^2 (4, N = 8,165) = 57.81, p < .001). In the NIBRS dataset, acquaintances committed a slightly higher percentage of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes at 51.92% as opposed to 49.11% of general crime and 49.61% of hate crime. Intimates committed fewer anti-LGBTQ hate crimes at 27.43% than hate crime and general crime at 31.50% and 31.34%, respectively. However, despite reflecting a similar directional trend to the NCVS data in this regard, the relationship between known offender type and crime type was not statistically significant in the NIBRS dataset (NIBRS: χ^2 (4, = 7,040,976) = 4.98, p < .29).

Crime Type

Table 25: Crime Type

	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
General Crime	N = 73,774,079	N = 43,004,865	N = 60,109	
Persons	8.48%	22.14%	16.46%	
Property	91.52%	67.23%	83.54%	
Society		10.63%		
Discrimination				
Hate Crime	N = 47,399	N = 21,555	N = 834	
Persons	58.73%	21.23%	61.39%	
Property	40.49%	67.84%	38.61%	
Society	0.78%	10.93%		
Discrimination				
Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime	N = 9,209	N = 3,618	N = 128	N = 17,999
Persons	70.29%	21.17%	66.41%	69.90%
Property	29.46%	67.27%	33.59%	7.26%
Society	0.25%	10.06%		
Discrimination				22.84%

Table 26: Crime Type: Persons / Property

	UCR	NIBRS	NCVS	NCAVP
General Crime	N = 73,774,079	N = 38,432,533	N = 60,109	
Persons	8.48%	24.77%	16.46%	
Property	91.52%	75.23%	83.54%	
Hate Crime	N = 47,029	N = 19,198	N = 834	
Persons	59.19%	23.84%	61.39%	
Property	40.81%	76.16%	38.61%	
Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime	N = 9,186	N = 3,200	N = 128	N = 13,888
Persons	70.47%	23.94%	66.41%	90.60%
Property	29.53%	76.06%	33.59%	9.40%

Anti-LGBTQ Profile

It is difficult to make comparisons across all four datasets regarding crime type due to the collection of different types of crimes. In their examination of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes, the UCR and NIBRS collected information about crimes against persons, crimes against property, and crimes against society. The same list of offenses was used by both datasets as the UCR hate crime program is structurally a part of NIBRS program. The UCR found that 70.29% of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were crimes against persons, 29.46% were crimes against property and 0.25% were crimes against society. On the contrary, NIBRS found that 21.17% of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were crimes against persons, 76.16% were crimes against property, and 10.06% were crimes against society. The NCVS is a victimization survey and thus it did not collect data on crimes against society, restricting its data to crimes against persons and crimes against property. The NCVS found 66.41% of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were crimes against persons and 33.59% were crimes against property. The NCAVP collected data on crimes against persons and crimes against property, but also collected data regarding discriminatory acts. Depending on the state, various forms of sexual orientation and gender identity discrimination are illegal. Yet, these types of discrimination-based criminal incidents are not covered by the other three datasets. The NCAVP found 69.90% of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes reported to their affiliate organizations were crimes against persons, 7.26% were crimes against property, and 22.84% were acts of discrimination.

In order to compare across all four datasets, crimes against society in the UCR and NIBRS datasets and discriminatory acts in the NCAVP dataset were excluded for the crime type analysis. The four national datasets included in this study presented an

extremely dissimilar depiction of the types of crimes perpetrated in the context of anti-LGBTQ hate. The UCR found that 70.47% of anti-LGBTQ crimes were crimes against persons, while NIBRS found 23.94%, NCVS found 66.41% and NCAVP found 90.60%. The NCAVP percentage of crimes against persons was inflated due to exclusion of crimes classified as discrimination, a category neither fitting in the crimes against persons or crimes against property. Even taking this distortion into consideration, there was still a considerable difference among the remaining datasets.

Crime Category Comparison

Chi-square analyses yielded statistically significant relationships between persons/property crime and crime type in the UCR, NIBRS, and NCVS (UCR: χ^2 (2, $N = 73,774,079$) = 157,790.31, $p < .001$, NIBRS: χ^2 (2, $N = 35,037,865$) = 7,851.71, $p < .001$, NCVS: χ^2 (2, $N = 60,109$) = 1,373.95, $p < .001$). The UCR and NCVS showed a similar directional trend regarding the types of incidents perpetrated in general crime, hate crime, and anti-LGBTQ hate crime categories. The UCR showed 8.48% crimes against persons in the general crime category, 59.19% crimes against persons in the hate crime category, and 70.47% crimes against persons in the anti-LGBTQ hate crime category. The NCVS showed 16.46% crimes against persons in general crime category, 61.39% crimes against persons in hate crime category, and 66.41%% crimes against persons in the anti-LGBTQ hate crime category. According to these two datasets, crimes against persons were more common amongst hate crimes, and even more common amongst anti-LGBTQ hate crimes. While the NIBRS dataset also yielded a statistically significant relationship between persons/property crime and crime type, the directional trends seen in the UCR and NCVS were not present. Instead, the proportion of anti-LGBTQ crimes against

persons (23.94%) was faintly higher than hate crimes (23.84%) and lower than general crime (24.77%). The significant increase in crimes against persons seen in the anti-LGBTQ crime category in both the UCR and NIBRS dataset was not consistent with the NIBRS data.

Chapter 5

5.1 Conclusion and Discussion

Using the UCR, NIBRS, NCVS, and NCAVP national level datasets, this project clarified the predominant offender demographics and situational dynamics of anti-LGBTQ hate violence. These aspects of anti-LGBTQ hate incidents have been largely overlooked by previous research. As this was the first external empirical analysis of NCAVP anti-LGBTQ hate incidents, theoretically relevant variables were selected from those included in this dataset. Offender demographic variables included offender race, offender gender, offender age, and offender sexual orientation. Situational dynamic variables included offender substance use, number of offenders, victim injury, victim medical attention, crime location, victim/offender relationship – known/unknown, victim/offender relationship – known type, and crime type. Due to varying methodologies, some datasets did not include all variables. Offender demographic and situational dynamic variables were compared across datasets to uncover if they presented similar or disparate pictures of anti-LGBTQ hate crime characteristics. In addition to

anti-LGBTQ hate crime, offender demographic and situational dynamic variable analyses were conducted for general crime and hate crime in each dataset. Therefore, comparisons between offender demographics and situational dynamics could be made across crime types within each dataset. These comparisons elucidated the unique characteristics of anti-LGBTQ hate crime.

Key Findings

Offender Race

The racial composition of anti-LGBTQ hate crime perpetrators was relatively consistent across all four datasets. White offenders comprised the majority of anti-LGBTQ perpetrators at 60.38% (NCVAP), 65.58% (UCR), 66.30% (NCS), and 67.81% (NIBRS). These findings were similar to the findings of 69% white offenders in Herek, Cogan, and Gillis (2002) and 67% white offenders in Comstock (1991). The current findings exist in the middle of the extreme results found in LeBlanc (1991) and Lu (1991) of 80% and 40% white offenders, respectively. Conclusions were made with caution, however, as separation of Hispanic offenders into a distinct racial/ethnic category by LeBlanc (1991), Lu (1991), and Herek, Cogan, and Gillis (2002) made comparisons difficult. Also, the lower proportion of white offenders and the higher proportion of black offenders in the NCAVP dataset may be due to the fact that data collection occurs through affiliate organizations in major cities across the United States (New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, Boston, etc.) that were more racially diverse. The NCAVP recognized in their reports that people who could not geographically access metropolitan located anti-violence programs would not be accounted for in their data.

Residents in rural areas or other locations far from reporting organizations may not be represented in the data.

Hate crime scholarship consistently denoted the typical anti-LGBTQ hate offender as white. However, what was unclear in these articles was whether anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders were more likely to be white than general crime offenders and/or hate crime offenders. This study tried to expose whether the proportion of white anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders was greater than other crime types. Despite yielding statistically significant relationships between crime type and offender race within the UCR, NIBRS, and NCVS datasets, there was no uniform pattern exhibited in the results.

The UCR found that anti-LGBTQ hate offenders were less likely to be white and more likely to black (65.58%/32.31%) than general crime offenders (69.28%/28.22%) and hate crime offenders (74.58%/23.06%). The applicability of structured action theory was ambiguous. Structured action theory argued that as racial minorities have a restricted number of avenues for expressing hegemonic masculinity, these individuals turned to hate crime as a mechanism for doing gender when occupational and education opportunities were absent. Compared to general crime data, the UCR showed an elevated number of black anti-LGBTQ offenders, but also reduced number of black hate crime offenders. It is possible that the significant role that sex category plays in economically marginal environments may have influenced black individuals to participate in anti-LGBTQ hate crimes, as opposed to crimes reflecting other forms of prejudice. It is also possible that the considerable number of white perpetrated racially motivated hate crimes present in the UCR dataset skewed results as to minimize the proportion of black hate

crime offenders. When anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were isolated, the higher number of black offenders was visible.

On the other hand, the overrepresentation of white offenders amongst hate crime offenders in the UCR dataset, anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders in the NCVS dataset, and both hate crime and anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders in the NIBRS dataset would best be explained by the theory that bias motivated violence is a way that white individuals preserve the power hierarchy in American society. The increased number of white anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders, as compared to general crime offenders, supports the theory that white offenders are more likely to commit acts of hate to assert hegemonic masculinity and preserve the hierarchical power structure which places them at the top.

No one theory regarding the role that race plays in choosing to participate in hate crime and/or anti-LGBTQ hate crime was supported by all three datasets. Instead, different aspects of the datasets provided support for different, even contradictory, theories of race and hate. Other forms of hate crime, including those motivated by ethnic, religious, gender, and disability-based bias, should be investigated in order to see how racial identity influences participation in hate crimes.

Offender Gender

The NIBRS, NCVS, and NCAVP datasets presented consistent statistics regarding the number of male anti-LGBTQ hate offenders. All three datasets found that males committed the majority of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes at 73.32%, 78.43% and 78.16%. These findings are in accordance with anti-LGBTQ hate crime theory that posits that men are more likely to engage in anti-LGBTQ hate as a way of asserting their

masculinity. Anti-LGBTQ hate crime allows for men to display normative masculine attributes such as aggression and violence, while distancing themselves from feminine behavior. The offender establishes himself as a hegemonic male, opposed to the existence of marginal sexual orientations and gender identities.

The lower percentage of male offenders exhibited by the NIBRS dataset (approximately 5% lower than the NCVS and NCAVP) may suggest implications for reporting and arrest rates among anti-LGBTQ hate offenders. Both the NCVS and NCAVP datasets were based on victimization surveys, while NIBRS included data from crimes reported to law enforcement. In order for a crime to be classified as a hate crime by NIBRS, after it is reported to police, it must be investigated and verified by law enforcement. While internal factors such as personal prejudices, may influence an individual officer's classification decisions, it is also guided by organizational standards dictating how an officer should act in a particular situation (Nolan, Haas, Turley, Stump & LaValle, 2015). Organizational forces that encourage proper identification and processing of crimes, minimize subjective decision making on the part of the officer. Although difficulty still persists in accurately determining bias motivation, classification of an incident as a hate crime is steered by organizational guidelines. On the other hand, in victimization surveys like the NCVS and NCAVP, classification as a hate crime is, to some extent, left up to the victim. The victim is often not aware of official hate crime statutes or legal criteria for hate crime classification. As a result, victim perceptions or misconceptions may cloud his or her decision to frame the incident as one motivated by hate. It is possible that incidents perpetrated by men are more likely to be identified by victims as one motivated by hate due to differences in the way that victims perceive the

==highlight==intentions of male and female offenders. Perhaps the guidelines implemented by law enforcement departments structure these decisions, making offender gender less of a factor in classifying crime as being motivated by bias or not.==

Despite the emergence of the predicted male majority, the percentage of male anti-LGBTQ hate offenders was significantly lower than prior studies, which documented male perpetrated anti-LGBTQ hate comprising over 90% of incidents (Comstock, 1991; Herek, Cogan, & Gillis, 2002; LeBlanc, 1991; Lu, 1991). Furthermore, the percentage of male anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders did not vary from the percentage of male general crime or hate crime offenders. Statistical analyses yielded no significant relationship between crime type and offender gender within the NIBRS or NCVS datasets. While the data showed that anti-LGBTQ hate crime is mostly a male perpetrated crime, it is not any more male perpetrated than general crime or hate crime. Yes, the depiction of the typical anti-LGBTQ hate crime offender as a man was correct, but it is not anymore of a male perpetrated phenomenon than general crime or hate crime as a whole.

Offender Age

The ages of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders were also consistent across three datasets. Surprisingly, the smallest group of offenders belonged to the 18 and younger age category, in opposition to the frequent description of an anti-LGBTQ hate offender as a teenager. Comparisons between the NIBRS, NCVS, and NCAVP datasets and prior research was difficult as the previous studies utilized a variety of age categories. Rough comparisons, however, indicated that the previous research showed a larger proportion of teenage offenders than the national level datasets included in the current study. LeBlanc (1991) found 44% of offenders were 19 and younger, Lu (1991) found 54% were age 20

and younger, and Comstock (1991) found 46% were 21 and younger. The current study found 18.02%, 18.76%, and 21.43% of offenders were 18 years of age and younger, considerably less than prior study results would predict. This proportion of youthful offenders was also in direct contradiction with theoretical predictions. The conjecture that anti-LGBTQ hate would be concentrated among youths due to the influence of peer pressure and the precarious nature of adolescent masculinity and sexuality was not supported. Instead, larger portions of offenders in their 20s and older were found, suggesting that ant-LGBTQ offending is not as dominated by adolescent offenders as theory or prior research predicts.

Despite similar numbers of young offenders amongst general, hate, and anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders, denying the prevalent theory that anti-LGBTQ hate offenders are more likely to be adolescents is premature. It is possible that restriction of the youngest age group to individuals below the age of 18, may have distorted the results. It may be that the significant amount of anti-LGBTQ hate crime perpetrated by individuals between the ages of 19 and 29, may be concentrated at the younger end of this age group. As the NIBRS dataset did not use age categories, instead denoting the exact age of each perpetrator, an additional analysis of this dataset was possible. The previous age categories (≤ 18, 19 - 29, and ≥ 30) were reconfigured into ≤ 20, 21 - 29, and ≥ 30 to see if a significant portion of offenders were 19 and 20 years of age. After restructuring the NIBRS age variables, 29.61% of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders were age 20 or younger, and 29.61% were between the ages of 21 and 29. Adding offenders aged 19 and 20 to the youngest age group raised the percentage 8.18% from 21.43% to 29.61%. Regarding hate crimes, 29.68% were age 20 or younger, and 29.70%

were between the ages of 21 and 29. Adding offenders aged 19 and 20 to the youngest age group raised the percentage 9.06% from 20.62% to 29.68%. Similarly, 29.66% of general crime offenders were age 20 or younger, and 30.08% were between the ages of 21 and 29. Adding offenders aged 19 and 20 to the youngest age group raised the percentage 9.02% from 20.64% to 29.66%. These changes show that a considerable number of hate crime and anti-LGBTQ hate crime perpetrators were aged 19 and 20.

Statistical analyses revealed no significant relationship between crime type and offender age group, with the ages of offenders remaining relatively consistent across general crime, hate crime, and anti-LGBTQ hate crime. This data supported the notion that anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders were no more likely to be adolescents than general crime offenders or hate crime offenders, a finding that contradicts the existing literature and its focus on youthful anti-LGBTQ offenders. A potential explanation may involve transforming societal views regarding LGBTQ issues. Recent studies and polls highlight that younger generations are leading the way in acceptance toward homosexuality, same-sex marriage and other rights (Smith, 2011). Theories articulated and studies conducted decades ago may have failed to take into consideration the changing social climate in the demographic composition of hate offenders.

Offender Sexual Orientation

Considering that anti-LGBTQ hate incidents were labeled by victims as being motivated by sexual orientation and/or gender identity bias, the proportion of non-heterosexual offenders in the NCAVP dataset is surprisingly large. It is possible that some victims incorrectly classified incidents as being bias motivated when they were not. Socialization within the LGBTQ community may lead to interpersonal conflict,

confrontation, and an event that is interpreted by the victim as being hate inspired. However, all of these incidents should not be explained away as the result of misinterpretation of motive. The existence of anti-LGBTQ hate committed by LGBTQ individuals is key to understanding the potential heterogeneity of these incidents. Perhaps, as Herek (1992) suggested, anti-LGBTQ hate can serve an ego-defensive function for individuals who are dealing with unresolved or conflictual sexual interests. Or, as Weissman (1992) indicated, anti-LGBTQ prejudice may play a minimal role in motivating hate incidents and instead may be the result of group dynamics and peer pressure. Interpersonal conflict may evolve and result in an incident involving the expression of anti-LGBTQ hate, regardless of the individual's sexual orientation and/or gender identity (Kelley & Gruenewald, 2015). Making bigoted or prejudicial comments about an individual's sexual orientation and/or gender identity may not have roots in true anti-LGBTQ hatred. Instead, it may come from a desire to inflict emotional pain, to touch a nerve, and attack the victim at vulnerable spot.

Offender Substance Use

Chi-square analyses indicated that the relationship between crime type and substance use was statistically significant within the NIBRS and NCVS datasets. Both these datasets showed an increased number of substance use among hate crime offenders as compared to general crime offenders. The percentage of offenders who used substances before committing an anti-LGBTQ hate crime was even higher. These findings support the theoretical assertion that substances, particularly alcohol, facilitate the perpetration of hate crimes. In addition to stimulating aggressive behavior, drinking alcohol was conceptualized as inherently masculine. Furthermore, alcohol consumption

was linked to higher levels of sexual prejudice and stress centered around the masculine gender role. The statistically significant relationships between crime type and substance abuse and the elevated percent of substance use prior to hate crime and anti-LGBTQ hate crime perpetration, supported this connection between substance use, aggression, and masculinity.

Number of Offenders

The current findings offered contradictory views on the relationship between hate crime and perpetration and number of offenders. Theoretically, hate offenders and anti-LGBTQ hate offenders attack in groups to obtain situational advantages that ensure minimal risk of injury and embarrassment and maximum likelihood of successfully displaying masculinity. Hate offenders were also hypothesized to attack in groups in order to gain anonymity, dilute feelings of blame, achieve psychological support for their bias attitudes, and put their accomplishment of masculinity on display for others to view. Despite these theoretical predictions, single offender anti-LGBTQ hate crimes constituted the majority of those reported to law enforcement in the UCR and NIBRS and those included in NCVS and NCVAP crime victimization measures.

However, while multiple offenders did not commit the majority of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes, the relationship between crime type and number of offenders was statistically significant within the UCR and NCVS datasets. Statistical analysis of NIBRS data revealed that crime type and number of offenders were not significantly related within this particular dataset. The UCR did not include number of offender information for general crime, but found that anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders were more likely to offend in groups (29.54%) than hate crime offenders (24.89%). Similarly,

the NCVS found that anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders were more likely to offend in groups (42.05%) than hate crime offenders (36.56%) and general crime offenders (18.52%).

While the majority of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were not perpetrated by groups of individuals as alluded to in the literature, anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were more likely to involve multiple offenders than hate crime and general crime. Hate and anti-LGBTQ hate crime scholarship should be more cautious in its description of multiple perpetrator incidents. While the current analysis generally supported the notion that hate and anti-LGBTQ hate may be more likely to involve multiple perpetrators than general crime, they did not constitute the majority of incidents.

Injury/Medical Attention

Theoretically, the desire to display physical male attributes, coupled with viewing victims as worthy of punishment or less than human for their minority status, predicts more injuries and medical attention amongst anti-LGBTQ hate crime victims. In spite of a descriptive representation of anti-LGBTQ hate crime resulting in more injuries (52.16%) than hate crime (49.43%) and general crime (48.45%) in the NIBRS dataset and more injuries (57.68%) than general crime (56.76%) in the NCVS dataset, the relationship between victim injury and crime type was not significant within either the NIBRS or NCVS datasets. The NCVS also indicated higher percentages of victim medical attention amongst anti-LGBTQ hate crime victims (60.00%) than hate crime victims (50.19%) and general crime victims (43.64%). Upon conducting a chi-square analysis, the relationship between crime type and victim medical attention within the NCVS dataset was not statistically significant either. As the NCVS victim medical

attention variable had the smallest sample size in the current study, future analysis using larger samples may provide further clarification.

Crime Location

The considerable amount of anti-LGBTQ hate crime occurring in open spaces such as streets, sidewalks, and parking lots, supports the theory that anti-LGBTQ hate crimes are more likely to occur where strangers interact with each other, where larger numbers of individuals congregate, and where messages of hate can be seen by bystanders. While the data was not specific enough, it is also possible that these public attacks occurred outside locations identified as being LGBTQ such as gay and lesbian entertainment establishments or in gay-friendly neighborhoods. Future research utilizing more detailed crime reports may offer additional conclusions regarding the likelihood of attack in LGBTQ identified locations. Additionally, the high number of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes that occurred in private residences suggests that these crimes were also likely to occur during the course of routine daily life. As Kelley and Gruenewald (2015) and Tomsen (2009) detailed, some anti-LGBTQ hate murders took place in private locations after the perpetrator's sexuality was challenged prompting an interpersonal confrontation. The current findings support both theories, that anti-LGBTQ hate crimes take place in public settings as well as private settings.

Chi-square analyses yielded significant relationships between crime type and crime location within the UCR, NIBRS, and NCVS datasets. The most notable difference between crime types was the increase in anti-LGBTQ hate crimes occurring in open spaces. The UCR found that 36.31% of ant-LGBTQ hate crimes occurred in open spaces, almost 5% more than the 31.35% of hate crimes that occurred in open spaces. In

the NIBRS dataset, 31.61% of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes, 29.34% of hate crimes, and 26.44% of general crimes occurred in open spaces. In the NCVS dataset, 28.13% of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes, 24.00% of hate crimes, and 15.44% of general crimes occurred in open spaces. The increase in open space occurring anti-LGBTQ hate crimes, evident in all three datasets, may be due to the enhanced likelihood of encountering potential offenders. The elevated number of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes taking place in open spaces may also be due to the opportunity to perpetrate an act that not only spreads a message of hate, but strikes back in response to the perceived insult to the public sphere that occurs through the display of non-normative sexual orientation and gender roles.

Victim/Offender Relationship

The once prevalent notion that anti-LGBTQ hate is a by-and-large a form of stranger danger is inaccurate. Yes, strangers did comprise a substantial portion of offenders (18.31%, 35.53%, and 42.14%), but conceptualizing anti-LGBTQ hate as a crime only, or even predominantly perpetrated by strangers is erroneous. Considerable proportions of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were perpetrated by known offenders (81.69%, 64.47%, and 57.86%). Furthermore, the relationship between known/unknown victim/offender relationship and crime type was not statistically significant for either the NIBRS or NCVS dataset. The percentage of unknown offenders did not vary significantly by crime type with strangers comprising 81.69% of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders, 84.34% of hate crime offenders, and 83.96% of general crime offenders in the NIBRS dataset and 64.47% of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders, 61.45% of hate crime offenders, and 65.73% of general crime offenders in the NCVS dataset.

Acquaintances, including friends, neighbors, and coworkers, were the most likely known offenders of anti-LGBTQ hate violence. A smaller number of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were perpetrated by family members and individuals who engaged in sexual relationships with LGBTQ individuals. A chi-square analysis revealed that the relationship between known offender type and crime type was not statistically significant within the NIBRS dataset. Of offenses committed by known offenders, acquaintances committed 51.92% of anti-LGBTQ hate crime, 49.61% of hate crime, and 49.11% of general crime, intimates committed 27.43% of anti-LGBTQ hate crime, 31.50% of hate crime, and 31.34% of general crime, and family members committed 20.65% of anti-LGBTQ hate crime, 18.89% of hate crime, and 19.55% of general crime. On the other hand, the relationship between known offender type and crime type was statistically significant within the NCVS dataset. Acquaintances committed 87.76% of anti-LGBTQ hate crime, 84.01% of hate crime, and only 63.57% of general crime. Intimates committed 0.00% of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes and 7.06% of hate crimes, while committing significantly more general crimes at 20.98%. Family members committed 12.24% of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes, 8.92% of hate crimes, and 15.45% of general crimes. Family members are not often members of the same LGBTQ minority group as the victim. While more than one LGBTQ individual may be in the same family, relatives are much more likely to belong to different sexual orientation and gender identity groups.

Crimes Against Persons/Property

Three datasets, the UCR, NCVS, and NCAVP, found that anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were more likely to be crimes against persons than crimes against property. UCR found that 70.29% of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were crimes against persons and 29.46%

were crimes against property. The remaining 0.25% were crimes against society. The NCVS found that 66.41% of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were crimes against persons and 33.59% were crimes against property. Similarly, the NCAVP found that 69.90% were crimes against persons and 7.26% were crimes against property. The remaining 22.84% of reported incidents involved various forms of discrimination. If acts of discrimination are excluded, crimes against persons rise to 90.60% and crimes against property fall to 9.40%.

Chi-square analyses revealed that the relationship between crimes against persons/property and crime type was statistically significant for all three datasets. Two of the three datasets exhibit similar directional trends with the proportion of crimes against persons the highest in the anti-LGBTQ hate crime type category. In the UCR, 70.47% of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were crimes against persons, while 59.19% of hate crimes and 8.48% of general crimes were crimes against persons. In the NCVS dataset, 66.41% of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were crimes against persons, while 61.39% of hate crimes ad 16.46% of general crimes were crimes against persons. These findings support theoretical assertions that anti-LGBTQ hate crime is more likely to involve acts of violence than property crime. Violence offers perpetrators the opportunity to display masculine attributes while physically negating the existence of a subordinate identity. Feeling of disgust and condemnation are more likely to trigger violence in which the offender may inflict emotional and physical harm.

The overabundance of property crimes amongst anti-LGBTQ hate crimes in the NIBRS dataset is unexpected. Violent physical confrontations more easily achieve the goals of anti-LGBTQ hate. Property crime most likely involves one of two distinct

criminal incidents. First, an offender may destroy property and/or vandalize a location identified as associated with an LGBTQ individual or the LGBTQ community. Second, an offender may commit an instrumental crime, identifying an LGBTQ individual as an easy target unlikely to fight back or inflict damage. It is unclear at this point in this research, why NIBRS documents such a high number of property crimes. Methodological differences between the NIBRS dataset and the other three datasets included in this study would be a logical assumption, including the potential role played by NIBRS's exclusion of the hierarchy rule. According to Addington (2007), the use of the hierarchy rule by the UCR and the seriousness hierarchy by the NCVS may decrease the crime rate for those crimes lowest on the hierarchy scale. As property crimes are lower in the hierarchy designated by both datasets, they are more likely to be excluded in favor of reporting a more serious crime against persons. An example offered by Maxfield (1999) illustrates the potential for the exclusion of an incident's crimes against property in the UCR and NCVS and the inclusion of the same incident's crimes against property in NIBRS. In the UCR, "an incident that combined a household burglary and theft of the family auto would count only the burglary…[In NIBRS] our hypothetical house burglary and auto theft incident would count both offenses, and tally as many as ten different types of property with up to six different property dispositions (stolen, damaged, etc.)" (Maxfield, 1999, p. 123).

Unpacking Key Findings

As stated earlier, the current study wanted to provide answers to four fundamental research questions. The first research question sought to uncover the demographic characteristics of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders. Rooted in anti-LGBTQ hate crime theory as well as previous empirical research, this study hypothesized that offenders of anti-LGBTQ hate crime would be young, white, heterosexual men. Results from the UCR, NIBRS, NCVS, and NCAVP datasets confirmed most of the components of the above hypothesis, revealing that the majority of anti-LGBTQ hate offenders were indeed white heterosexual men. Factoring in the information from all available datasets, the average percentage of white offenders was 65.02%, the average percentage of male offenders was 76.64%, and the average percentage of heterosexual offenders was 79.97%. Unexpectedly, juvenile perpetrators did not constitute the majority of offenders, instead averaging 19.40% of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders. After additional analysis reconfiguring the 18 and younger age group to include ages 19 and 20, the youngest age cluster in the NIBRS dataset grew from 21.43% to 29.68%. These results indicated that while adolescent offenders did not commit the majority of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes, they did comprise a significant amount of this offending group. Combining the two younger age groups together, anti-LGBTQ hate offenders under the age of 30 comprised 59.21% of the offending population of this crime type. Future research using a continuous age variable may be able to provide additional insight regarding more specific age patterns of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders.

The second research question sought to uncover the predominant situational dynamic characteristics of anti-LGBTQ hate crime including offender substance use, number of offenders, victim injury and medical attention, crime location, victim/offender relationship, and crimes against persons/property. The percentage of offenders reported as being under the influence of substances during the commission of an anti-LGBTQ hate crime ranged vastly from 13.36% to 83.33%. This disparate picture of offender substance use makes generalizations about the extent of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offender alcohol and drug consumption difficult. Data analysis revealed that despite overwhelming references to group offending in the literature, the majority of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes involved lone perpetrators with single offender crimes ranging from 57.95% to 81.05%. Victim injury data revealed that the percentage of victims injured by anti-LGBTQ hate crimes ranged from 34.43% to 57.68%. Crime location analysis showed that the majority of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes occurred in private residences ranging from 33.39% to 50.00%, followed by crimes occurring in open spaces ranging from 27.45% to 36.31%. Smaller percentages of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes occurred in commercial spaces, schools, and other locations. Against prediction, the analysis of the relationship between anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders and their victims indicated that the majority of offenders was known to their victims ranging from 57.86% to 81.69% of offenders. Of these known offenders, acquaintances were the most prevalent group comprising 51.92% to 87.76% of offenders. Intimates and family members constituted smaller groups of known offenders. Lastly, the UCR, NCVS, and NCAVP datasets revealed that crimes against persons constituted the majority of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes ranging from 66.41% to 90.60% of incidents. On the other hand, the NIBRS dataset

found that crimes against property constituted the majority of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes at 76.06% with crimes against persons only comprising 23.94% of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes.

The third research question aimed to uncover whether the UCR, NIBRS, NCVS, and NCAVP datasets presented similar or disparate pictures of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offender demographics and situational dynamics. Eleven chi-square analyses were conducted using dataset as the independent variable (UCR = 1, NIBRS = 2, NCVS = 3, NCAVP = 4) and each anti-LGBTQ hate crime variable as the dependent variable (see APPENDIX E). This analysis indicated statistically significant relationships between the dataset variable and each of the eleven anti-LGBTQ hate crime variables. While this analysis is relatively simplistic due to the categorical nature of the anti-LGBTQ hate crime variables, the significant relationship between dataset and anti-LGBTQ hate crime variable supports the need for further exploration regarding how different datasets define, classify, and document hate crimes. In select instances variable differences between datasets exceeded 60%. For example, 13.36% of offenders were identified as being under the influence of a substance in the NIBRS dataset while 83.33% were identified as being under the influence of a substance in the NCVS dataset. Similarly, restricting offenses to crimes against persons and crimes against property, 90.60% of the NCAVP dataset were classified as crimes against persons while only 23.94% of the NIBRS offenses were classified as such. A more in-depth discussion of the differences between datasets is included in the "Limitations" section of this study.

Based on the frequent reference to the qualitatively distinct nature of anti-LGBTQ hate crime, the fourth and final research question focused on how anti-LGBTQ hate

crime differs from general crime and hate crime of all motivations in regards to offender demographics and situational dynamics. Due to the considerable extent to which the literature emphasized the particular offender profile of a young, white male, this study hypothesized that anti-LGBTQ hate offenders would be more likely to possess these demographic characteristics than offenders of other forms of crime. However, the current research did not find consistent results that anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders were more likely to be young, white, or male. Statistical analyses yielded nonsignificant results regarding the relationship between offender age and crime type in both datasets with available offender age data. Statistical analyses also yielded nonsignificant results regarding the relationship between offender gender and crime type in both datasets with available offender gender data. Statistical analyses did yield significant results regarding the relationship between offender race and crime type in all three datasets with available offender race data. However, there was no consistent pattern to inform a logical conclusion regarding the directional nature of this relationship. The UCR dataset showed that the proportion of white anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders was less than the proportion of white general crime and hate crime offenders. The NIBRS and NCVS datasets showed that the proportion of white anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders was greater than the proportion of white general crime and hate crime offenders. Despite yielding a statistically significant relationship between offender race and crime type, inconsistent patterns across datasets make statements regarding the directionality of this relationship not possible. Overall, the analysis of crime type and offender demographic variables did not produce any clear, consistent differences regarding the racial, gender, or

age composition of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders as compared to general crime and hate crime offenders.

In addition to differences in offender demographics, the theoretical notion that anti-LGBTQ hate violence is a unique form of interpersonal aggression forecasted differences between its situational dynamics and those evident in other forms of violence. Unlike offender demographic variables, analysis of situational dynamics variables revealed several significant distinctions between anti-LGBTQ hate crime, hate crime, and general crime. First, the relationship between offender substance use and crime type was statistically significant in both datasets that contained data on offender substance use. While percentages of substance use by anti-LGBTQ hate offenders varied greatly across the NIBRS and NCVS datasets, both datasets found that anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders were more likely to be under the influence during the commission of their crimes than hate crime offenders and even more so than general crime offenders. These findings support the theory that substance use may fuel anti-LGBTQ hate more than general forms of violence and other forms of bias motivated hate. Beyond facilitating aggressive behavior, alcohol consumption is uniquely associated with male bonding, establishing masculinity, and sexual prejudice. Second, the relationship between number of offenders and crime type was statistically significant in two of the three datasets with number of offender data. In the NCVS dataset, anti-LGBTQ was more likely to involve multiple offenders than hate crime and general crime. In the UCR dataset, anti-LGBTQ hate crime was more likely to involve multiple offenders than hate crime. The UCR's exclusion of number of offender data for general crime made comparisons to general crime impossible. The NIBRS dataset yielded a nonsignificant relationship between

number of offenders and crime type. Viewed collectively, the data supports the notion that multiple perpetrator anti-LGBTQ hate crimes are more likely than other forms of crime, potentially to allow the offenders to visibly demonstrate masculinity to others with lowered risk of failure, injury, feelings of culpability, and identification as a suspect. Third, the relationship between known victim type and crime type was statistically significant in the NCVS dataset. Acquaintances comprised higher proportions of anti-LGBTQ hate crime known offenders than hate crime known offenders and general crime known offenders. Intimates also comprised lower proportions of anti-LGBTQ hate crime known offenders than hate crime known offenders and general crime known offenders. NIBRS data mimicked these trends, to a lesser extent, but did not yield statistically significant results. Fourth, the relationship between crime location and crime type was significant in all three datasets that included crime location data. The UCR, NIBRS, and NCVS datasets found that anti-LGBTQ hate crimes contained higher proportions of crimes that occurred in open spaces. The increased likelihood of anti-LGBTQ hate crime occurring in open spaces such as streets, sidewalks, and parks is in agreement with the theory that anti-LGBTQ hate is a mechanism for establishing an individual's masculinity, not just to himself, but to those witnessing the incident. Furthermore, anti-LGBTQ hate incidents that occur in open spaces allow for the spread the message that nonnormative sexual orientations and gender identities will not be tolerated in the public domain. Finally, the relationship between crimes against persons/property and crime type was statistically significant in all three datasets. Two of the three datasets indicated an increase in the proportion of crimes against persons within the anti-LGBTQ hate crime category. The UCR found that 70.47% of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were crimes against

persons while 59.19% of hate crimes and 8.48% of general crimes were crimes against persons. The NCVS found that 66.41% of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were crimes against persons while 61.39% of hate crimes and 16.46% of general crimes were crimes against persons. While the relationship between crimes against persons/property and crime type was significant in the NIBRS dataset, the increase of crimes against persons in anti-LGBTQ hate crimes was not evident.

In summary, there was no clear, significant pattern of differences across crime types with respect to offender demographics. Statistical analyses showed no significant relationship between offender gender and crime type, or between offender age and crime type. The relationship between offender race and crime type was statistically significant, but lacked uniform trends of directionality. On the other hand, several significant differences across crimes types were evident with respect to situational dynamics. Offender substance use, number of offenders, crime location, known offender type, and crimes against persons/property yielded a statistically significant relationship with crime type in at least one dataset. All three datasets showed that anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders were more likely to be under the influence of substances at the time of the incident and that anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were more likely to occur in open spaces. Two datasets agreed that anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were more likely to involve multiple perpetrators and be classified as crimes against persons. One dataset showed that anti-LGBTQ hate crimes committed by known offenders were more likely to involve acquaintances and less likely to involve intimates.

Taking into consideration the evidence gathered and analyzed to provide answers for the aforementioned four research questions, some overarching statements about anti-

LGBTQ hate crime can be put forward. A large-scale analysis of the demographic characteristics of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders suggests that anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders are mostly white, under the age of 30, male, and heterosexual. Comparisons across crime types yielded no significant and consistent difference between anti-LGBTQ hate crime offender demographics and the demographic characteristics of hate crime offenders and general crime offenders. An analysis of the situational dynamics of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes suggests that anti-LGBTQ hate crimes are mostly crimes against persons committed by single offenders known to their victims in open space locations. Comparisons across crime types yielded significant results for select datasets in regards to offender substance use, number of offenders, known offender type, crime location, and crimes against persons/property. Anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were more likely than hate crimes and general crimes to involve offenders who were under the influence of alcohol or drugs during the time of the incident. While lone offenders committed the majority of anti-LGBTQ hate incidents, anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were more likely to involve multiple perpetrators than hate crimes and general crimes. Anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were also more likely to involve known offenders described as acquaintances and less likely to involve current or former intimate partners. Anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were also more likely than hate crimes and general crimes to be classified as crimes against persons as opposed to crimes against property.

A key set of findings worthy of its own discussion focuses on the heterogenous nature of anti-LGBTQ hate violence. The existing literature largely characterizes anti-LGBTQ hate as motivated by pure disgust and prejudice, in which an unknown offender selects his victim solely based on membership to a minority sexual orientation or gender

identity group. The offender commits this act in a public location in order to spread a message of hate and intolerance. Instead, the current data analysis shows that many anti-LGBTQ hate incidents occurred in private residences, areas where there is less interaction amongst strangers and where there is a smaller audience for displays of hate and masculinity. In addition, substantial percentages of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes were perpetrated by offenders known to the victim. Most of these known offenders were acquaintances such as friends, neighbors, schoolmates, and workmates, but others were family members and former and current intimate partners. While the clear majority of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders were identified by their victims as being heterosexual, 20.03% were identified as being non-heterosexual. Uncovering that a sizeable portion of non-heterosexual individuals were identified as responsible for perpetrating anti-LGBTQ hate crime outwardly contradicts with the definition of this type of crime as one being motivated by sexual orientation and/or gender identity prejudice. Kelley and Gruenewald (2015) and Tomsen (2009) offer a more plausible explanation for these findings, theorizing that expressions of anti-LGBTQ hate are not homogenous and may be reactionary as well as being predatory. Anti-LGBTQ hate crimes can be unplanned, involving a response to conscious and unconscious victim provocation. Instead of selecting a nonconforming LGBTQ individual as prey in order to establish masculine dominance, anti-LGBTQ hate may evolve out of a personal confrontation. Consequently, these forms of anti-LGBTQ hate are more likely to involve known offenders including friends, family members, and intimates in more private settings. Arguing that some anti-LGBTQ hate crimes are reactionary instead of predatory in nature does not automatically exclude the significant role that masculinity plays in the incident. Interpersonal conflicts

that spur reactionary hate may involve challenges to the offender's gender or sexuality such as undesired sexual advances, mistaken gender identity, or any other insult that is exacerbated by the fact that it came from an individual belonging to a subordinate social group. Committing an act of anti-LGBTQ hate becomes a way to save face after a situation diminished the offender's hegemonic masculinity.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to conduct an in-depth analysis of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offender characteristics and situational dynamics in order to further understand anti-LGBTQ hate as a unique form of aggression. Based on the research presented here, anti-LGBTQ hate crime perpetrators generally adhered to the profile of a typical offender offered in the academic literature. The current findings showed that the majority of anti-LGBTQ hate offenders are white, heterosexual men under the age of 30. Unexpectedly, the proportion of these offender demographic groups among anti-LGBTQ hate offenders were not consistently different than amongst general crime and hate crime offenders. Analysis of situational dynamic variables, however, did provide support for the notion that anti-LGBTQ hate is a distinct type of criminal incident. Increased proportions of offender substance use, number of offenders, unknown offenders, acquaintances as known offenders, and crimes taking place in open spaces substantiated the theory that anti-LGBTQ hate crime is qualitatively unique, typified by different characteristics than other forms of crime and aggression.

In addition to uncovering distinct situational characteristics of anti-LGBTQ hate crime, the data in this study proposes that anti-LGBTQ hate crime is not a homogenous phenomenon. The theoretical literature on hate crime emphasizes that construction of

hegemonic masculinity prompts visible, predatory acts of anti-LGBTQ hate committed

by strangers, yet this study yielded data that suggests that anti-LGBTQ hate crime is

more heterogeneous. Significant numbers of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes committed by

known offenders including friends, family, and intimates, crimes committed in private

locations such as residences, and crimes committed by non-heterosexual individuals

suggests that another dynamic process may underlie this type of crime. Conceptualizing

anti-LGBTQ hate crime as unvarying incidents, using carbon copy descriptions of

offenders, victims, and crime characteristics is a mistake. While the social construction

of sexuality and gender may still play an influential role in the commission of anti-

LGBTQ hate crime, varying situational contexts suggest a more complex phenomenon

than many researchers articulate.

6.2 Limitations

This study had a number of limitations related not to the design of the study, but

the nature of the data. A fundamental issue that requires attention is the fact that the

UCR and NIBRS datasets are based on law enforcement data, while the NCVS and

NCAVP datasets are based on victim reported data. Scholars assert that as compared to

other forms of violent victimization, hate crimes, especially anti-LGBTQ hate crimes, are

reported to law enforcement much less frequently (Dunbar, 2006; Herek, Cogan, &

Gillis, 2002; Levin, 1999; Perry, 2001). Levin (1999) found that less than 30% of hate

crime victims reported their victimization to law enforcement, while Perry (2001) found

less than 20% and Iganski (2002) found only one out of every six victims came forward. When an individual reports that he or she has been the victim of a hate crime motivated by sexual orientation and/or gender identity bias, that individual is essentially admitting that he or she is a member of the LGBTQ community. Identification as a victim of LGBTQ hate is concomitant with outing oneself, something the victim may not be ready to do. The victim may fear that he or she will not be taken seriously by law enforcement, making coming forward futile. Victims may even fear secondary victimization at the hands of law enforcement, including the potential of being berated again for their sexual orientation or gender identity. An overall sense of distrust between minority communities and law enforcement makes many anti-LGBTQ hate crime victims reluctant to report their victimization to law enforcement, even if it prevents an arrest or subsequent legal action. A comparison between National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (the organization which collected anti-LGBTQ hate data before the creation of the NCAVP) and UCR data highlights the limited scope of law enforcement derived hate crime data "Each year the six or nine cities [included in the NGLTF dataset] consistently report more anti-gay violence than the UCR reports for the entire nation. The data from New York City alone nearly outpace the national UCR data" (Perry, 2001, p. 23).

Victim-based hate crime data includes both reported and unreported victimizations, capturing the dark figure of crime not included in law enforcement data. The inclusion of unreported hate crimes in the NCVS and NCAVP allows for a hate crime victim to provide information without the potentially negative consequences of formally reporting a hate crime incident to the police. However, as victimization surveys rely on the victim to provide information, information on offenders or crime attributes

may be lacking or inaccurate. In addition, the NCAVP issues its own disclaimer

asserting that even though it is the most comprehensive report on anti-LGBTQ hate, it is

not representative of all anti-LGBTQ hate incidents occurring in the United States.

> NCAVP's data may particularly omit populations such as incarcerated people,
> people in rural communities, people who may be unaware of their local anti-
> violence program, people who cannot geographically access anti-violence
> programs, people who are not out, people who are uncomfortable with reporting,
> and people who face other barriers to reporting or accessing services. While the
> information contained in this report provides a detailed picture of the individual
> survivors, it cannot and should not be extrapolated to represent the prevalence of
> hate violence against LGBTQ and HIV-affected communities in the United
> States. (NCAVP, 2015, pp. 20-21)

Differences across datasets regarding anti-LGBTQ hate crime offender

demographic and situational dynamic category proportions broach the issue of dataset

methodology and its impact on construct validity. Questions arise as to whether each

dataset is measuring the same phenomenon. Perry (2001) argued that hate crime is one of

the most difficult concepts to define and measure. As Turpin-Petrosino (2002)

articulated, "there is no consensus among social scientists or lawmakers on definition

elements that would constitute a global description of hate crime. Part of the reason for

this lies in the fact that cultural differences, social norms, and political interests play a

large role in defining crime in general, and hate crime in particular" (p. 208). If

participants utilize varying definitions in the reporting, identification, classifying, and

documenting of hate crime there are substantial consequences for the quality of the data

derived from such methodologies. As this study compares hate crime data from four

datasets, the definitions and methods used by each should be properly investigated.

The hate crime definitions used by each dataset are relatively consistent as they

are all based on the text of the Hate Crime Statistics Act of 1990. However, the different

data collection methods and classification procedures used by each dataset suggests that there may be considerable differences in the types of incidents labeled as hate crimes. The following paragraphs describe the specific protocols used by the UCR, NIBRS, NCVS, and NCAVP and the potential implications these differences may have on hate crime data analysis.

As the FBI oversees the UCR and NIBRS hate crime data collection efforts, they utilize the same definition and criteria for classification as a hate crime. There are two criteria for an incident to meet in order to be classified as a hate crime by the UCR or NIBRS. First, the incident must be "motivated, in whole or in part, by the offender's bias against a race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, ethnicity, gender, or gender identity" (FBI, 2015c, p. 4). Second, before an incident can be reported as a hate crime, "sufficient objective facts must be present to lead a reasonable and prudent person to conclude that the offender's actions were motivated, in whole or in part, by bias" (FBI, 2015c, p. 6). Elements such as bias-related oral comments, bias-related drawings, markings, symbols, or graffiti, bias-related objects, the incident coinciding with a holiday or date of significance, the victim engaging in activities related to his or her group status, and offender hate group membership are considered when evaluating whether an incident was motivated by bias or not. In order to insure proper classification, the FBI suggests a two-tier decision-making process. The responding officer to an incident has the responsibility of determining whether there are any signs that the offender was motivated by bias. If so, the responding officer designates the incident as a suspected-bias motivated crime. A second-level judgment unit (in larger agencies) or specially trained officer (in smaller agencies) reviews the reported facts and makes a final determination of

whether or not a hate crime was committed. If an offense meet these two criteria and is designated as a hate crime by both tiers in the decision-making process, they are reported in accordance with the methodological requirements of the UCR or NIBRS program.

The NCVS cites the Hate Crime Statistics Act's (1990) definition of hate crimes as "crimes that manifest evidence of prejudice based on race, gender or gender identity, religion, disability, sexual orientation, or ethnicity" (para. 1). As the FBI was designated by the Attorney General to collect data on hate crimes in accordance with the Hate Crime Statistics Act, the UCR and NIBRS hate crime data collection is based on this definition as well. However, the NCVS adds that they measure "crimes perceived by victims to be motivated by an offender's bias against them for belonging to or being associated with a group largely identified by these characteristics" (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2016, para. 1). While the NCVS requires that a victim must report at least one of three types of evidence of bias motivation (offender used hate language, offender left behind hate symbols, or police investigators confirmed that the incident was a hate crime), the classification of an incident as a hate crime by the NCVS is largely dictated by victim perception and interpretation.

The NCAVP defines hate crimes as "any crime for which the motivation of the perpetrator is based wholly or in part on his or her perception of the identity of the victim" (NCAVP, 2005, para. 8). Similarly to the NCVS, suggesting that an incident is motivated by bias is up to the victim. While classification as a hate crime by the NCVS is guided by asking the victim if one or more of three types of evidence were present, the NCAVP data collection methodology does not articulate any such procedure. Identification of an incident as a hate crime is left up to the reporting victim.

While the datasets included in this study utilize similar definitions of hate crime, the varying methods of data collection (law enforcement data / victimization data) and protocols for classifying incidents as hate crimes likely resulted in capturing inconsistent profiles of hate crime. For example, as discussed earlier, the NIBRS dataset captured fewer male perpetrators of anti-LGBTQ hate crime than the NCVS and NCAVP. As NIBRS data is gathered and classified by law enforcement and NCVS and NCAVP data is conveyed and classified by victims, differences in the gender proportions of anti-LGBTQ hate crime offenders may be due to methodological differences. Similarly, as mentioned earlier, the overabundance of crimes against property seen amongst anti-LGBTQ hate crimes in the NIBRS dataset is the opposite of the excess of crimes against persons seen amongst anti-LGBTQ hate crimes in the UCR, NCVS, and NCAVP datasets. The exclusion of the hierarchy rule in the NIBRS protocol may result in a larger number of crimes against property, ranked lower in the hierarchy of crime seriousness, and therefore may factor into this disparity. While a thorough examination of the differences in anti-LGBTQ hate crime offender demographics and situational dynamics across datasets is beyond the scope of the current project, the findings presented in this study provide evidence of both consistency and divergence among datasets and justification for further inquiry of the relationship between hate crime definition, classification, and methodology and anti-LGBTQ hate crime characteristics.

5.3 Ethical Considerations

Prior to this study the NCAVP did not share the data compiled from its member and ally organizations with any researchers or institutions. The annual reports published by the NCAVP do not contain any personal information. While the NCAVP Uniform Incident Reporting Form includes a caller information section in which the staff member completing the form may denote the caller's name, address, phone number, and email address, and a victim information section in which the staff member completing the form may denote the victim's name, address, phone number, and email address, this information is excluded from the NCAVP's data spreadsheets and its final published reports. The only information included in the NCAVP data spreadsheets and published reports that is not anonymous are the accounts of 18 known LGBTQ hate-motivated homicides. "The majority of these narratives are not anonymous, because this information is public and critical to understanding which identities are most vulnerable to anti-LGBTQ and HIV-affected homicide" (NCAVP, 2015, p. 107). Aside from the select hate-motivated homicide narratives included in the data set, all other information shared by the NCAVP for the purpose of this study is confidential. The use of this data was approved by the NCAVP Governance Committee and the organization's legal advisors.

5.4 Contributions to the Field of Criminology

Practical Applications

The statistical analysis of UCR, NIBRS, NCVS, and NCAVP datasets provided a detailed look into the offender demographics and situational dynamics of anti-LGBTQ hate crime, both independently and in comparison to general crime and hate crime. The inclusion of data from of four distinct datasets over seven years provided a larger number of cases for analysis, overcoming the weakness of several previous studies of anti-LGBTQ hate that suffered from limited cases. The use of national-level datasets offered a broader picture of anti-LGBTQ hate than prior reports limited to one geographic area. Furthermore, as victims of anti-LGBTQ hate are often unlikely to report such incidents to law enforcement for fear of exposure, judgment, and/or secondary victimization, the use of two law enforcement datasets and two victimization survey datasets allowed for the inclusion of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes that were reported to the police and those that were not. The analysis of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes documented in the UCR, NIBRS, NCVS, and NCAVP datasets captured more of the real world of anti-LGBTQ hate victimization than one dataset or one data collection methodology alone.

The findings from this study regarding offender demographics and situational dynamic variables can be used by law enforcement personnel to aid in the identification and investigation of anti-LGBTQ hate perpetrators. In addition, these findings can play a role in the development of successful interventions aimed to prevent anti-LGBTQ hate, a crime that substantially impacts the lives of victims and the society around them.

Theoretical Applications

This study provided a rare empirical assessment of anti-LGBTQ hate crime characteristics within the theoretical framework of masculine violence. The detailed characteristics of anti-LGBTQ hate crime described through the lens of doing gender theory, puts the study's results into context. Findings from this study supported the argument that anti-LGBTQ hate is a unique form of aggression with distinct situational characteristics that merit individual analysis. Furthermore, uncovering anti-LGBTQ acts of hate that do not conform with the typical profile, suggests that anti-LGBTQ hate should be disaggregated and examined as a heterogeneous phenomenon.

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APPENDIX A

NCAVP Hate Violence Dataset Contributors: Incidents Occurring in 2013

Contributing Organization	Location
Buckeye Region Anti-Violence Organization (BRAVO)	Columbus, OH
Center on Halsted	Chicago, IL
Civil Rights Commission of Puerto Rico	San Juan, Puerto Rico
Colorado Anti-Violence Program (CAVP)	Denver, CO
Community United Against Violence (CUAV)	San Francisco, CA
Equality Michigan	Detroit, MI
Fenway Health Violence Recovery Program	Boston, MA
Kansas City Anti-Violence Project (KCAVP)	Kansas City, MO
Los Angeles Gay & Lesbian Center	Los Angeles, CA
Montrose Center	Houston, TX
New York City Anti-Violence Project (NYC AVP)	New York, NY
OutFront Minnesota	Minneapolis, MN
SafeSpace at the RU12? Community Center	Winooski, VT
Wingspan Anti-Violence Programs	Tucson, AZ

NCAVP Hate Violence Dataset Contributors: Incidents Occurring in 2012

Contributing Organization	Location
Buckeye Region Anti-Violence Organization (BRAVO)	Columbus, OH
Center on Halsted	Chicago, IL
Civil Rights Commission of Puerto Rico	San Juan, Puerto Rico
Colorado Anti-Violence Program (CAVP)	Denver, CO
Community United Against Violence (CUAV)	San Francisco, CA
Equality Michigan	Detroit, MI
Fenway Health Violence Recovery Program	Boston, MA
Kansas City Anti-Violence Project (KCAVP)	Kansas City, MO
Los Angeles Gay & Lesbian Center	Los Angeles, CA
Montrose Center	Houston, TX
New York City Anti-Violence Project (NYC AVP)	New York, NY
OutFront Minnesota	Minneapolis, MN
SafeSpace at the RU12? Community Center	Winooski, VT
Wingspan Anti-Violence Programs	Tucson, AZ

NCAVP Hate Violence Dataset Contributors: Incidents Occurring in 2011

Contributing Organization	Location
Buckeye Region Anti-Violence Organization (BRAVO)	Columbus, OH
Center on Halsted	Chicago, IL
Colorado Anti-Violence Program (CAVP)	Denver, CO
Community United Against Violence (CUAV)	San Francisco, CA
Equality Michigan	Detroit, MI
Fenway Health Violence Recovery Program	Boston, MA
Kansas City Anti-Violence Project (KCAVP)	Kansas City, MO
Los Angeles Gay & Lesbian Center	Los Angeles, CA
Montrose Center	Houston, TX
New York City Anti-Violence Project (NYC AVP)	New York, NY
OutFront Minnesota	Minneapolis, MN
SafeSpace at the RU12? Community Center	Winooski, VT
Sean's Last Wish	Greensville, SC
Southern Poverty Law Center	Montgomery, AL (national level data)
Wingspan Anti-Violence Programs	Tucson, AZ

NCAVP Hate Violence Dataset Contributors: Incidents Occurring in 2010

Contributing Organization	Location
Buckeye Region Anti-Violence Organization (BRAVO)	Columbus, OH
Center on Halsted	Chicago, IL
Colorado Anti-Violence Program (CAVP)	Denver, CO
Community United Against Violence (CUAV)	San Francisco, CA
Equality Michigan	Detroit, MI
Fenway Health Violence Recovery Program	Boston, MA
Gay Alliance of the Genesee Valley Anti-Violence	Rochester, NY
Kansas City Anti-Violence Project (KCAVP)	Kansas City, MO
Los Angeles Gay & Lesbian Center	Los Angeles, CA
Montrose Center	Houston, TX
New York City Anti-Violence Project (NYC AVP)	New York, NY
OutFront Minnesota	Minneapolis, MN
SafeSpace at the RU12? Community Center	Winooski, VT
Sean's Last Wish	Greensville, SC
Southern Poverty Law Center	Montgomery, AL (national level data)
Wingspan Anti-Violence Programs	Tucson, AZ

NCAVP Hate Violence Dataset Contributors: Incidents Occurring in 2009

Contributing Organization	Location
Buckeye Region Anti-Violence Organization (BRAVO)	Columbus, OH
Center on Halsted	Chicago, IL
Colorado Anti-Violence Program (CAVP)	Denver, CO
Community United Against Violence (CUAV)	San Francisco, CA
Equality Michigan	Detroit, MI
Fenway Health Violence Recovery Program	Boston, MA
Gay Alliance of the Genesee Valley Anti-Violence Program	Rochester, NY
Just Detention International	Los Angeles, CA
Kansas City Anti-Violence Project (KCAVP)	Kansas City, MO
Los Angeles Gay & Lesbian Center	Los Angeles, CA
Milwaukee LGBT Community Center	Milwaukee, WI
Montrose Center	Houston, TX
New York City Anti-Violence Project (NYC AVP)	New York, NY
OutFront Minnesota	Minneapolis, MN
SafeSpace at the RU12? Community Center	Winooski, VT
Wingspan Anti-Violence Programs	Tucson, AZ

NCAVP Hate Violence Dataset Contributors: Incidents Occurring in 2008

Contributing Organization	Location
Buckeye Region Anti-Violence Organization (BRAVO)	Columbus, OH
Center on Halsted	Chicago, IL
Colorado Anti-Violence Program (CAVP)	Denver, CO
Community United Against Violence (CUAV)	San Francisco, CA
Equality Advocates Pennsylvania	Philadelphia, PA
Gay Alliance of the Genesee Valley Anti-Violence Program	Rochester, NY
Kansas City Anti-Violence Project (KCAVP)	Kansas City, MO
Los Angeles Gay & Lesbian Center	Los Angeles, CA
Milwaukee LGBT Community Center	Milwaukee, WI
Montrose Center	Houston, TX
New York City Anti-Violence Project (NYC AVP)	New York, NY
OutFront Minnesota	Minneapolis, MN
Triangle Foundation	Detroit, MI

NCAVP Hate Violence Dataset Contributors: Incidents Occurring in 2007

Contributing Organization	Location
Buckeye Region Anti-Violence Organization (BRAVO)	Columbus, OH
Center on Halsted	Chicago, IL
Colorado Anti-Violence Program (CAVP)	Denver, CO
Community United Against Violence (CUAV)	San Francisco, CA
Equality Advocates Pennsylvania	Philadelphia, PA
Fenway Health Violence Recovery Program	Boston, MA
Kansas City Anti-Violence Project (KCAVP)	Kansas City, MO
Los Angeles Gay & Lesbian Center	Los Angeles, CA
Milwaukee LGBT Community Center	Milwaukee, WI
Montrose Center	Houston, TX
New York City Anti-Violence Project (NYC AVP)	New York, NY
OutFront Minnesota	Minneapolis, MN
SafeSpace at the RU12? Community Center	Burlington, VT
Triangle Foundation	Detroit, MI

APPENDIX B

NCAVP Case Intake / Incident Reporting Form

National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs Case Intake/Incident Reporting Form

Your Name:_____

Date:_____/_____/_____   Time of Intake:_____ AM/PM

Staff   Volunteer   Intern   Location of Intake

1

CALLER INFORMATION

Case Number:_____

Intake Type:
Hotline/Phone   Email
Mail   Ofc/Walk-in
Media   Website

Entered Into Database _____/_____/_____
Call Back Needed   Yes   No
Primary Language _____

Case Type(s) (check all that apply)

B: Hate Violence   I: Intimate Partner Violence   H: HIV-related   NA: Hotline
P: Police Violence   S: Sexual Violence   Z: Pick-up violence

Caller's Name:_____
Caller's Address: _____
_____

Phone: (___)_____ Ok to call?
Alt Phone: (___)_____ Ok to call?

Caller's E-mail: _____
Ok to email?

Caller presents as *(check one):*
Family   Friend   Lover/Partner   Offender
Organizational Survivor/Victim   Service provider
Survivor/Victim   Witness   Other
(specify):_____

Caller assessed as *(For IPV cases, complete after using IPV Assessment Form):*
Family   Friend   Lover/Partner   Offender
Organizational Survivor/Victim   Service provider
Survivor/Victim   Witness   Other
(specify):_____

Caller Was Referred By *(Check one)*
AVP Publicity   Court   Family   Friend   Hospital _____   Internet   LGBTQ Org _____
Media _____   Non-LGBTQ org   Phone Book   Police   Other (specify): _____

SURVIVOR/VICTIM #1 | SURVIVOR/VICTIM INFORMATION

Number of Survivors/Victims: _____
(Attach 'Additional Survivor/Victims Form' to document other survivors/victims)
Survivor/Victim is: Person   Organization

Name: _____

Address:_____
_____

Phone: _____

Email:_____

Prefers contact via: Phone   Email
OK to say 'AVP?'   Yes   No   Unk.
OK to leave message?   Yes   No   Unk.
OK to email 'AVP?'   Yes   No   Unk.
OK to receive mail?'   Yes   No   Unk.

AGE:
< 14   40-49
15-18   50-59
19-24   60-69
25-29   70-79
30-39   > 80

Not disclosed

Age (if known): _____
D.O.B: ___/___/___

GENDER ID *(check all that apply):*
Man
Woman
Non-Transgender
Transgender
Self-Identified/Other *(specify)*
_____
Not disclosed

INTERSEX:
Yes   No   Not disclosed

RACE/ETHNICITY *(check all that apply):*
Arab/Middle Eastern
Asian/Pacific Islander
Black/African American/ African Descent
Indigenous/First People/ Native American/ American Indian
Latina/o
White
Self-Identified/Other *(specify):*
_____
South Asian
Not disclosed

SEXUAL ORIENTATION:
Bisexual
Gay
Heterosexual
Lesbian
Queer
Questioning/ Unsure
Self-Identified/ Other *(specify)*
_____
Not disclosed

IMMIGRATION STATUS:
U.S. citizen
Permanent resident
Undocumented
Other
Not disclosed

HIV STATUS:
Survivor/victim is HIV+?
Yes   No   Not disclosed

DISABILITY:
Survivor/victim has a disability?
Yes   No   Not disclosed

If yes, check all that apply and specify:
Blind/Visually impaired: _____
Deaf/Hard of hearing:_____
Learning disability: _____
Mental health: _____
Physical:
_____

SURVIVOR/VICTIM USE OF ALCOHOL/DRUGS
Alcohol involved?   Yes   No   Not disclosed   Drugs involved?   Yes   No   Not disclosed
If yes, describe: _____

CASE/INCIDENT INFORMATION | 2

Date of Incident:__/__/__ Time of Incident: __:__ am/pm

Precinct where incident occurred:
_____

Location/ Address of Incident:_____
_____ ZIP_____

Is this a Serial Incident? Yes No Unk.

If Yes: Number of Previous Incidents 1 2-5 6-10 11+ Unk.

Previous police report filed? Yes No Unk. Ongoing since: __/__/__

TYPE(S) OF VIOLENCE (check all that apply):

VIOLENCE AGAINST PERSON (check all that apply):

Physical violence against person (check all that apply):
- Forced use of alcohol/drugs
- Murder
- Attempted murder
- Physical violence
- Attempted physical violence
- Robbery
- Attempted robbery
- Sexual violence
- Attempted sexual violence
- Self-injury
  - Suicide
  - Attempted suicide
  - Other self-harming behavior (cutting, etc.)

Was a weapon involved?
Yes No Unknown
List weapon: _____

Did the person die?
Yes No Unknown

Was the person injured?
Yes No Unknown

If yes, severity of injury:
- No injuries requiring medical attention
- Injuries requiring medical attention (specify):
  - Needed but not received
  - Outpatient (Clinic/MD/ER)
  - Hospitalization/Inpatient
- Not disclosed

Type of injury (specify):
_____
_____

Other violence against person (check all that apply):
- Blackmail
- Bullying
- Discrimination
- Eviction
- False police reporting
- Financial
- Harassment (NOT in person mail, email, txt. etc)
- Isolation
- Limiting/restricting bathroom access
- Medical
- Psychological/Emotional abuse
- Sexual harassment
- Stalking
- Threats/Intimidation
- Use of children (threats, outing, etc.)
- Use of immigration status
- Verbal harassment in person
- Violence against pet
  - Pet injured
  - Pet killed
- Other (specify): _____

_____

Police violence/misconduct (check all that apply):
- Excessive force
- Police entrapment
- Police harassment
- Police raid
- Unjustified arrest
- Use of condoms as evidence

Reported to internal/external police monitor?
Yes No Will Report
Attempted, complaint not taken
Not available Unknown

Other (specify): _____

VIOLENCE AGAINST PROPERTY (check all that apply):
- Arson
- Theft
- Vandalism
- Other (specify):

_____

*Est. stolen/damaged property value:
$ _____

SITE TYPE (check one):
- Cruising area
- In or near LGBTQ-identified venue
- Media
- Non-LGBTQ-identified venue (bar, restaurant, etc.)
- Online/Internet
- Police precinct/ jail/ vehicle
- Public Transportation
- Private residence
- School/college/university
- Shelter
  - DV/IPV
  - Non-DV/IPV
- Street/public area
- Other (specify): _____
- Workplace (place where survivor or abusive partner is employed)
- Not disclosed

Was this incident related to pick-up violence? Yes No Unknown

If yes, did survivor/victim & offender meet through cruising website or phone app?
Yes No Unknown

If yes, specify website/app:
Adam4adam Craigslist Eros
Grindr Manhunt Rentboy
Other website/app (specify):

_____

MOTIVE (check all that apply):
- Intimate partner violence
- Economic
- Pick-up violence
- Police violence
- Sexual violence
- Bias violence
  - Anti-Homelessness/Classism
  - Anti-Immigrant
  - Anti-LGBQ/Homophobia/ Biphobia
  - Anti-Sex worker
  - Anti-Transgender/Transphobia
  - Disability
  - HIV/AIDS-related
  - Racist/Anti-ethnic
  - Religious (specify perceived religion): _____
  - Sexist
  - Other (specify):

_____

- Unknown

OFFENDER INFORMATION | 3

| Total Number of Offenders: | Is offender a member of identifiable hate group? Yes No Unk. | Hate group's name(s): |

Vehicle used in case/incident? Yes No If yes, describe vehicle: _____ License #: _____

Note: If there is more than one offender, CREATE A DESIGNATION FOR EACH OFFENDER for use in the blank following each demographic category below (A, B, C, etc.)
Offender A Name: _____ Offender B Name: _____ Offender C Name: _____

OFFENDER(S) KNOWN TO SURVIVOR? Yes No If YES, fill out 1), below. If NO, fill out 2).

1) KNOWN OFFENDER(S): RELATIONSHIP TO SURVIVOR/VICTIM:

Acquaintance/Friend   Employer/Co-Worker   Ex-Lover/Partner (Live-in   Non Live-In)   Landlord
Lover/Partner (Live-in   Non Live-In)   Pick-Up   Police   Other law enforcement (FBI, ICE, etc.)
Other first responder (EMT, Court personnel, etc.)   Relative/Family   Roommate   Service provider
Tenant/Neighbor   Other (specify): _____   Unknown

2) UNKNOWN OFFENDER: RELATIONSHIP TO SURVIVOR/VICTIM:

Police   Other law enforcement (FBI, ICE, etc.)   Other first responder (EMT, Court personnel, etc.)
Pick-Up   Stranger   Other (specify): _____   Unknown

AGE:	GENDER ID (check all that apply):	RACE/ETHNICITY (check all that apply):	SEXUAL ORIENTATION:
14 or under ___	Man ___	Arab/Middle Eastern ___	Bisexual ___ Gay ___
15-18 ___	Woman ___		Heterosexual ___ Lesbian ___
19-24 ___	Non-Transgender ___	Asian/Pacific Islander ___	Queer ___ Questioning/Unsure ___
25-29 ___	Transgender ___	Black/African American/	Self-Identified/Other ___
30-39 ___	Self-Identified /Other ___	African Descent ___	(specify): _____
40-49 ___	(specify): _____	Indigenous/First People/	Not disclosed ___ Unknown ___
50-59 ___	Not Disclosed ___	Native American/	
60-69 ___	Unknown ___	American Indian ___	**OFFENDER USE OF ALCOHOL/DRUGS**
70-79 ___		Latina/o ___	Alcohol involved?
80 or over ___	**INTERSEX:**	White ___	Yes No Not disclosed Unk.
Not disclosed ___	Yes No	Self-Identified /Other ___	Drugs involved?
Age (if known) ___	Not disclosed Unknown	(specify): _____	Yes No Not disclosed Unk.
D.O.B: ___/___/___		South Asian ___	If yes, describe:
		Not disclosed ___	_____
		Unknown ___	_____

POLICE/COURT RESPONSE

Did survivor/victim interact with police in any way? Yes No Unknown

POLICE RESPONSE

What was police attitude toward survivor/victim?
Courteous   Indifferent   Hostile   Unk.

Did police do any of following to survivor/victim? (check all that apply):
Arrest survivor/victim
Verbal abuse

Use slurs or bias language
Physical violence
Police refused to take complaint
Sexual violence
Other negative behaviors (specify): _____
_____

If police violence/misconduct, reported to internal/external police monitor?
Yes   No   Will Report
Attempted, complaint not taken
Not available   Unknown

POLICE REPORTING

Did survivor/victim report incident to police?
Yes   No   Unknown   Will report
Did the police take a complaint? Yes No Complaint # _____
Did the police arrest the offender(s)? Yes No Unknown
Police involved (check all that apply):

City/Muni.   County   State   Federal (specify): _____
Other (please specify): _____   Police Badge # _____

PROTECTIVE ORDERS

Was a protective order sought by survivor/victim?
Yes   No   Unknown
Was the protective order granted?
Yes   No   Unknown
Protective order obtained (check all that apply):
By survivor/victim   By offender   Both survivor/victim & offender
Civil   Criminal   DV   Non-DV   Temporary   Permanent
Unknown

POLICE/COURT RESPONSE *(continued)* | 4

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE CLASSIFICATION N/A	BIAS INCIDENT CLASSIFICATION N/A

Did the survivor/victim identify the case/incident as domestic violence?   Yes   No   Unknown
Did the police classify the case/incident as domestic violence?   Yes   No   Unknown
If criminal case, was the case/incident classified as domestic violence by prosecutors?
    Yes   No   In process   Unknown
	Did the survivor/victim describe the incident as hate-motivated?
	    Yes No Unknown
	Did the police classify the incident as hate-motivated?
	    Yes No Unknown
	Was the incident classified as a hate crime by prosecutors?
	    Yes No In process Unknown

SERVICES PROVIDED

GENERAL SERVICES	ADVOCACY (check all types that apply):		REFERRALS (check all that apply):	FOLLOW-UP NEEDED?

Counseling
Safety planning
	Housing
	Medical
	
	Police
	Public benefits
	    Disability/SSD
	    Medicaid/Medicare
	    Public Assistance/Food Stamps
	    Shelter/Housing
	    Unemployment
	
	Other (specify):
		Legal
		Mental health
			Housing
			Legal
			Shelter
			    DV
			    Homeless
			Medical
			Police
			Other (specify):
			_____
				Agency follow-up
				Caller follow-up

CASE STATUS & MANAGEMENT (*Staff Only*)

Case Opened *Assigned to:* _____ Case Reassignment *Re--assigned to:* _____ Re-Opened Closed Case *Assigned to:* _____ Case Conference Presentation	Case Closed Case Data Update Quality Status Review

NARRATIVE

In your description of the case/incident, please make sure that you give the scenario of the violence, including the use of weapons, the specific anti-LGBTQ words used (if any), and extent of injuries.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX C

Data Comparison Charts

Offender Race

UCR

n = 70,092,217   n = 26,150   n = 5,883

NIBRS

n = 25,147,943   n = 11,585   n = 1,982
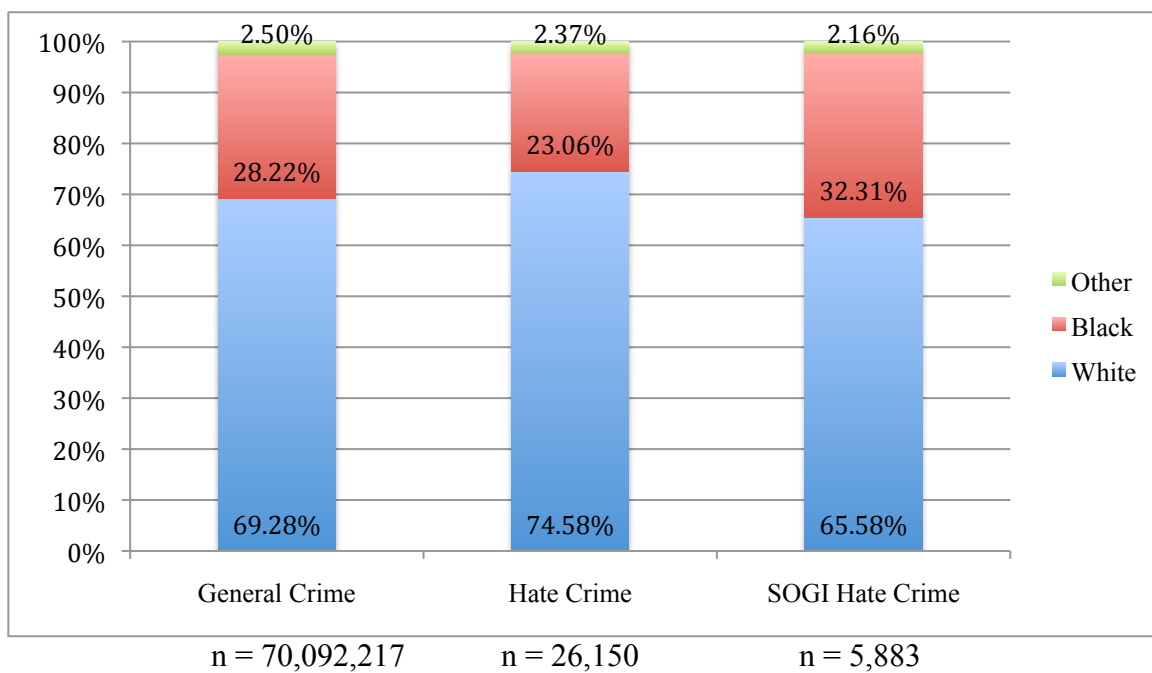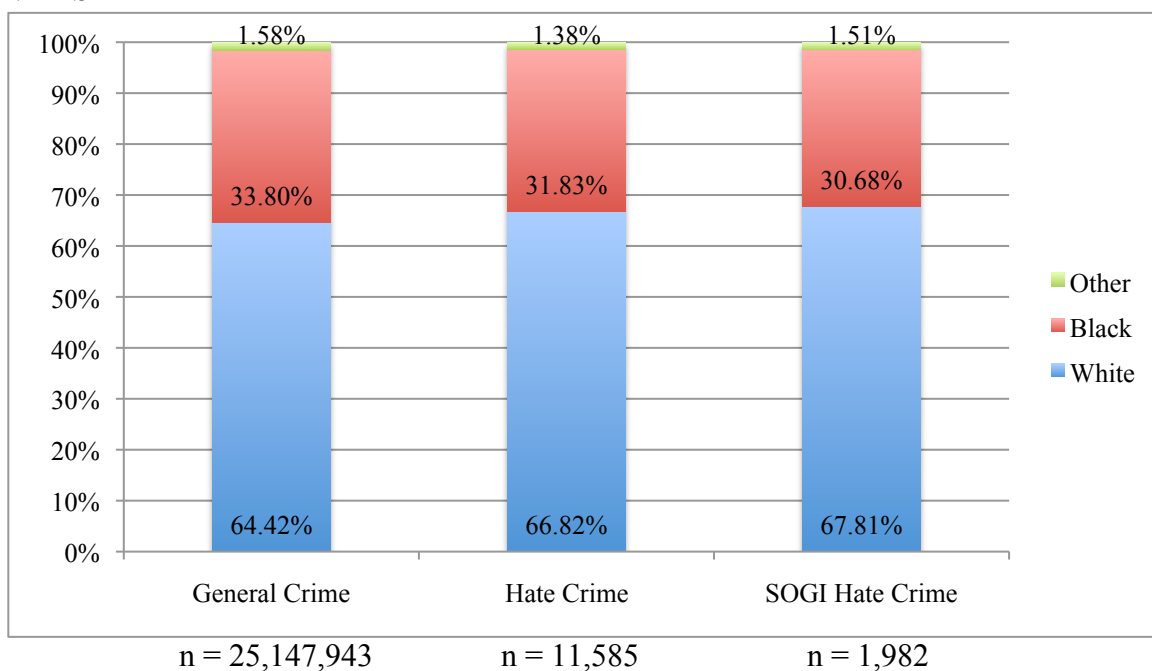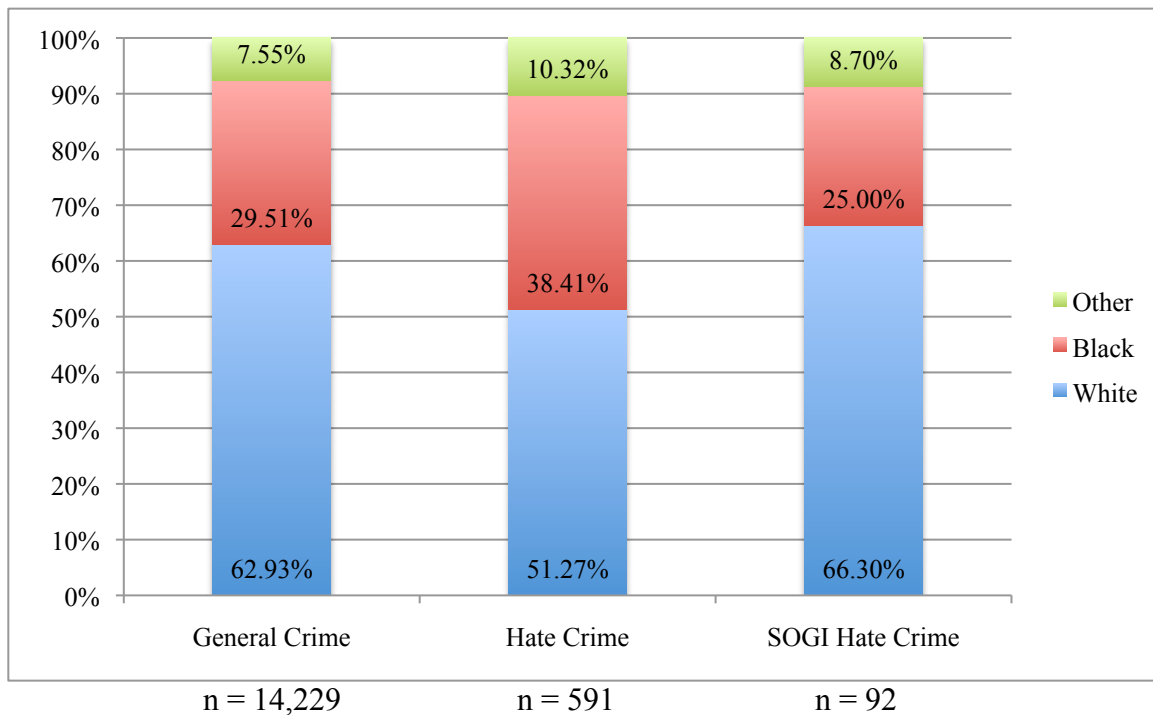
NCVS

SOGI Hate Crime Comparison: Offender Race
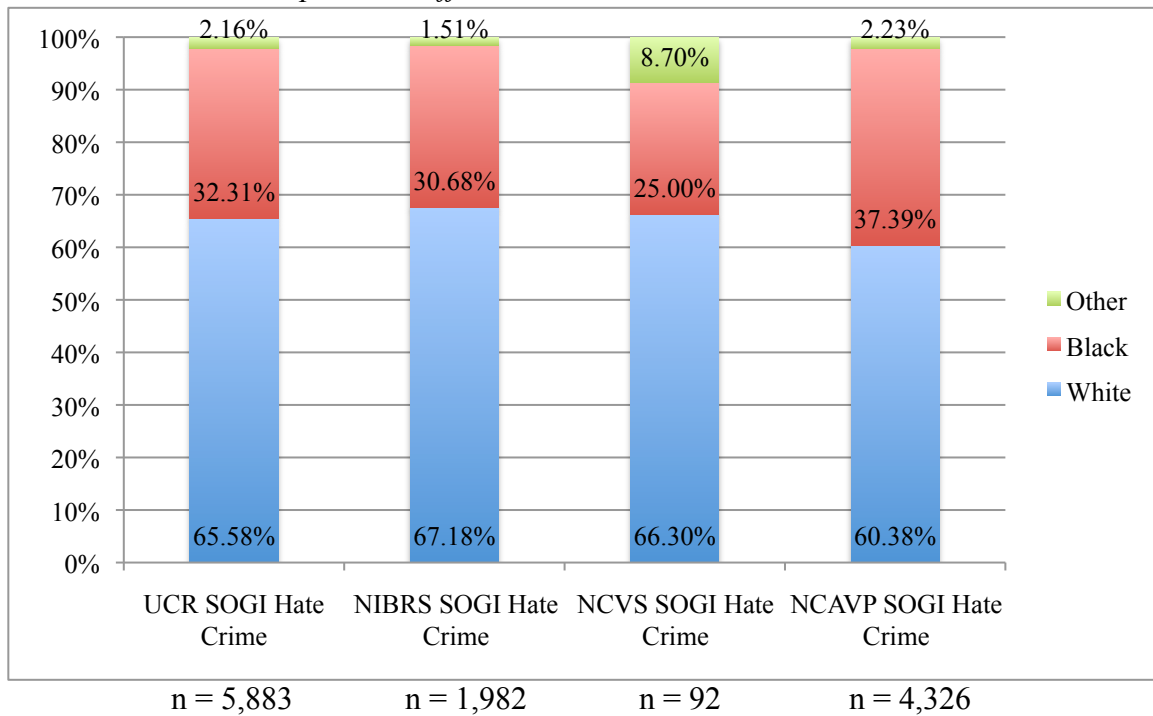
Offender Gender

NIBRS

n = 25,950,615   n = 11,976   n = 2,039
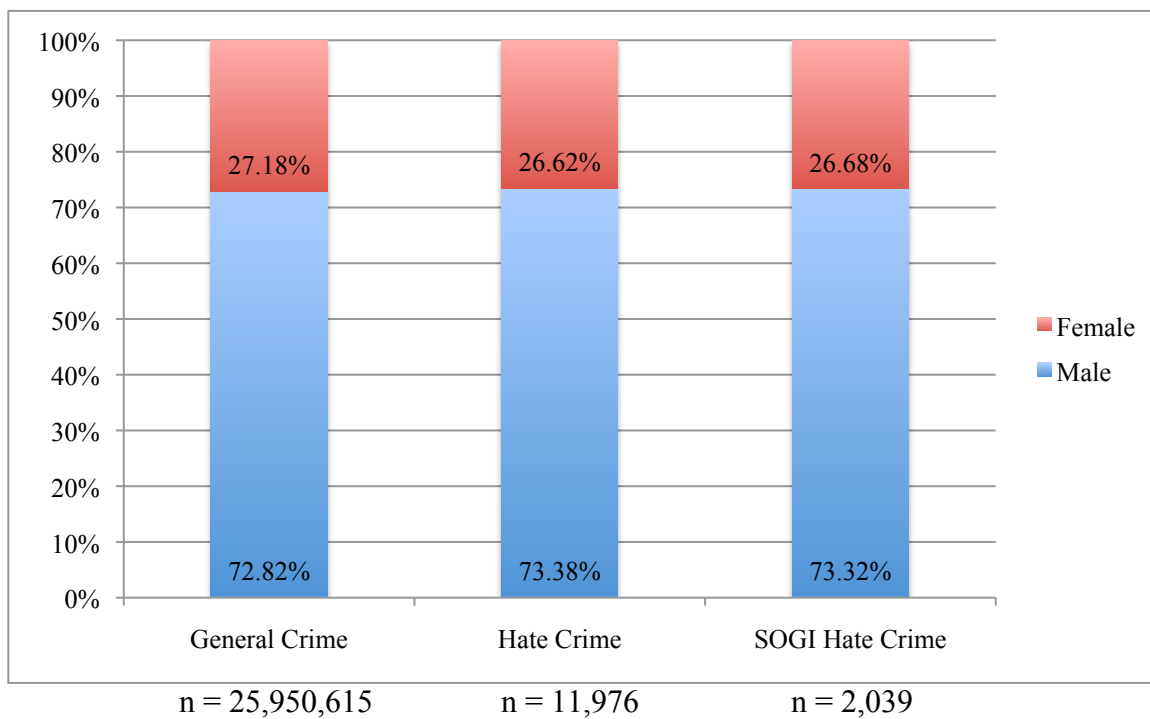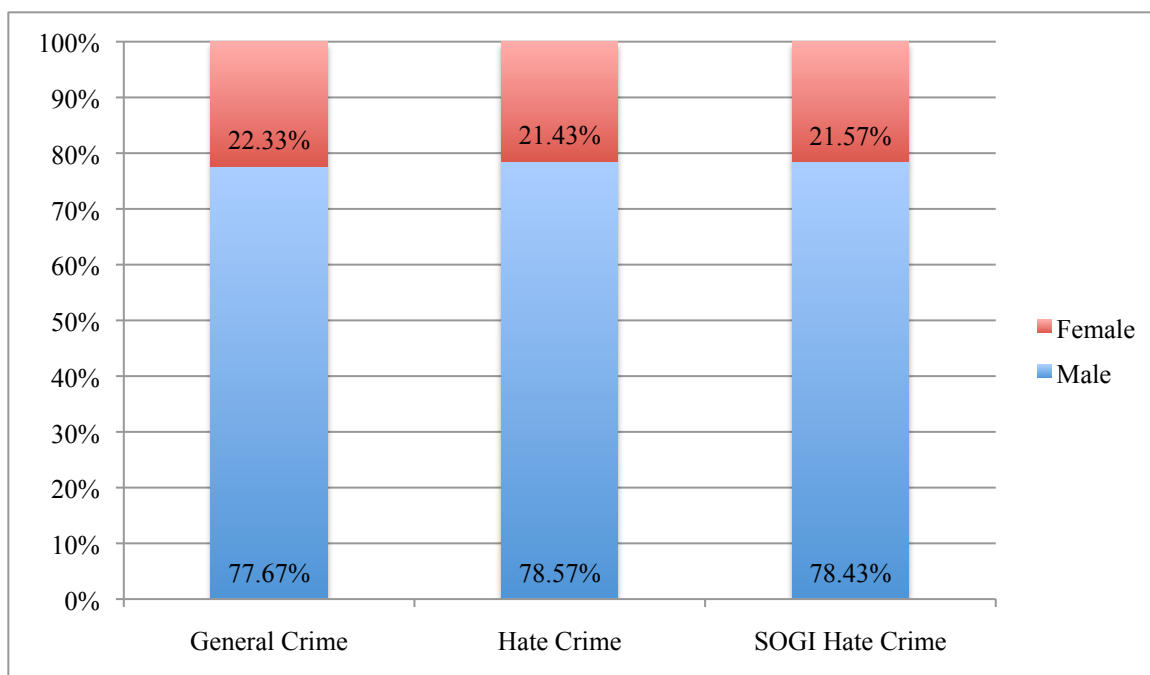
NCVS

n = 14,716   n = 602   n = 102

SOGI Hate Crime Comparison: Offender Gender

n = 2039   n = 102   n = 7.550
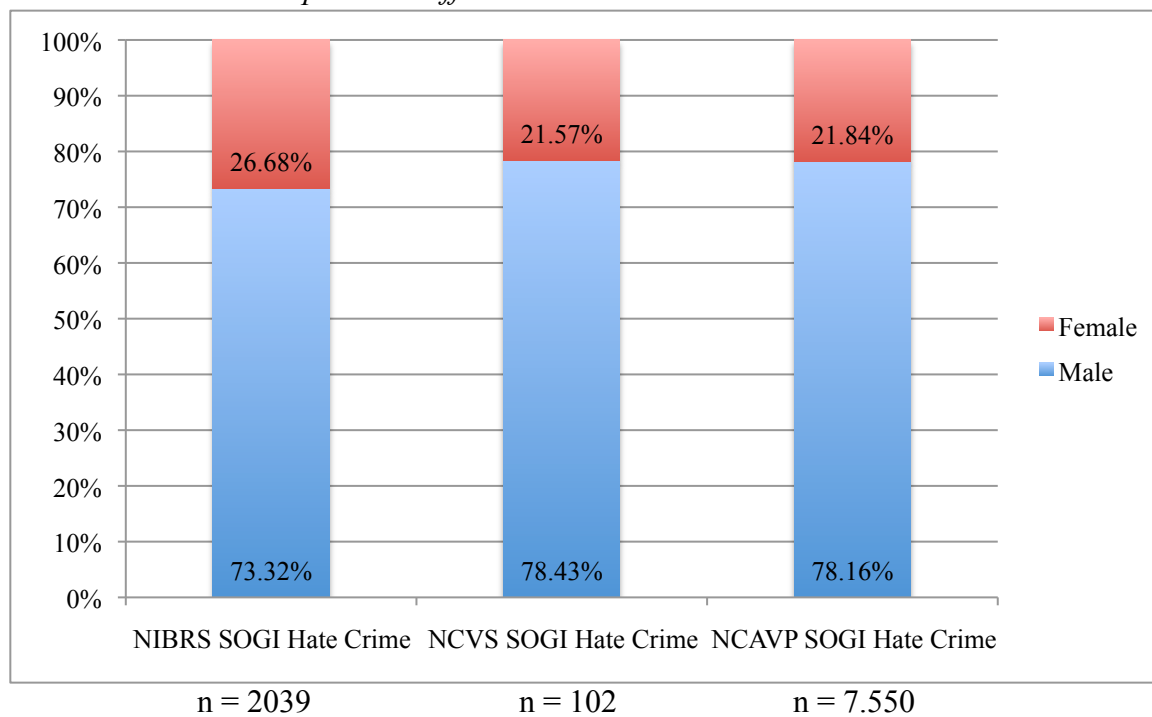
Offender Age

NIBRS

n = 24,593,213   n = 11,393   n = 1,932
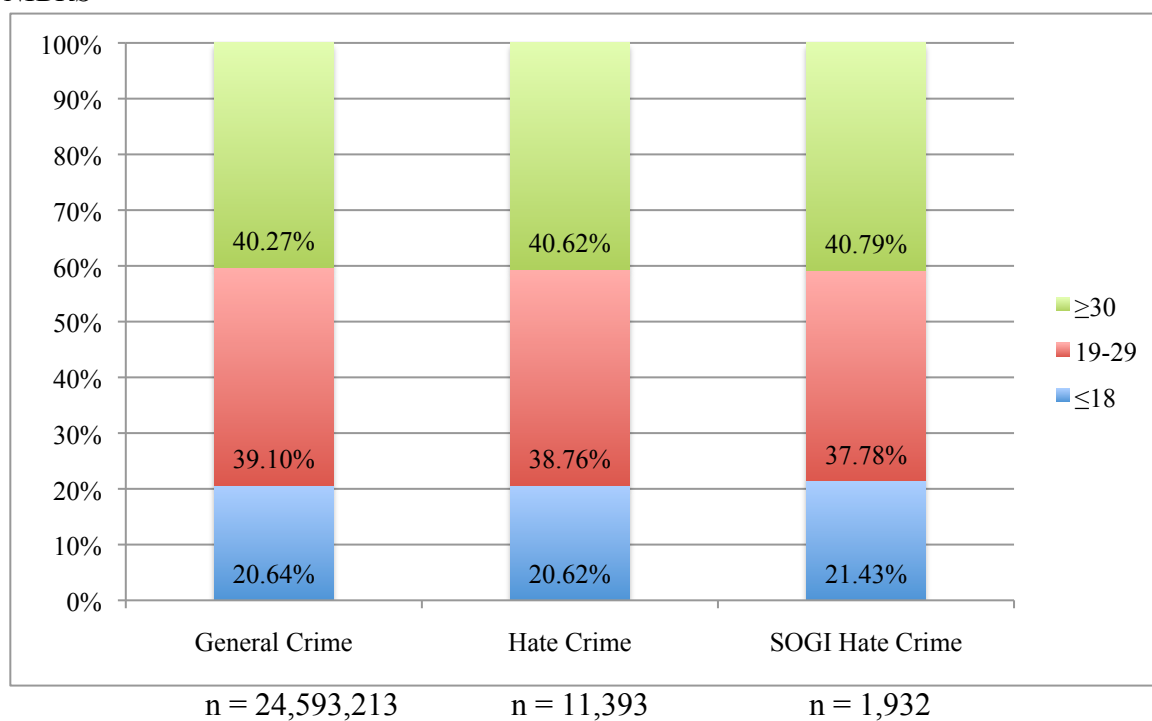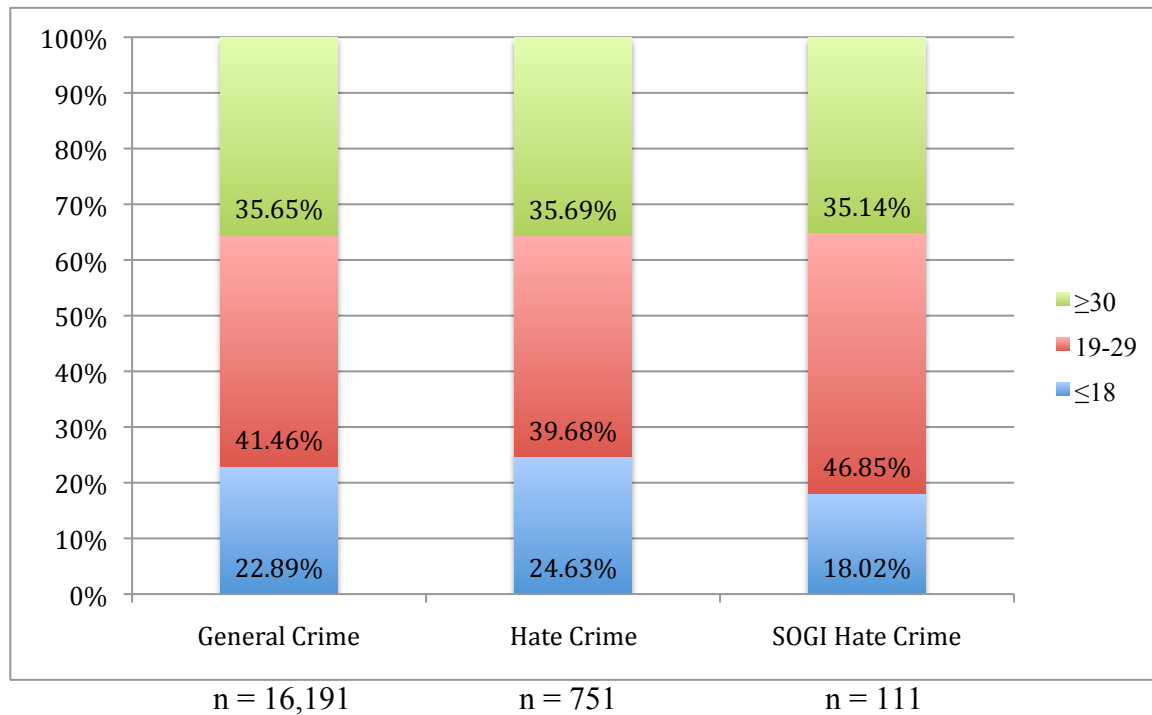
NCVS

SOGI Hate Crime Comparison: Offender Age
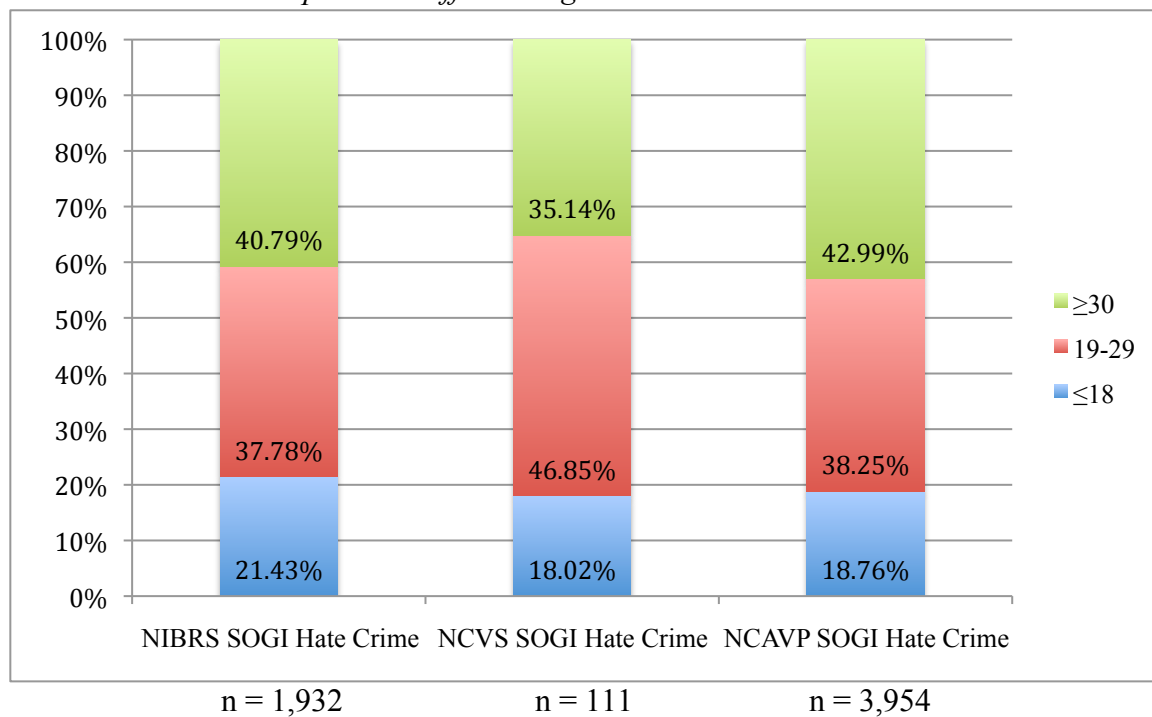
Offender Sexual Orientation

NCAVP
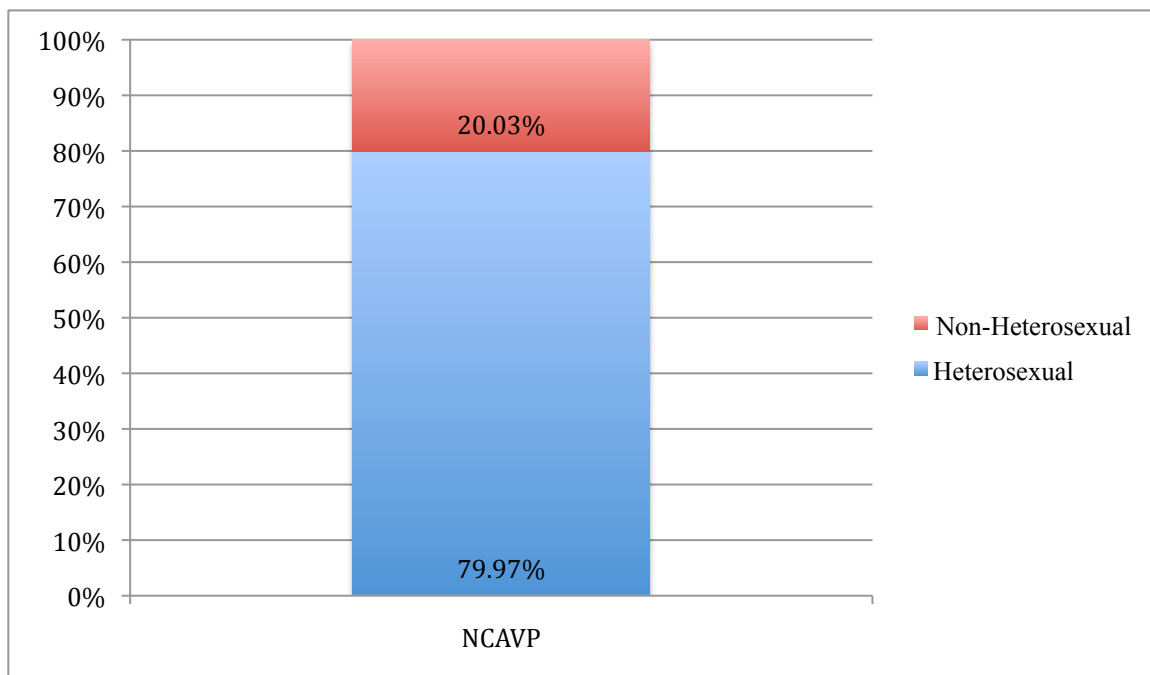
Offender Substance Use

NIBRS
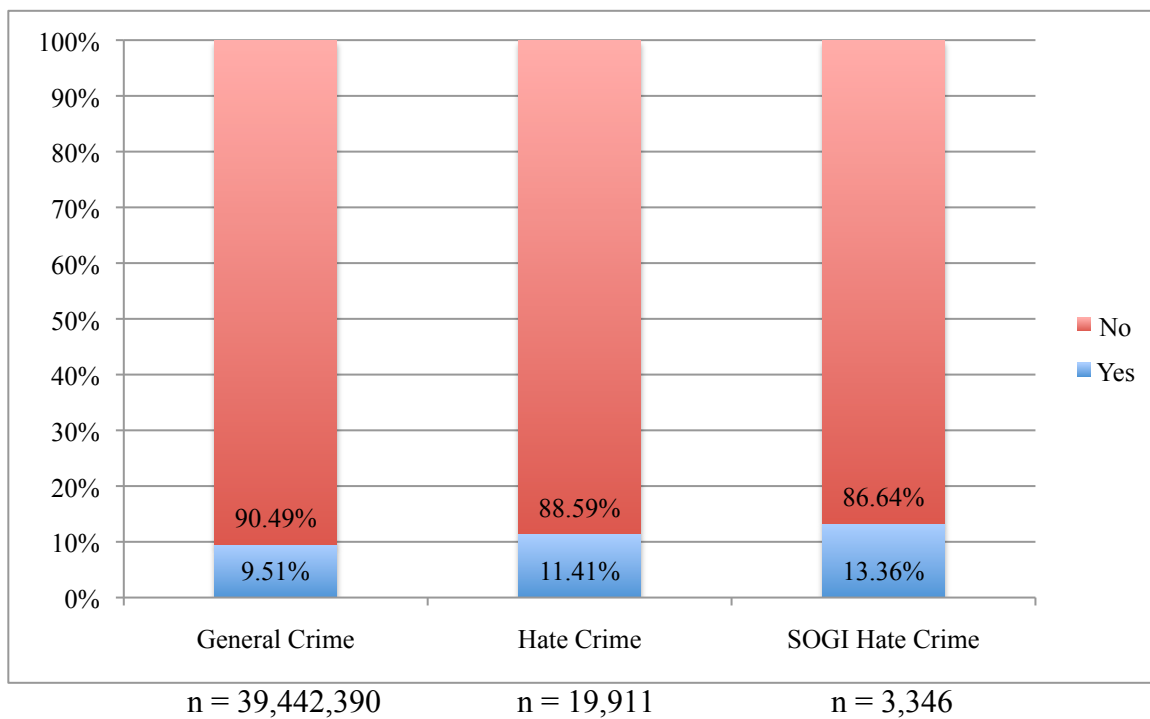
NCVS
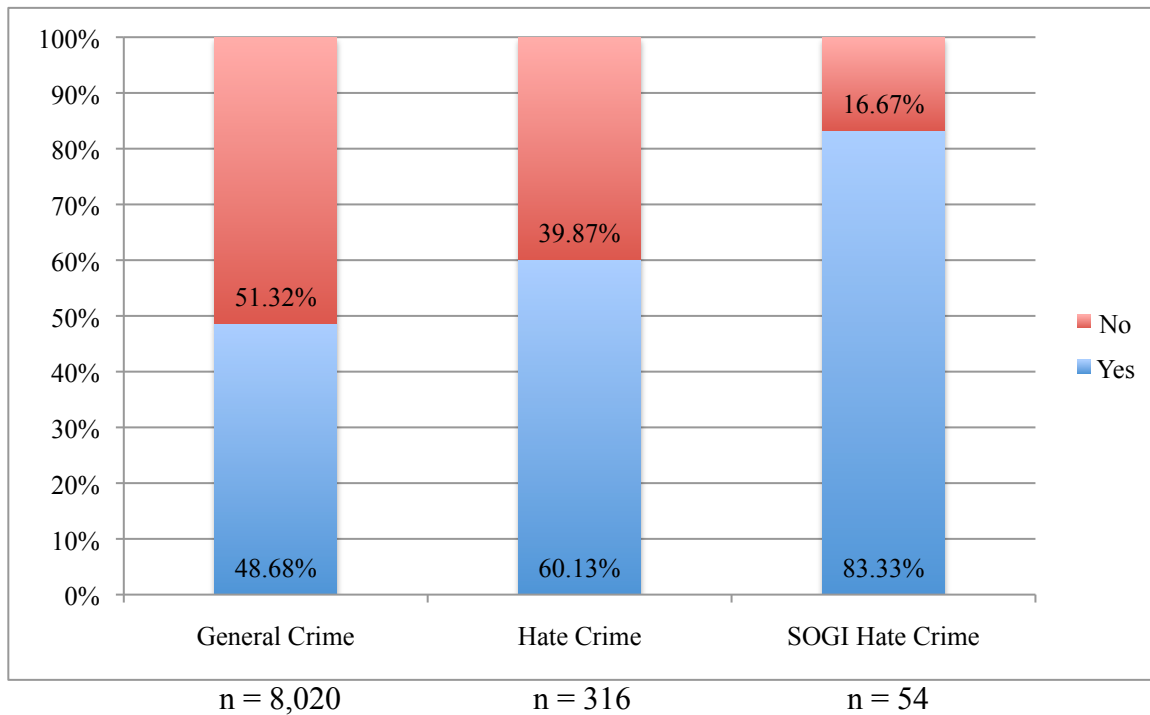
SOGI Hate Crime Comparison: Offender Substance Use
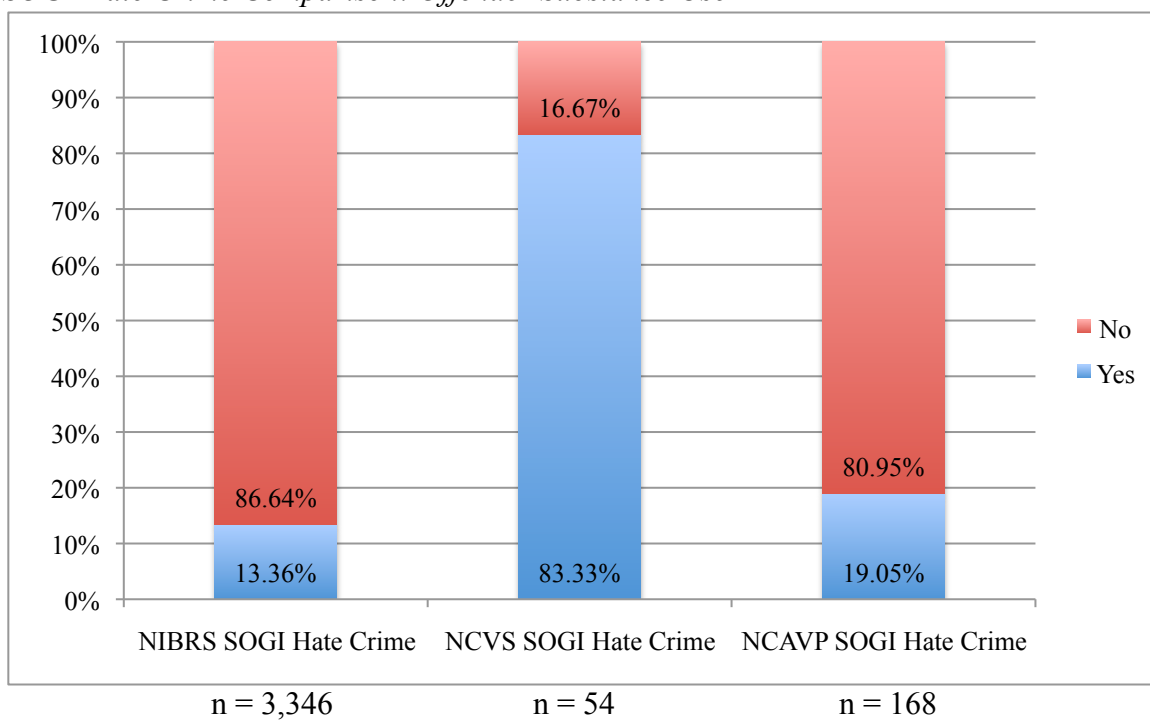
Number of Offenders

UCR
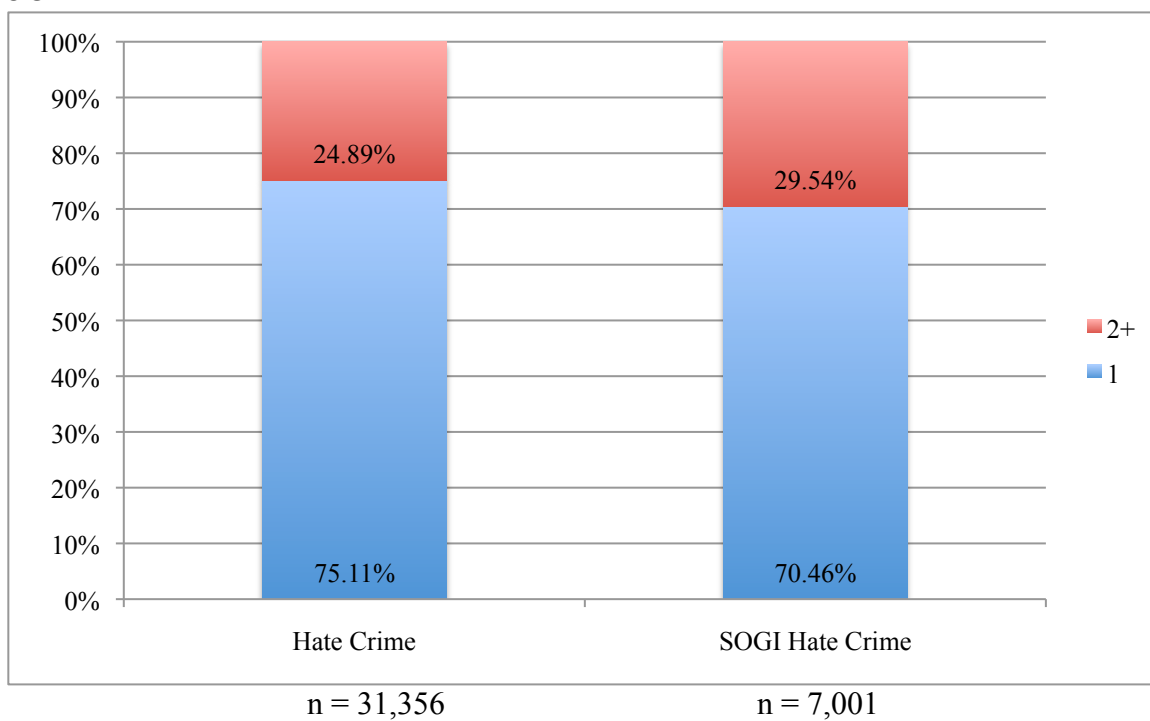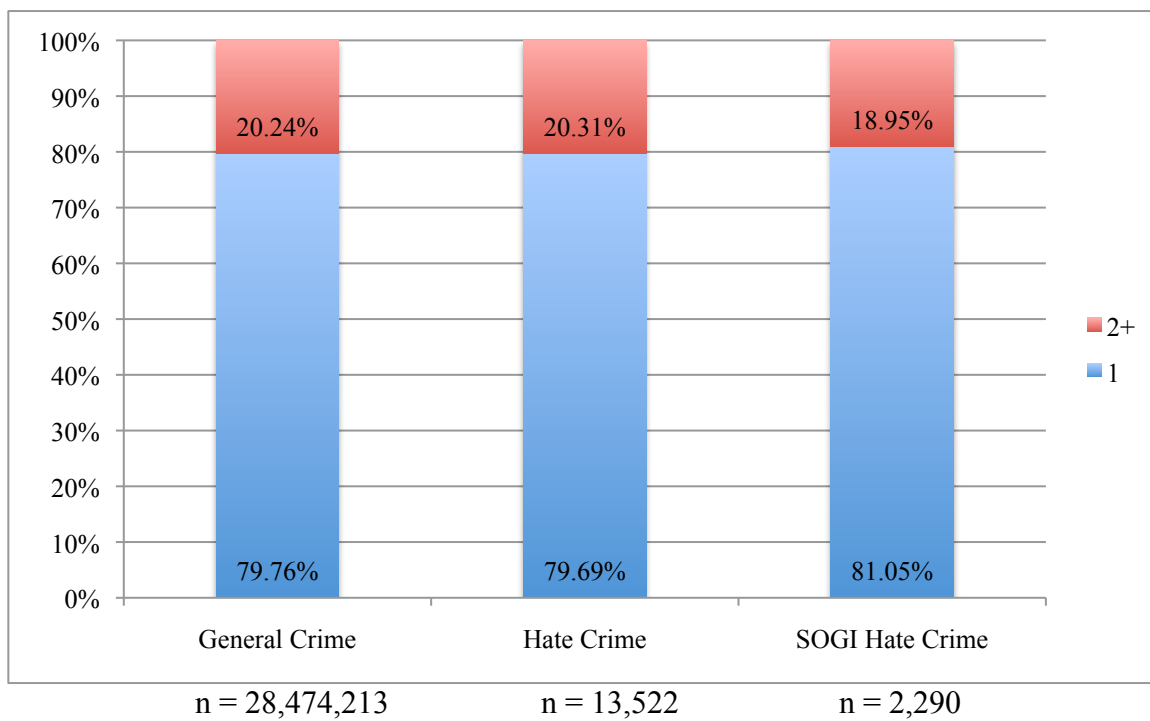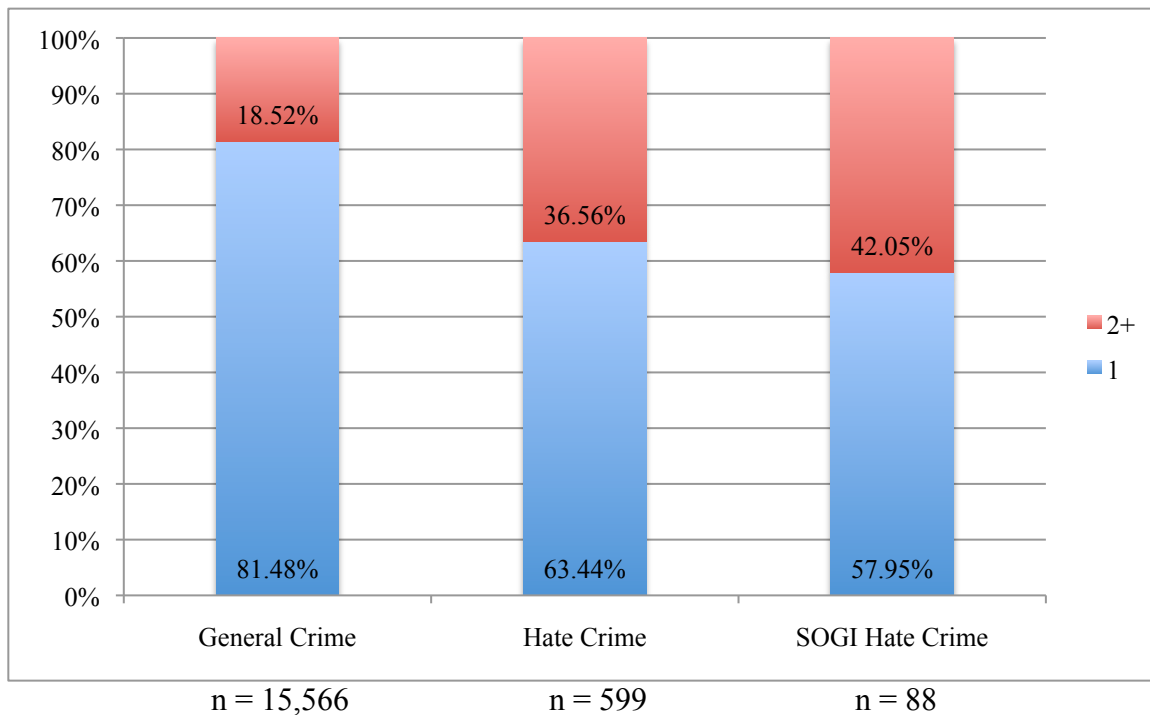
NIBRS

NCVS

SOGI Hate Crime Comparison: Number of Offenders
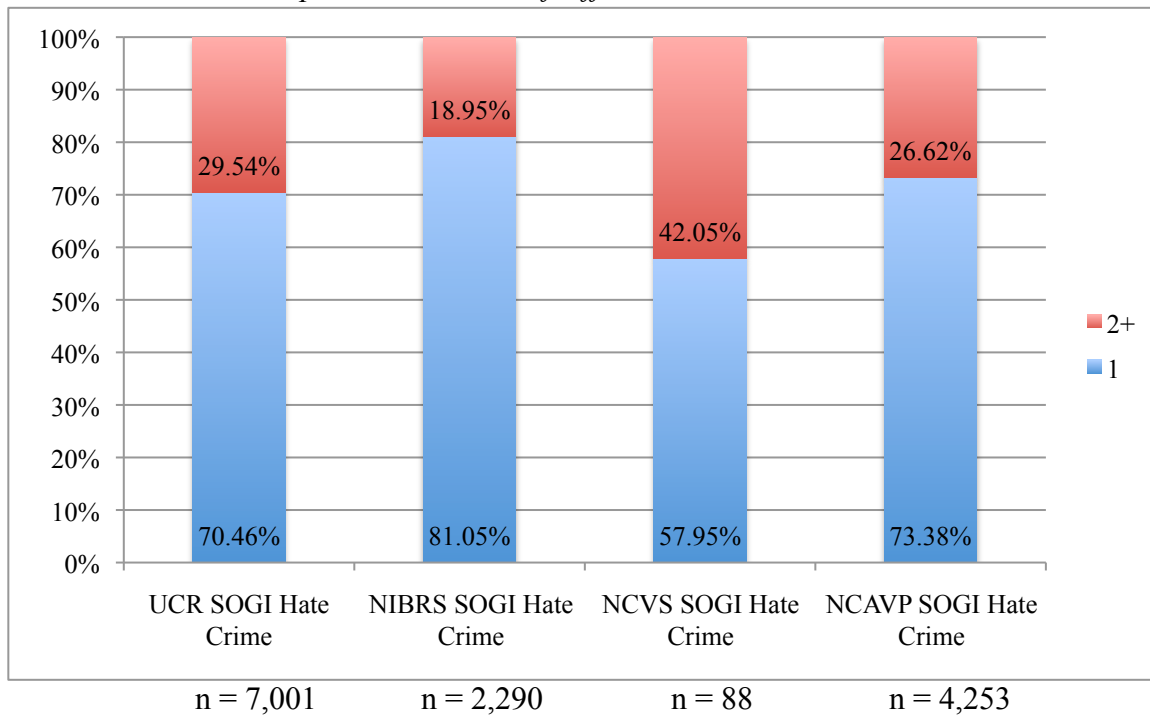
Crime Location

UCR
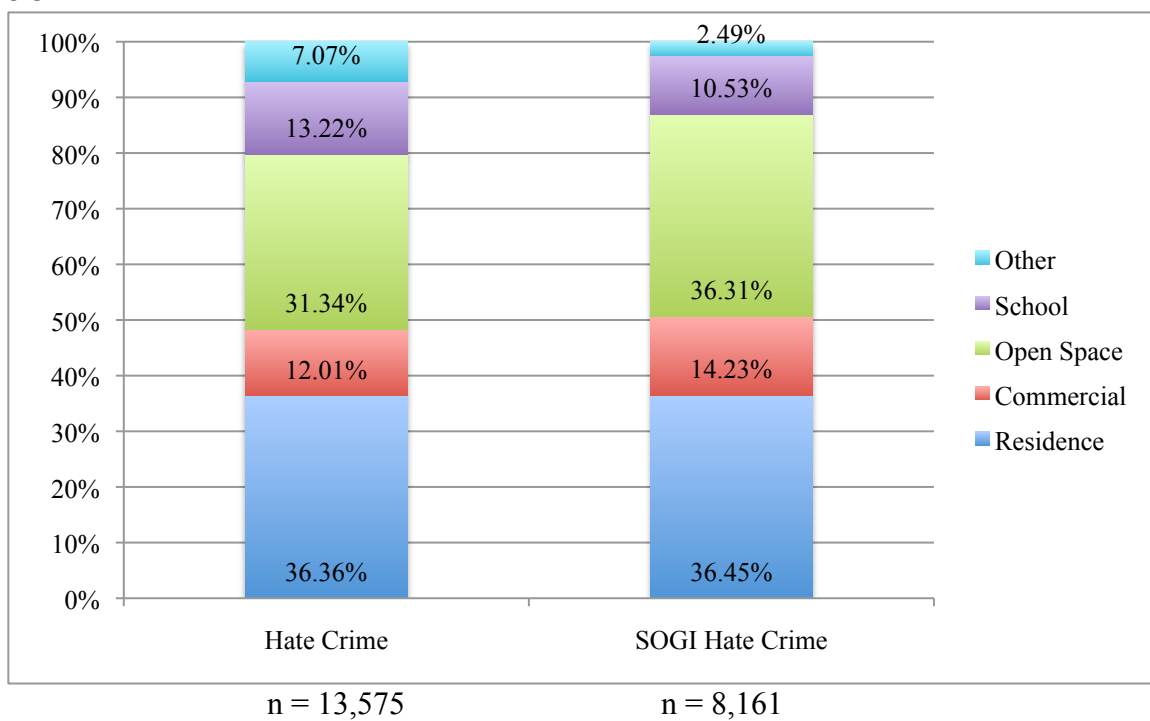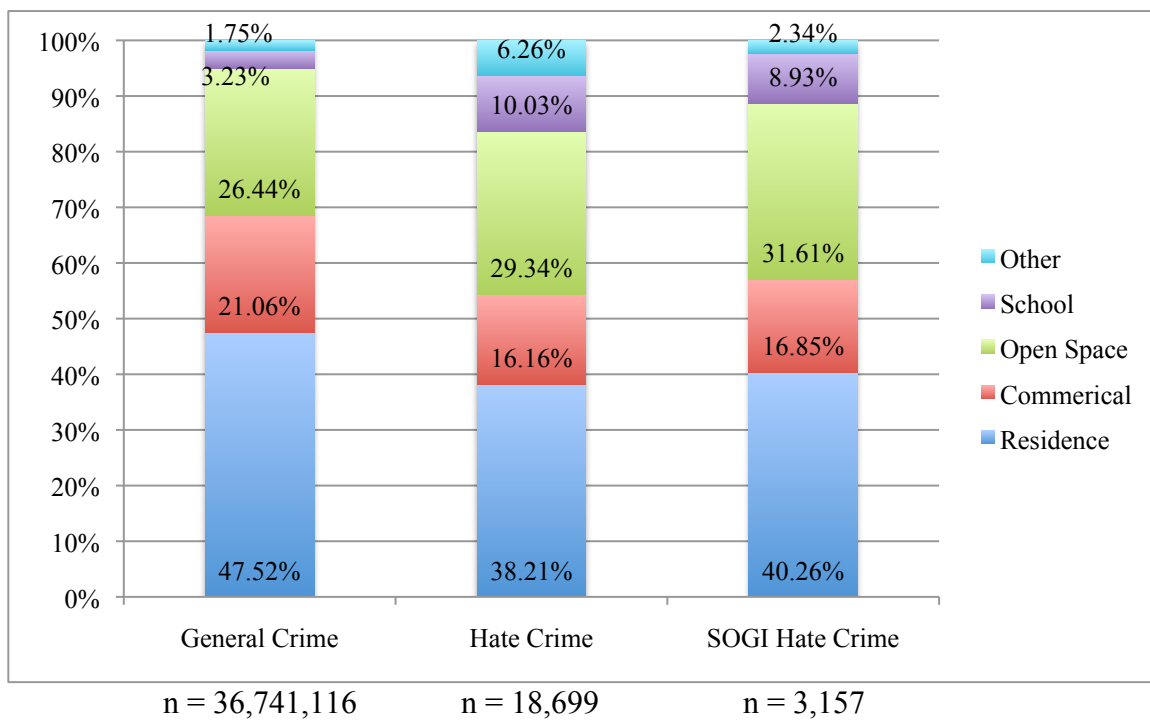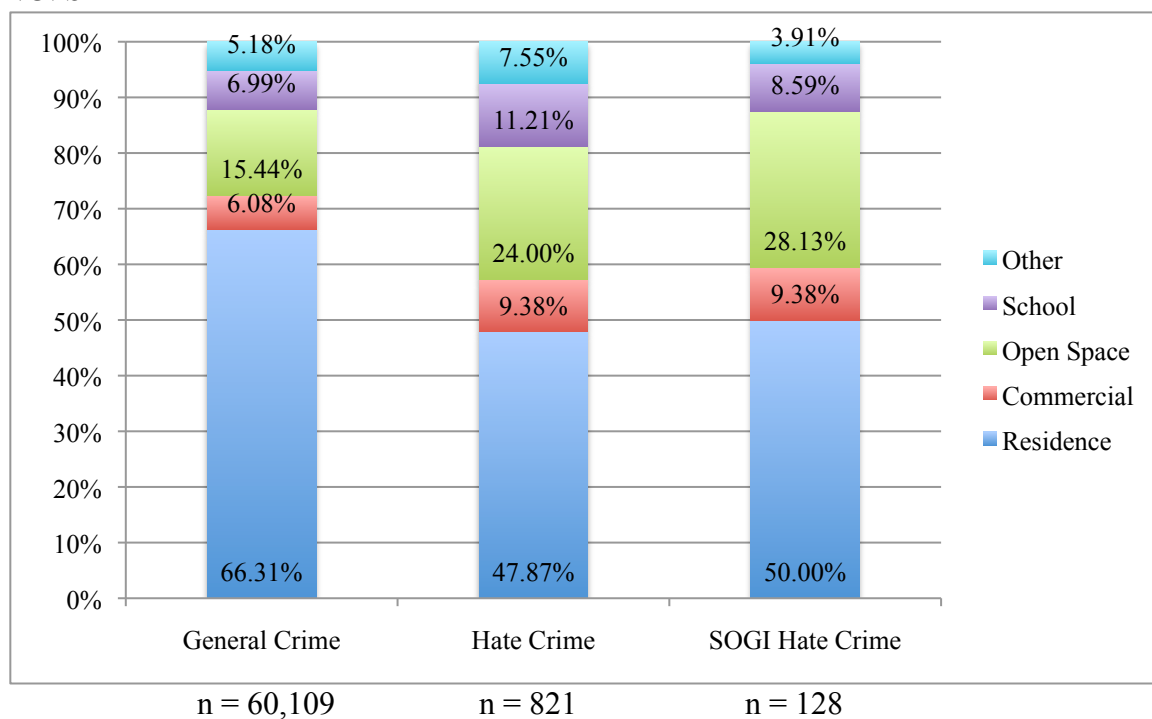
NIBRS

NCVS

SOGI Hate Crime Comparison: Crime Location
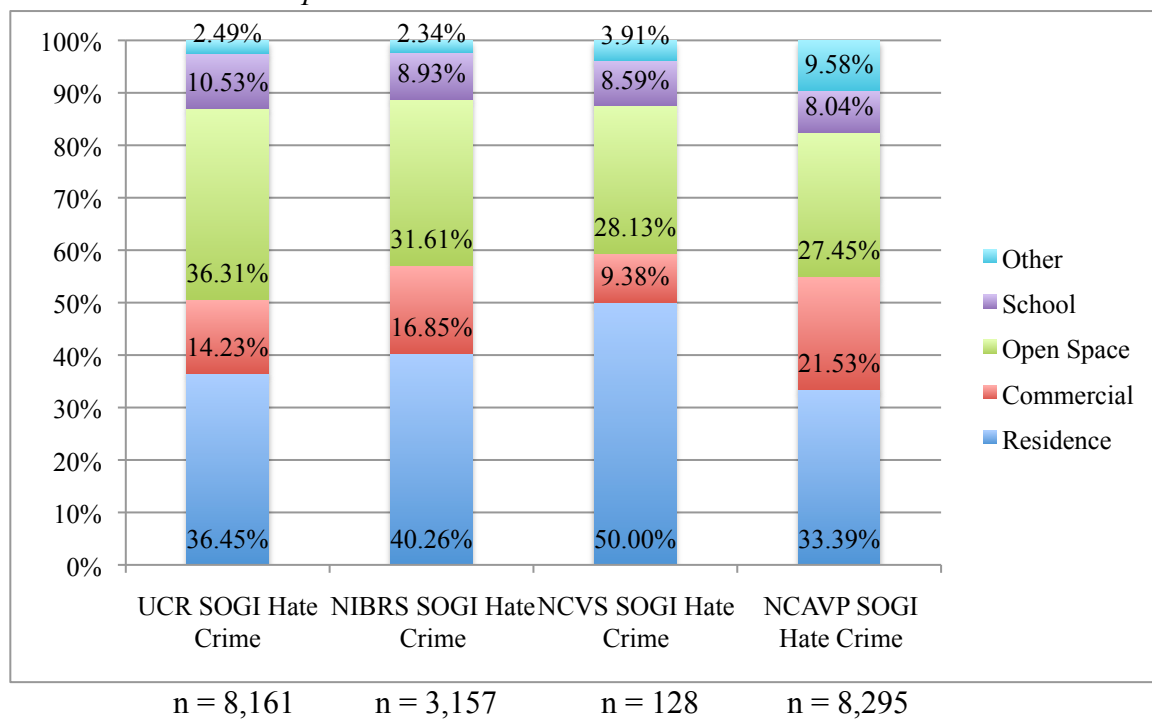
Victim Offender Relationship – Known/Unknown

NIBRS
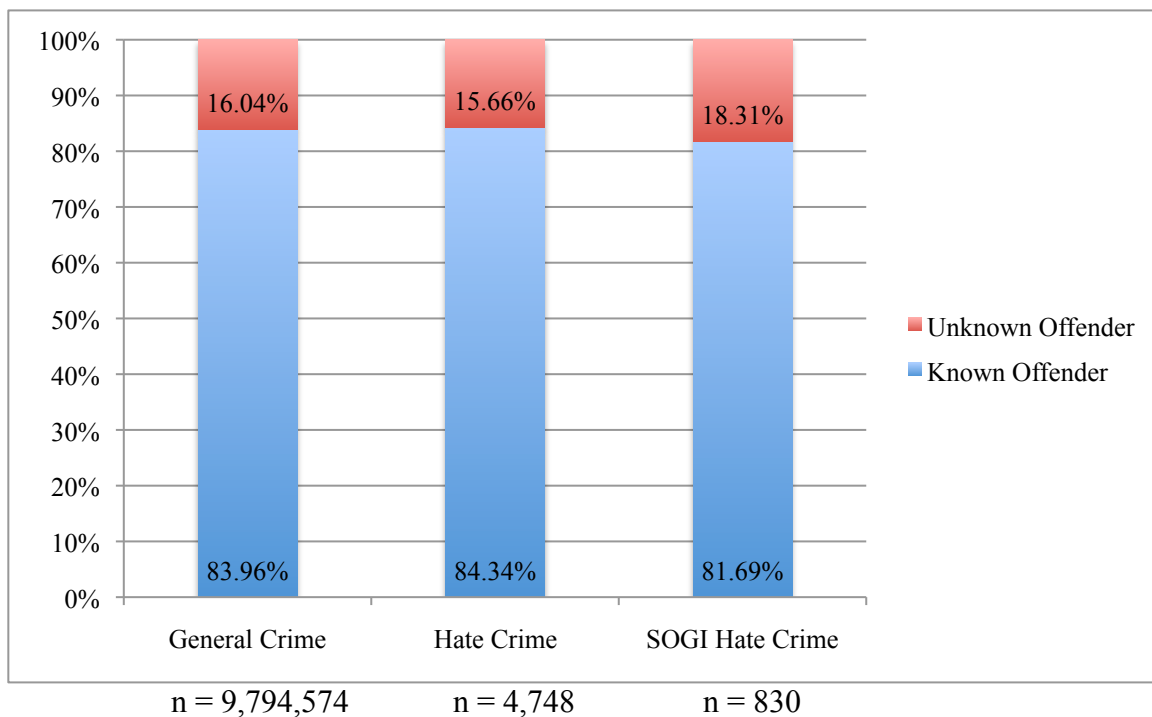
n = 9,794,574   n = 4,748   n = 830
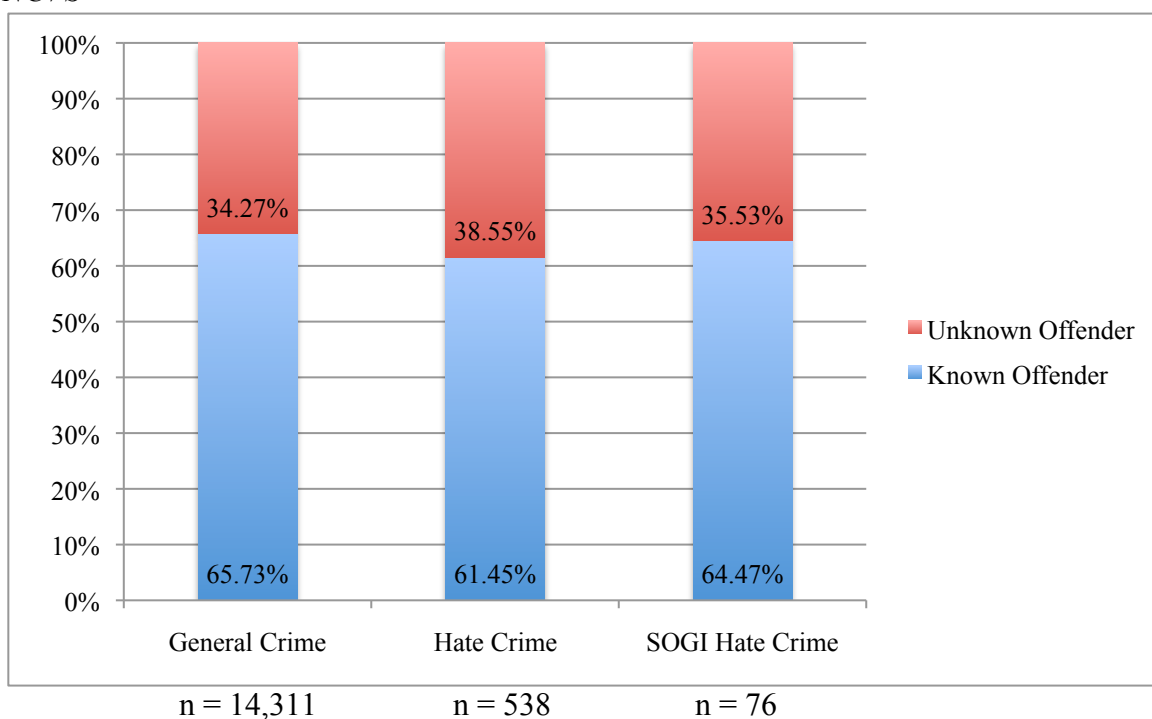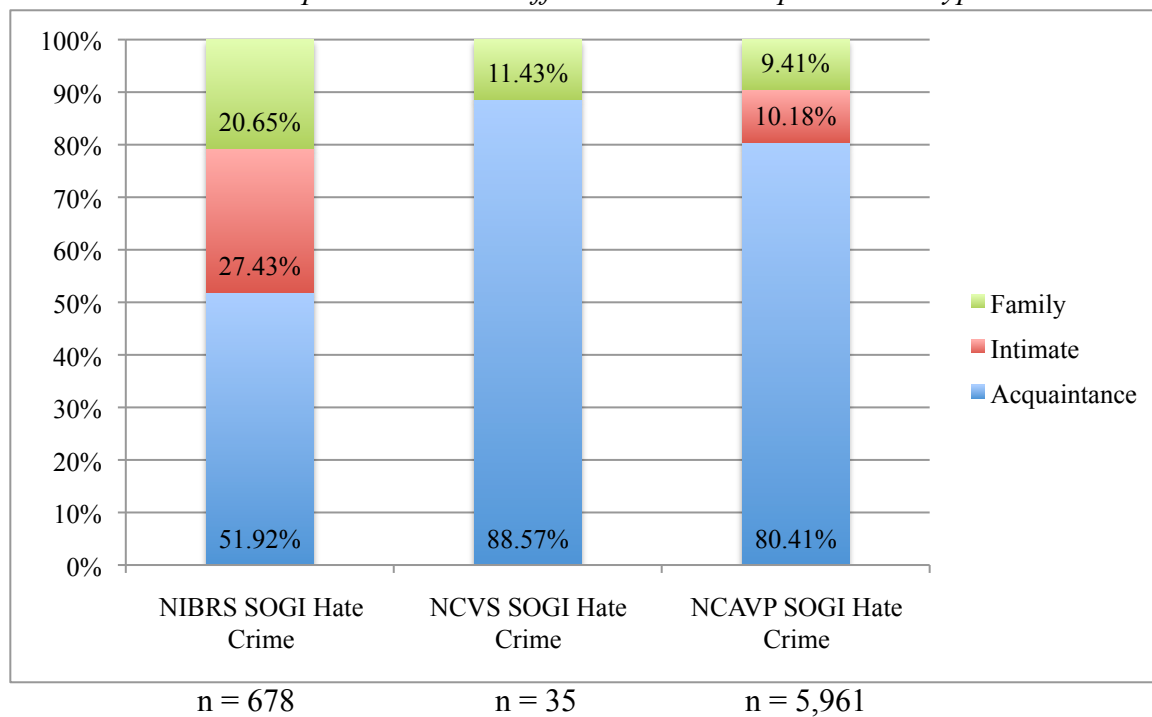
NCVS

n = 14,311   n = 538   n = 76

SOGI Hate Crime Comparison: Victim Offender Relationship – Known/Unknown

n = 830   n = 76   n = 10,444
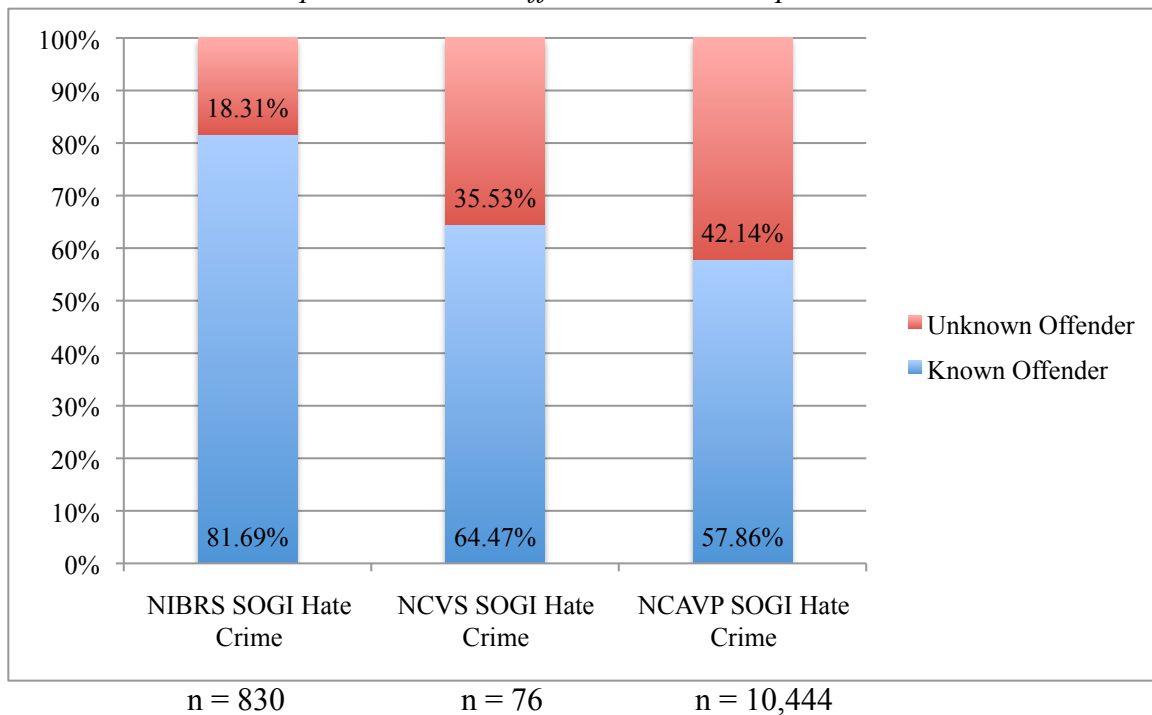
Victim Offender Relationship – Known Type

NIBRS

n = 8,223,471   n = 4,013   n = 678
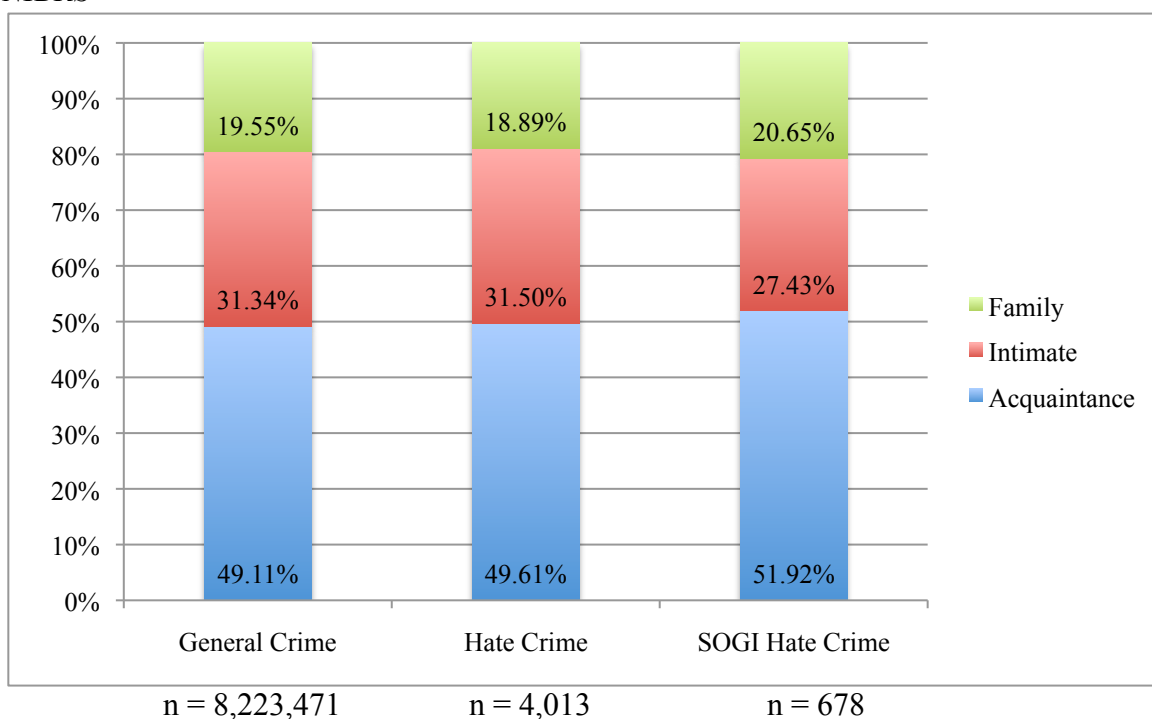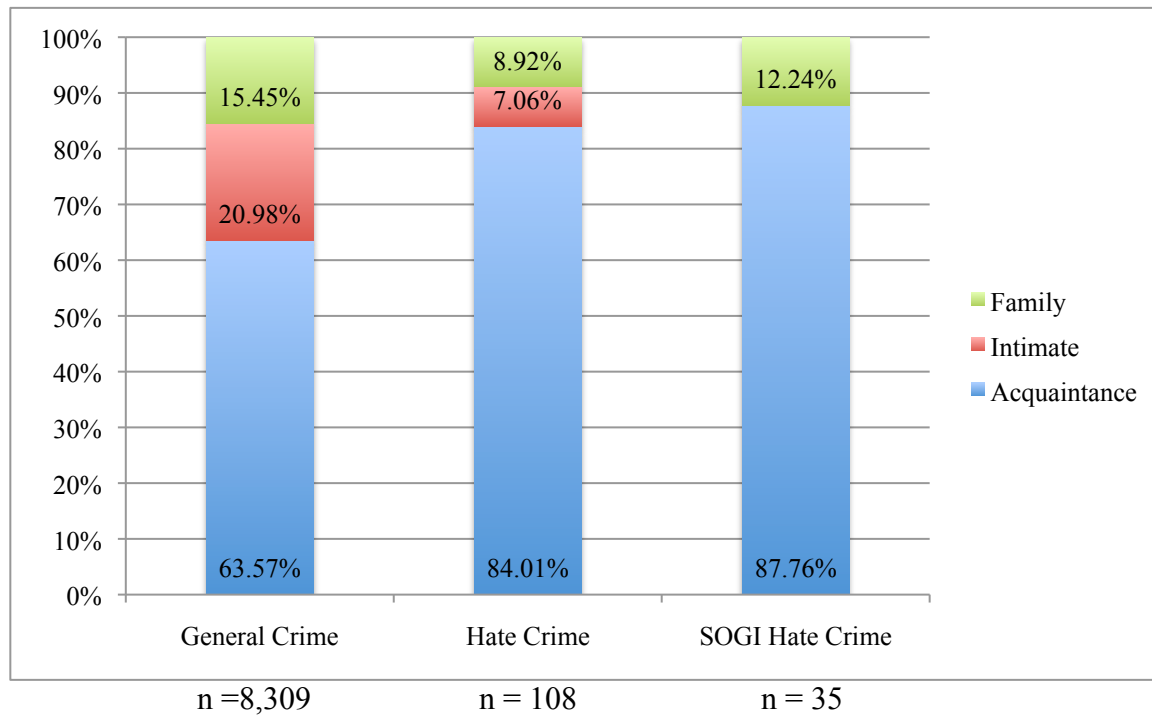
NCVS

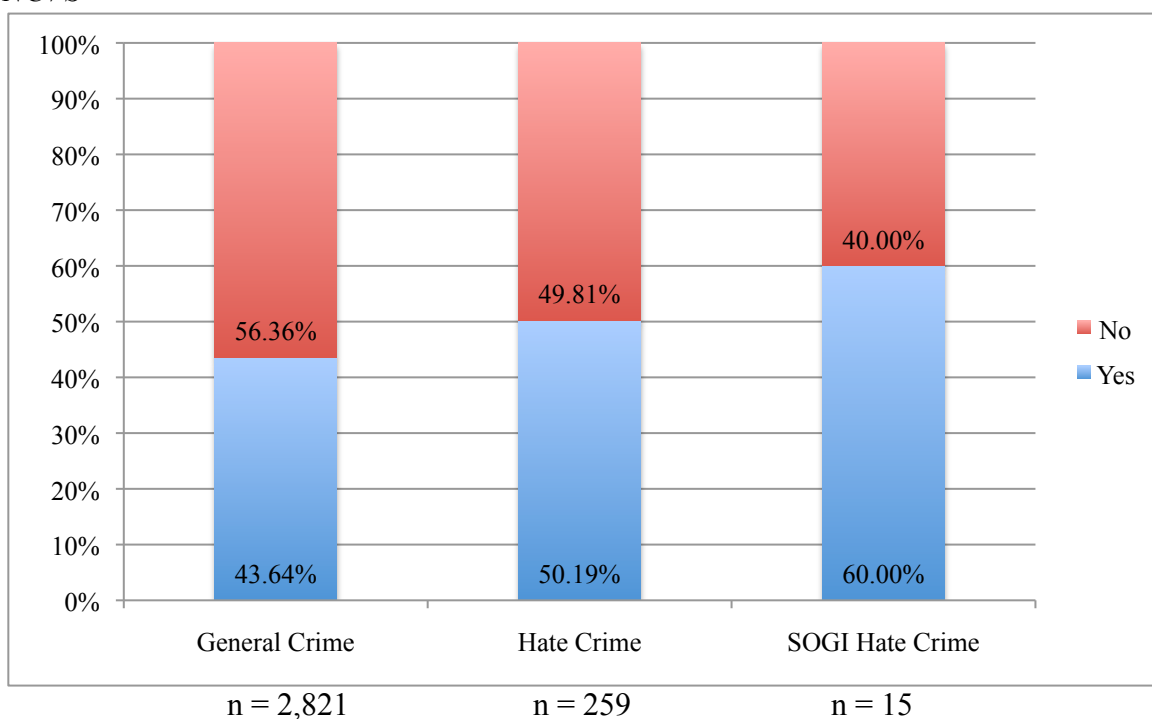*SOGI Hate Crime Comparison: Victim Offender Relationship – Known Type*

Victim Injury

NIBRS

n = 1,154,074   n =3,943   n = 648

NCVS

n = 4,970   n = 408   n = 26
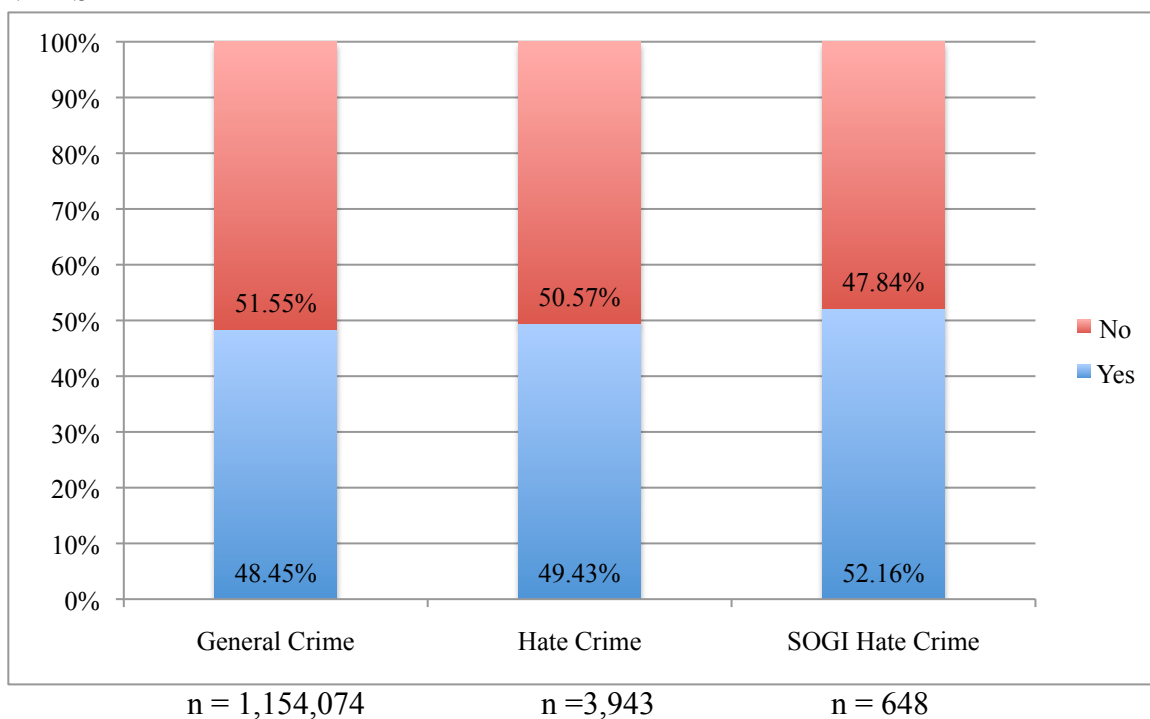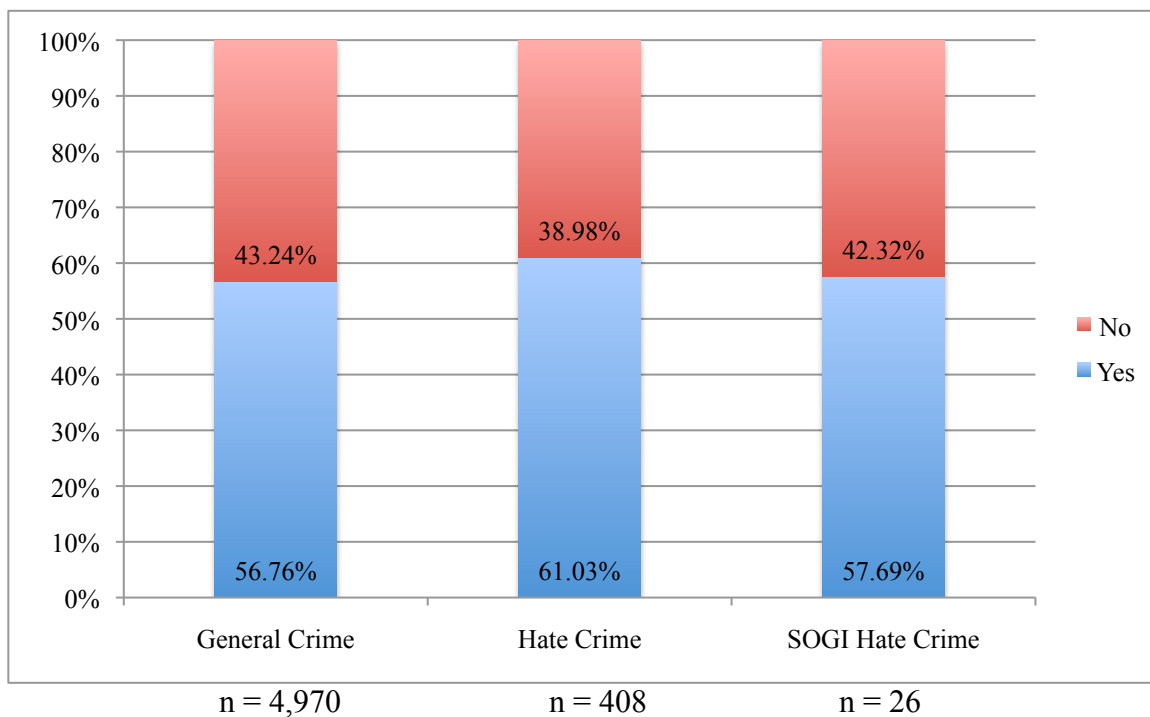
SOGI Hate Crime Comparison: Injury

n = 648   n = 26   n = 7,191
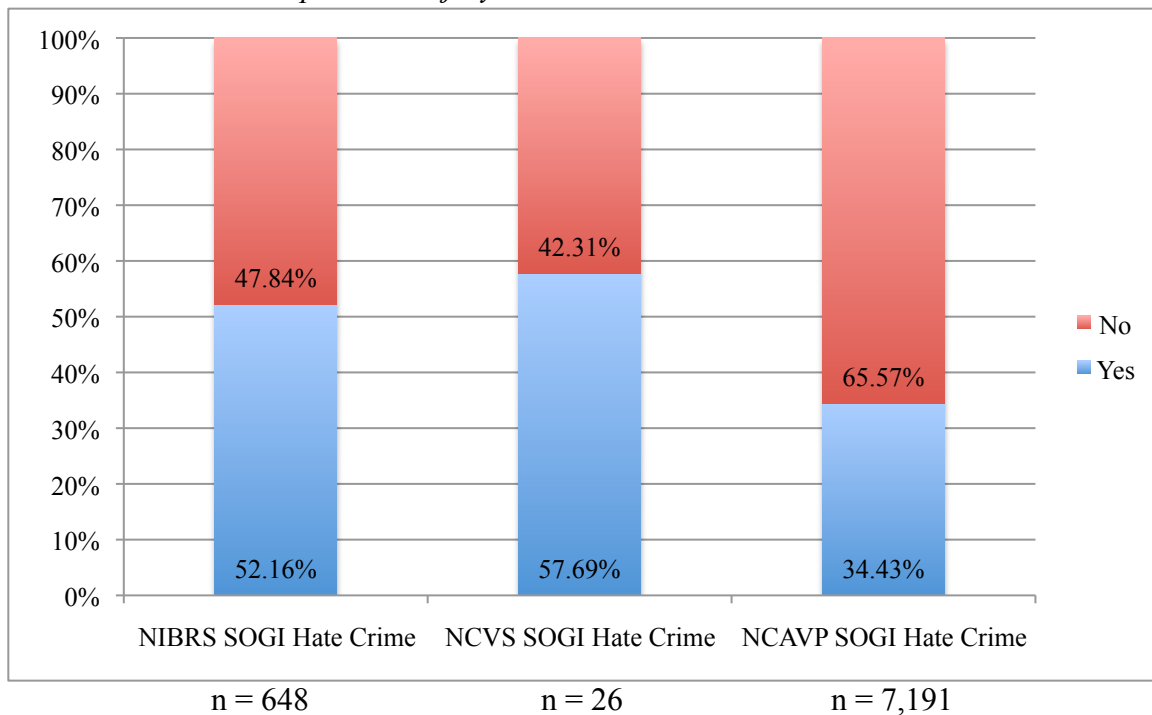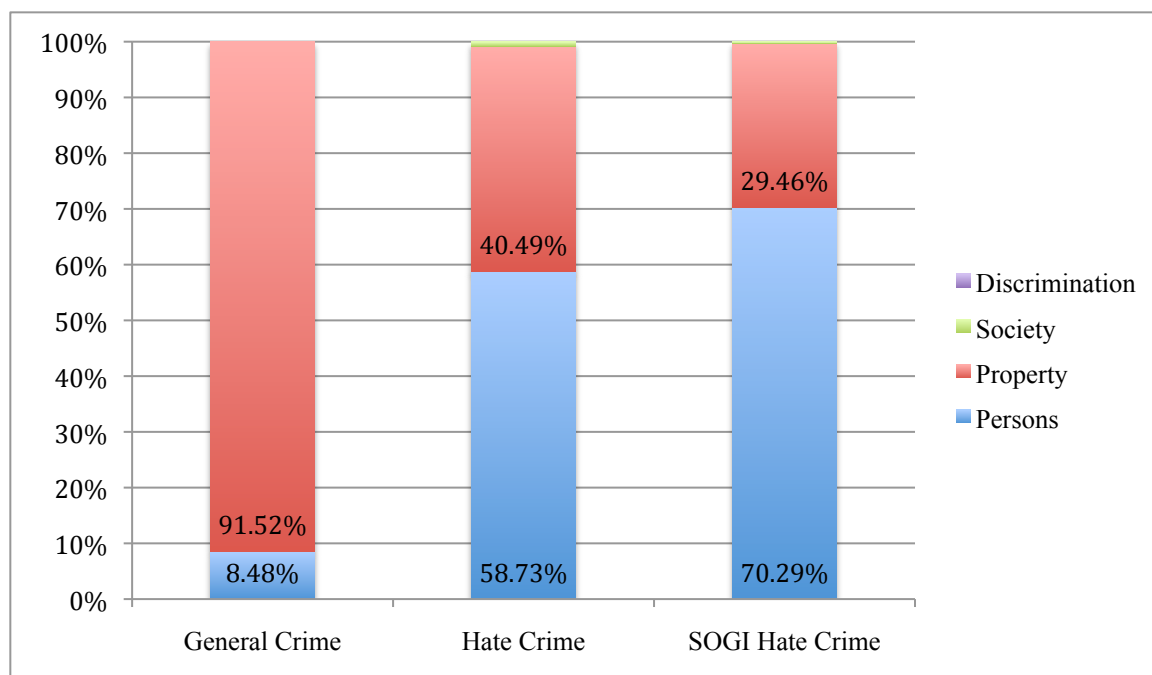
Victim Medical Attention
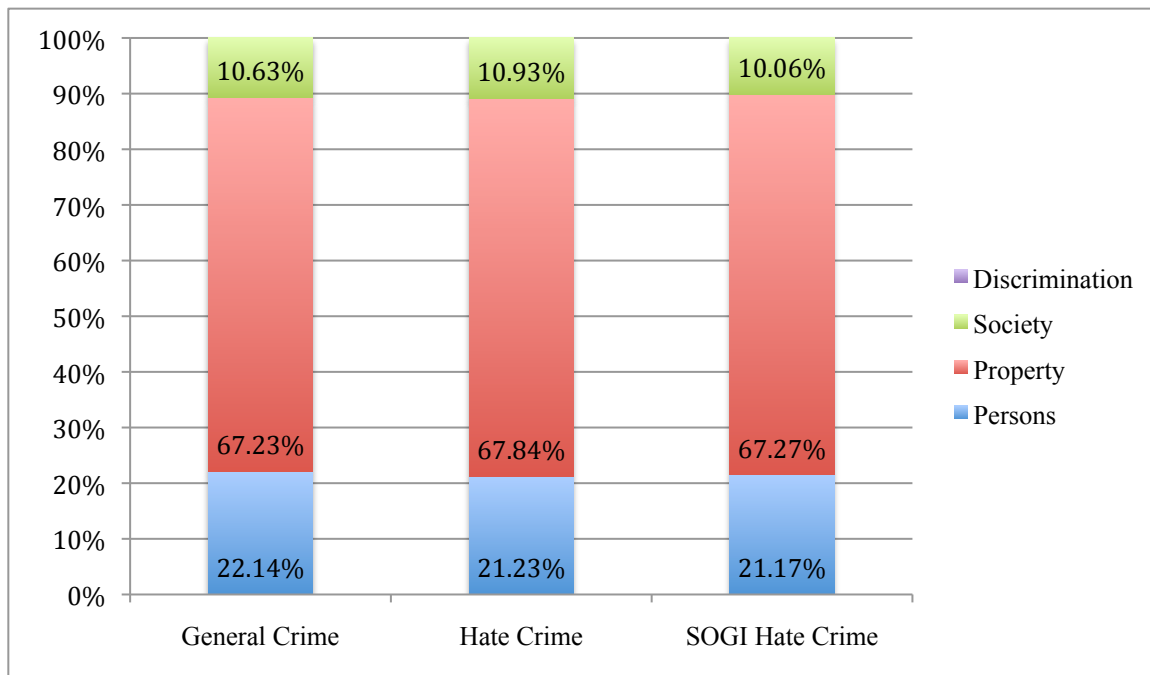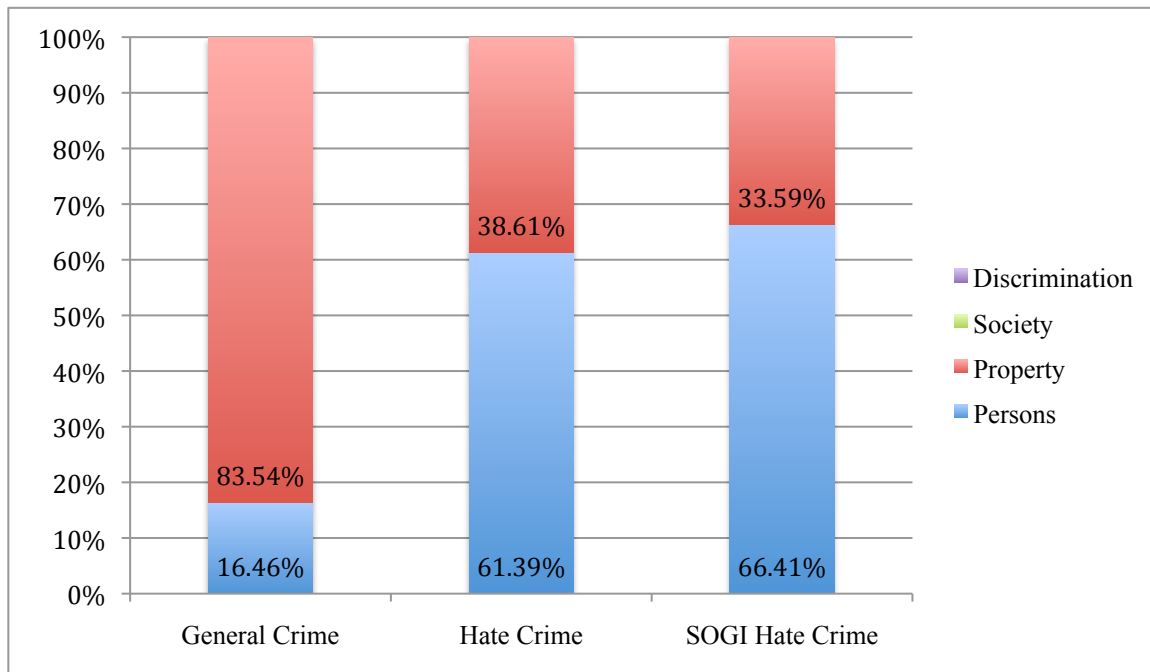
NCVS

n = 2,821   n = 259   n = 15

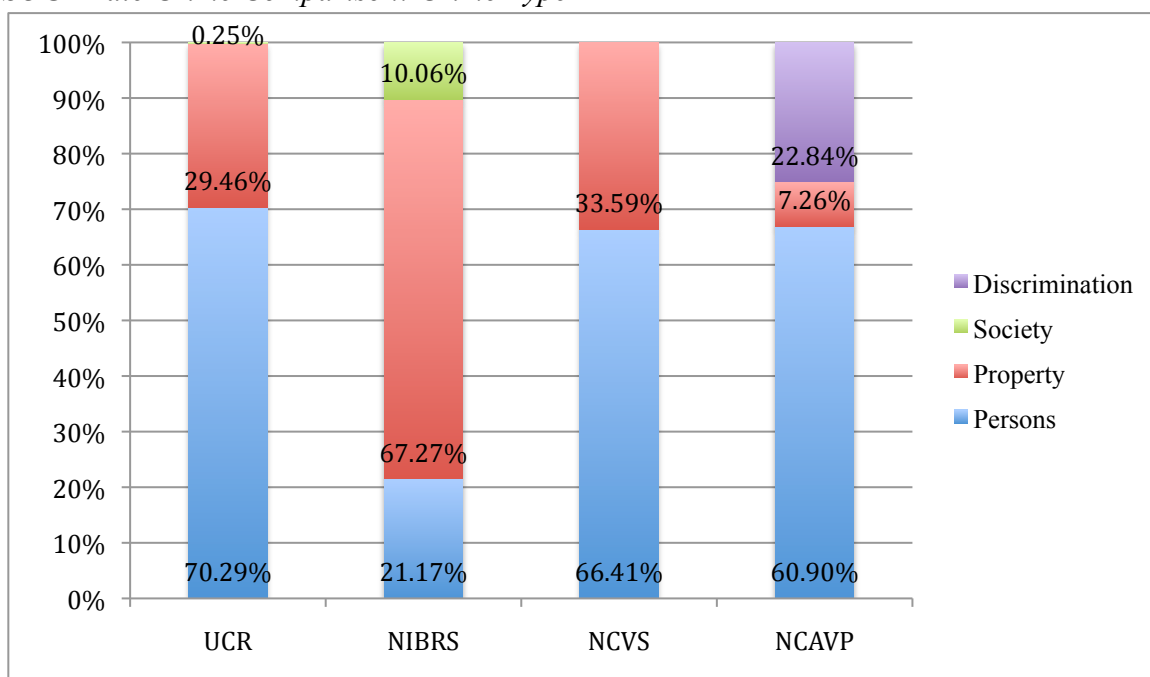*SOGI Hate Crime Comparison: Medical Attention*
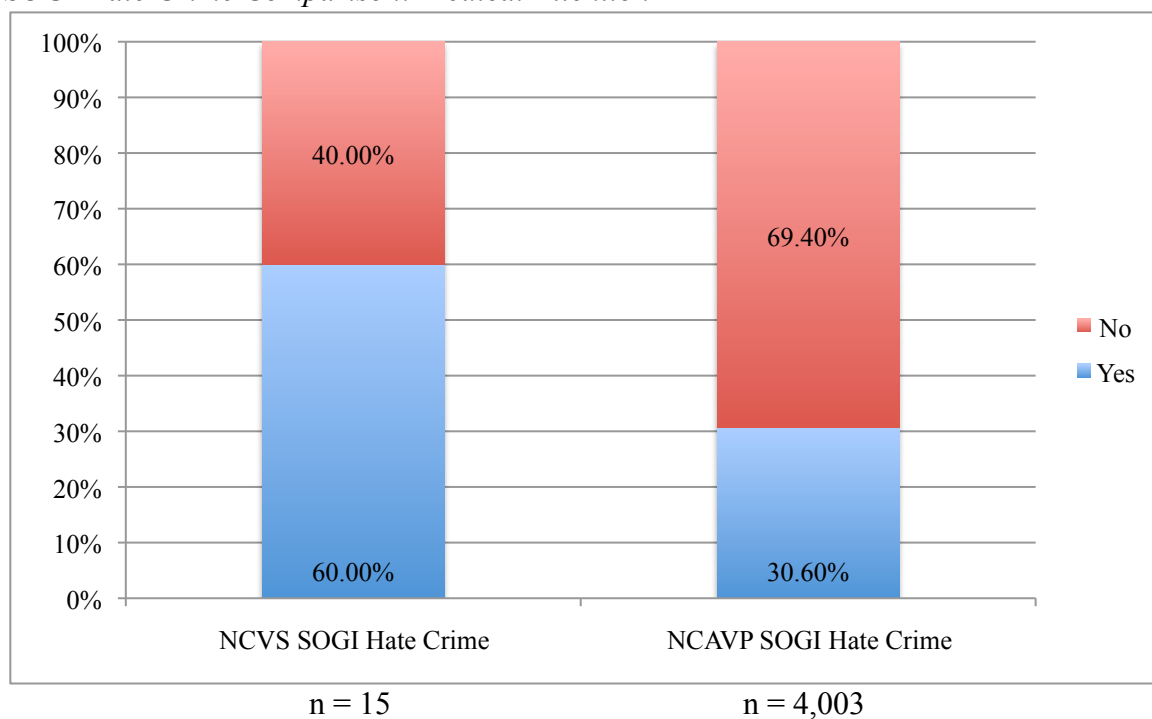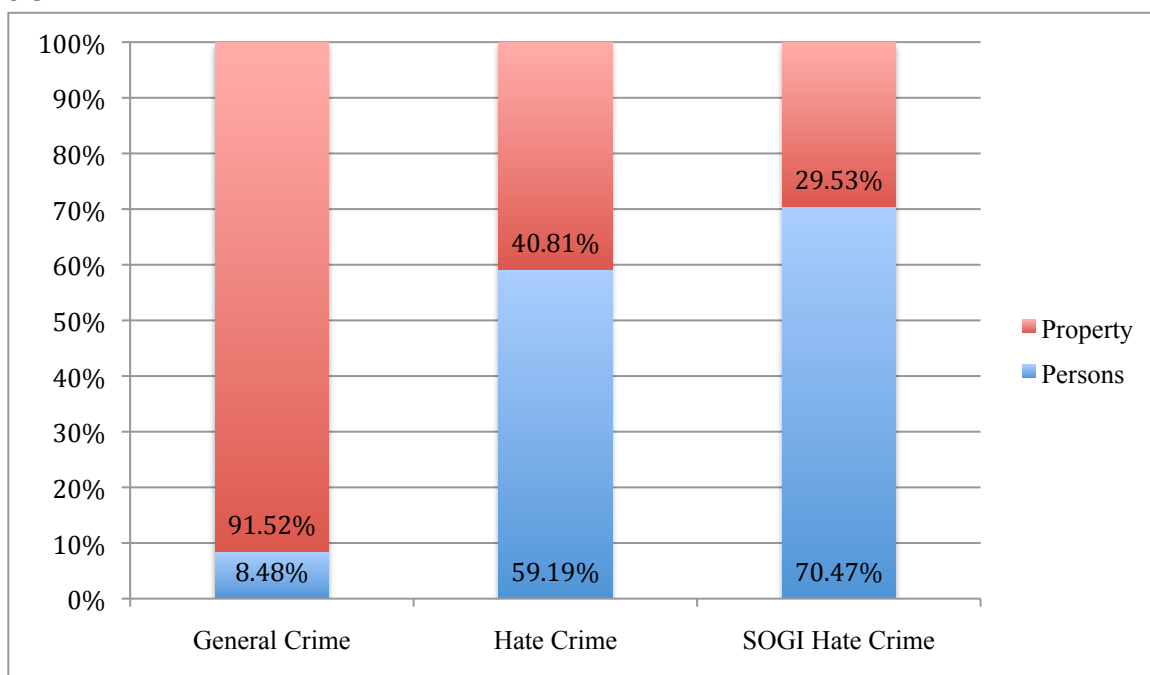

Crime Type

UCR
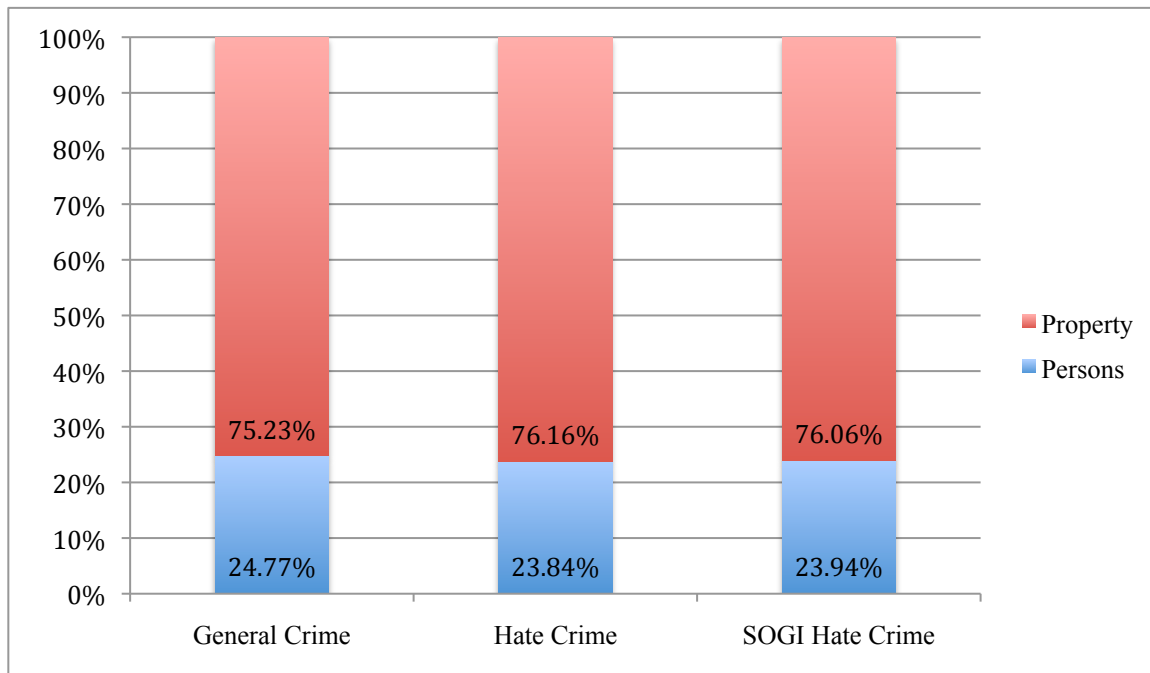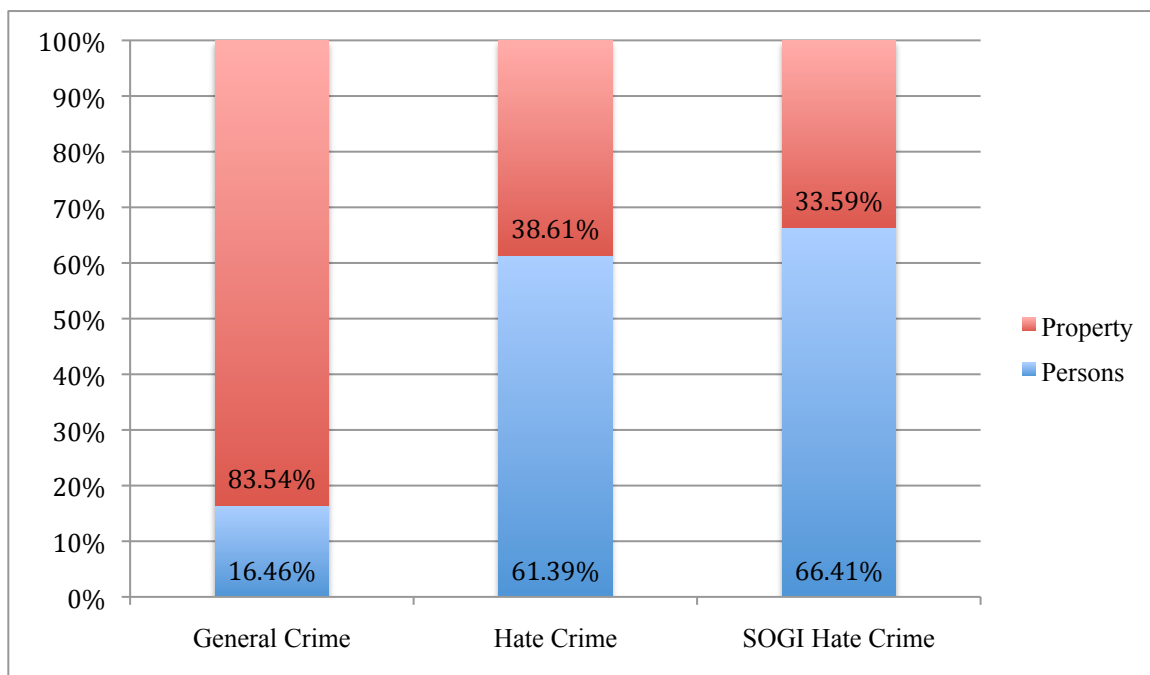
NIBRS

NCVS

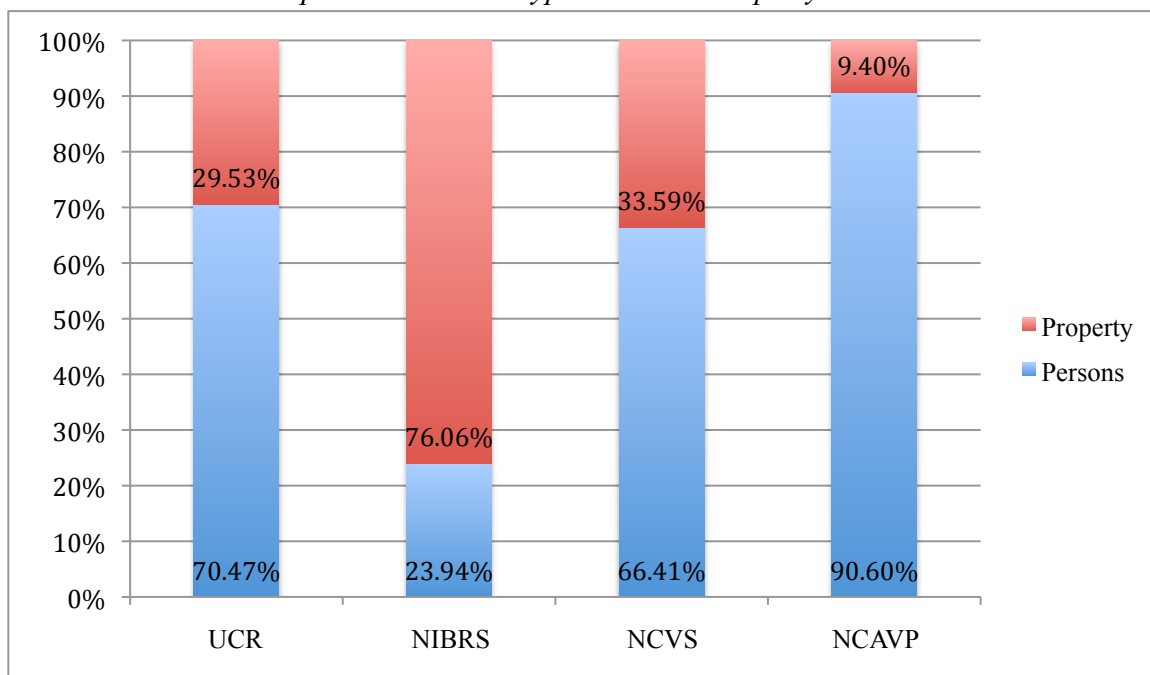*SOGI Hate Crime Comparison: Crime Type*

Crime Type - Persons/Property

UCR

NIBRS

NCVS

SOGI Hate Crime Comparison - Crime Type: Persons/Property

APPENDIX D

UCR, NIBRS, and NCVS Chi-Square Result Summary Tables:
Crime Type (General Crime, Hate Crime, Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime) *
Offender Demographic / Situational Dynamic Variables

UCR Crime Type * Variable: Chi-Square Results

UCR						
	N	χ^2	df	p	Statistically Significant	Cramér's V
Offender Demographic Variables						
Offender Race	70,093,498	161.75	4	.00	Yes	.001
Offender Gender						
Offender Age						
Situational Dynamic Variables						
Substance Use						
Number of Offenders*	31,356	104.27	1	.00	Yes	.058**
Injury						
Medical Attention						
Location*	13,575	965.94	4	.00	Yes	.267**
Known / Unknown Offender						
Known Offender Type						
Crime Against Persons / Property	73,774,079	15,7790.31	2	.00	Yes	.046

* Only includes two crime types: hate crimes and anti-LGBTQ hate crimes
** As chi-square is 2x2, Cramér's phi is the appropriate measure of association

NIBRS Crime Type * Variable: Chi-Square Results

	N	χ^2	df	*p*	Statistically Significant	Cramér's V
NIBRS						
Offender Demographic Variables						
Offender Race	24,019,593	32.66	4	.00	Yes	.001
Offender Gender	24,795,587	3.16	2	.21	No	.000
Offender Age	24,196,678	1.20	4	.88	No	.000
Situational Dynamic Variables						
Substance Use	39,544,686	84.35	2	.00	Yes	.001
Number of Offenders	28,364,905	3.95	2	.14	No	.000
Injury	8,188,435	2.54	2	.28	No	.001
Medical Attention						
Location	44,629,351	3,450.82	8	.00	Yes	.006
Known / Unknown Offender	8,136,241	.82	2	.66	No	.000
Known Offender Type	7,040,976	4.98	4	.29	No	.000
Crime Against Persons / Property	35,037,865	7,851.71	2	.00	Yes	.015

NCVS Crime Type * Variable: Chi-Square Results

	N	χ^2	df	p	Statistically Significant	Cramér's V
NCVS						
Offender Demographic Variables						
Offender Race	13,056	70.00	4	.00	Yes	.052
Offender Gender	14,668	2.85	2	.24	No	.014
Offender Age	12,812	9.41	4	.05	No	.019
Situational Dynamic Variables						
Substance Use	8,773	34.06	2	.00	Yes	.062
Number of Offenders	15,727	112.15	2	.00	Yes	.084
Injury	4,970	.24	2	.89	No	.007
Medical Attention	2,821	1.64	2	.44	No	.024
Location	60,109	130.02	8	.00	Yes	.033
Known / Unknown Offender	14,308	4.04	2	.13	No	.017
Known Offender Type	8,165	57.81	4	.00	Yes	.059
Crime Against Persons / Property	60,109	1,373.95	2	.00	Yes	.151

UCR, NIBRS, and NCVS Chi-Square Statistical Significance Summary Table:
Crime Type (General Crime, Hate Crime, Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crime) *
Offender Demographic / Situational Dynamic Variables

Chi-Square Statistical Significance			
	UCR	**NIBRS**	**NCVS**
Offender Demographic Variables			
Offender Race	Yes	Yes	Yes
Offender Gender	NA	No	No
Offender Age	NA	No	No
Situational Dynamic Variables			
Substance Use	NA	Yes	Yes
Number of Offenders	Yes	No	Yes
Injury	NA	No	No
Medical Attention	NA	NA	No
Location	Yes	Yes	Yes
Known / Unknown Offender	NA	No	No
Known Offender Type	NA	No	Yes
Crime Against Person / Property	Yes	Yes	Yes

Yes: Statistically significant relationship between crime type and variable within indicated dataset

No: No statistically significant relationship between crime type and variable within indicated dataset

NA: Data not available within indicated dataset to conduct test of statistical significance

APPENDIX E

Chi-Square Results:
Dataset (UCR, NIBRS, NCVS, NCAVP) *
Anti-LGBTQ Offender Demographic / Situational Dynamic Variables:

Dataset						
	N	χ^2	df	*p*	Statistically Significant	Cramér's V
Offender Demographic Variables						
Offender Race	12,283	66.56	6	.00	Yes	.052
Offender Gender	9,691	21.42	2	.00	Yes	.047
Offender Age	5,997	9.91	4	.04	Yes	.029
Situational Dynamic Variables						
Substance Use	3,568	210.35	2	.00	Yes	.243
Number of Offenders	13,632	108.71	3	.00	Yes	.089
Injury	7,865	86.47	2	.00	Yes	.105
Medical Attention	4,018	6.07*	1	.022	Yes	.039**
Location	19,741	747.47	12	.00	Yes	.112
Known / Unknown Offender	11,350	182.08	2	.00	Yes	.127
Known Offender Type	6,674	252.32	4	.00	Yes	.148
Crime Against Persons / Property	26,402	6,425.79	3	.00	Yes	.493

* Fisher's Exact Test used due to small sample sizes
** As chi-square is 2x2, Cramér's phi is the appropriate measure of association